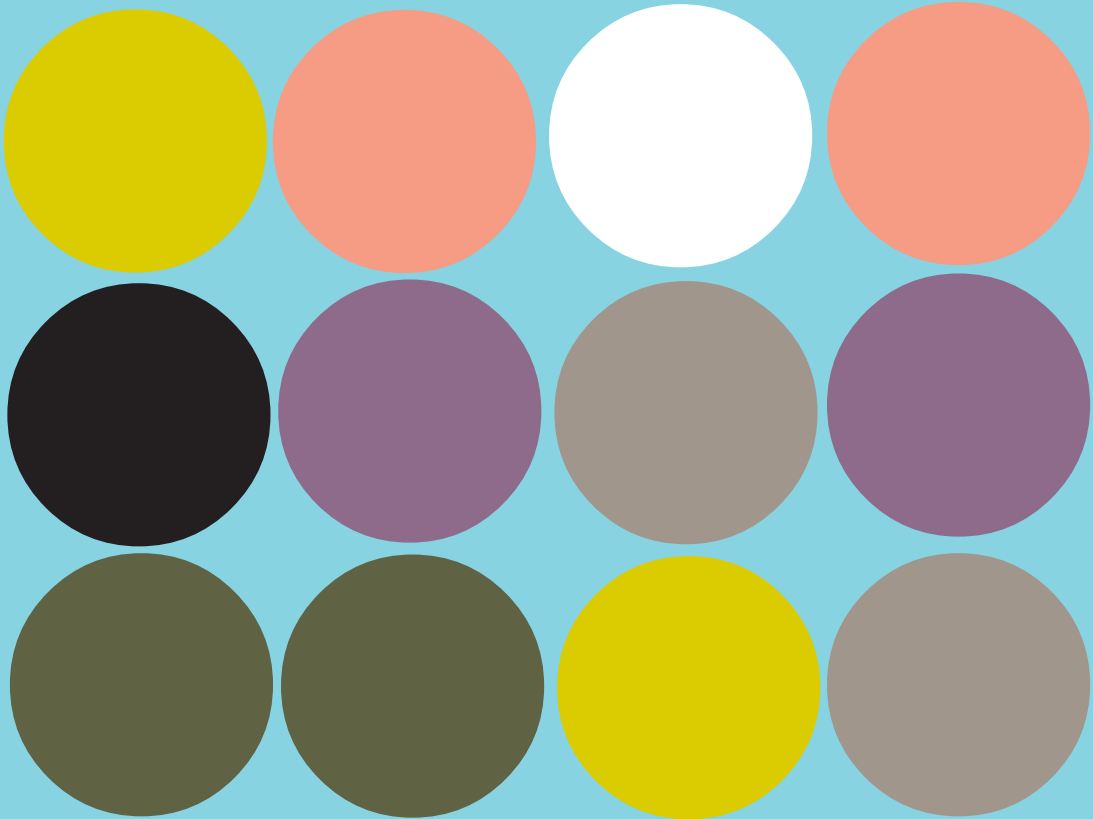


NordWel Studies in Historical Welfare State Research 2

Welfare citizenship and welfare nationalism

EDITED BY ANDRZEJ MARCIN SUSZYCKI



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Edited by Andrzej Marcin Suszycki

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The mission of NordWel is to deepen our understanding of the development of the Nordic welfare state in order to foster the research-based discussion on Nordic societies and their future. This involves the establishment of a highly-integrated Nordic research platform within international welfare research.

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Preface

The present volume was partially elaborated on the basis of the workshop “Citizenship, collective identity and welfare state nationalism” held at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense in November 2008. This workshop was organized by the Nordic Centre of Excellence NordWel (The Nordic Welfare State – Historical Foundations and Future Challenges). Subsequently, in preparing this book, I have benefited greatly from the generous support and assistance of the Nordic Centre of Excellence NordWel.

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Last, but not least, I owe thanks to Daniel Béland, Grete Brochmann, Romana Careja, Patrick Emmenegger, Bryan Fanning, Heidi Vad Jønsen, Ireneusz Paweł Karolewski, Pauli Kettunen and André Lecours. Their chapters in this volume constitute a significant contribution to a better understanding of the phenomena of welfare citizenship and welfare nationalism.

Andrzej Marcin Suszycki, June 2011.

Introduction:

The aims and the content of this volume

Andrzej Marcin Suszycki

This volume offers contributions of scholars in the field of welfare state studies, comparative politics and political theory that focus on the relationship between citizenship and welfare as well as nationalism and welfare.

This volume has two main aims. First, it should contribute to a more systematic conceptualisation of the terms welfare citizenship and welfare nationalism. Although we can observe a considerable proliferation of research on citizenship, the term welfare citizenship has surprisingly remained unclear in conceptual and theoretical terms. Certainly, studies on social citizenship have been conducted for several decades, at least since Thomas H. Marshall's seminal work on citizenship and social class.¹ However, defining welfare citizenship as a shared membership in a community adhering to social rights seems to be too parsimonious to outline the substance of welfare citizenship. Rather, against the background of the results of the research on citizenship in the field of political theory and the increasingly advanced research on the nature of the welfare state in the field of welfare state studies, we expect welfare citizenship to be more than the social citizenship in Marshall's understanding. Welfare citizenship would presumably include a political, juridical, and ideational dimension as well as habitual

1 Marshall, T.H. (1992 [1950]) *Citizenship and social class*, London: Pluto Press.

and discursive practices through which citizens negotiate the content of material and symbolic benefits as well as the access to these benefits. Still, open questions, which this volume attempts to address, include, for instance: Does welfare citizenship depend more upon a singular or rather on a unitary conception of the common good? What is the link between different models of citizenship and the development of rights, obligations and compliance in the specific framework of the welfare state? Under what circumstances can welfare citizenship be extended beyond the nation-state?

A similar problem pertains to nationalism in the context of the welfare state. As for scholars of nationalism, they regularly focus on ethnicity or civic culture but rarely examine the welfare state. Although scholars in the field of welfare state studies have seen the causal relationship between national identity and the system of welfare provisions, they have rarely scrutinised the relationship between nationalism, understood not only as a political but also a societal and discursive phenomenon, and the system of welfare provisions. However, even scholars who have approached welfare nationalism, have regularly done it without answering a number of fundamental conceptual, methodological and theoretical questions. These questions are, for instance: What is welfare nationalism? How can we make the concept suitable for the purposes of empirical studies? In what systems does it occur on a regular basis? Should we see it as an acceptable and legitimate political phenomenon? Can we assume a holistic character of welfare state nationalism and regard it as a consistent ideological phenomenon?

The second goal of this volume is to examine both in inter-country comparisons and in-depth single country cases how citizenship and

nationalism change their meaning and functions in view of the processes of globalisation, European integration and immigration as well as in the context of multi-ethnic statehood. In the conventional understanding, citizenship and national belonging were bounded by the borders of the national welfare community. Scholars typically acknowledged that citizens in welfare states were fully committed to ideas and interests linked to national welfare and that the emergence and development of welfare states involved an intergenerational contract based on a firm sense among citizens that they belonged naturally together, that they had common interests, a common history of rights and duties with regard to welfare state, and that they could trust one another. Consequently, citizens were supposed to be continuously willing and able to reassure themselves that their welfare systems should exist and they had strong reasons to remain the equally entitled members of welfare based political community and that they should create a solid resistance to the retrenchment of the welfare system. However, the increasingly relevant phenomena of transnational migration, globalisation and regional integration as well as the multi-ethnicity of several welfare states have constituted a serious challenge to this conventional perspective. Despite the growing interest in the consequences of these phenomena for the cohesion and endurance of welfare states, there are still important aspects to be explored. They include, for instance, the following questions from the field of historical welfare state studies, comparative politics and political theory: Did the nation-building process which in many states corresponded to the development of the welfare state collide with the goal of the so-called multicultural integration after the welfare states were confronted with massive immigration waves from the early 1960s? Has the social citizenship been

reconciled with claims for liberality towards new cultural and ethnical minorities? Are the structures of old and established welfare states more skilled in integrating aliens into the national welfare community than the recently developed welfare states? Do the integration policies in the form of guest-worker-policies follow the general development in the expansion of the welfare state?

Accordingly, the volume has three parts. Part I deals with conceptual and theoretical normative aspects of the relationship between citizenship and welfare and nationalism and welfare. In Chapter 1, Ireneusz Paweł Karolewski explores the conceptual dimension of welfare citizenship. Karolewski claims that welfare citizenship is not equal with social citizenship, which is constructed mainly through the prism of the social policies of the state. In contrast – as argued by Karolewski – we can speak of welfare citizenship, even in the absence of social policies, since welfare citizenship can be found in each citizenship model regardless the social activity of the state. Karolewski disaggregates citizenship into three components: rights, obligations and compliance. He regards this disaggregation of citizenship as a point of departure for different generic models of citizenship such as republican, liberal and Caesarean citizenship, to which he ascribes types of welfare citizenship. In the perspective of republican citizenship, welfare is relevant vis-à-vis civic duties of the citizens. Since civic obligations are deemed necessary with regard to collectivity, republican citizenship is not about individual welfare but rather community welfare. According to Karolewski, the welfare state is a modern equivalent for the republican citizenship model, as its function is to secure citizens' material and social minimal independence, in particular in times of economic downturn and citizens' unemployment. Furthermore, Ka-

rolewski differentiates two versions of liberal welfare citizenship. In the libertarian version, citizens live in a society of atomistic individuals. Here, welfare is subject to individual choice and the state is not allowed to enforce collective welfare policies in the name of collectivity. Libertarian citizens believe in the workings of the market as an embodiment of freedom. In his context, charity plays an important role. In its social version, welfare liberal citizenship, social rights, in addition to civil and political rights, are viewed as a necessary component of citizenship. Among other things, they encompass healthcare services, social security, as well as state investment in citizens' education. Interestingly enough, this can lead to similar welfare policies as in republican welfare citizenship. Yet in the social version of liberal welfare citizenship, citizens are private holders of rights (including rights to welfare) and have at the same time minimal responsibilities if any (first and foremost taxpaying) vis-à-vis the community. Caesarean welfare citizenship stresses security politics as the major welfare concern of the state. Security politics become the basis for the new definition of welfare, as the state increasingly uses technologies of surveillance and shifts the focus from a rights-orientated citizenship to neurotic citizenship. A neurotic citizen defines welfare politics in terms of its permanent insecurity, which can only be guaranteed by the state. His/her preference for liberty and freedom becomes surpassed by his/her fears of survival in view of, for instance, organised crime and possible terrorist attacks. In this sense, welfare becomes securitised.

Chapter 2 proposes a conceptual, analytical and theoretical framework of welfare nationalism. Andrzej Marcin Suszycki regards welfare nationalism as a form of nationalism. He defines welfare nationalism at the micro level as individuals' auto-categorisations and

xeno-categorisations in terms of national distinction on the basis of national mega-narratives related to welfare, and at the meso level and macro level, as a discursive commitment of collective political or societal actors to the national narratives related to welfare. Besides, Suszycki points to the level of supranational effects of welfare nationalism, that is, the effects on the international system. As far as the ideal types of welfare nationalism are concerned, Suszycki distinguishes between “archaeological” and instrumental welfare nationalism, between strong, medium and weak levels of welfare nationalism, as well as between consistent and contextual welfare nationalism. At the theoretical level, Suszycki claims that one of the major problems, which relates to the contemporary phenomena of globalisation and regional integration, is that scholars conventionally regard a mere resistance against the transfer of sovereignty in welfare issues to a supranational level (European integration is here the most prominent example) as welfare nationalism, whereas a mere support for sovereignty transfer is automatically seen as non welfare nationalism. Suszycki asserts that we should speak of welfare nationalism only when political actors refer to specific national welfare related interests and ideas (welfare narratives) to legitimise their resistance to or, their support for, sovereignty losses in welfare issues. Besides, Suszycki maintains that the extent to which political or societal actors resort to consistent or contextual welfare nationalism mainly depends on the degree of socio-economic dependence of a country on its international environment. Furthermore, Suszycki suggests that scholars use the term welfare nationalism to describe phenomena which should not be considered as welfare nationalism, such as (welfare) regionalism or (welfare) localism. In this context, Suszycki maintains that using approaches which emulate the

characteristics of the nation-states to regionalism or other sub-state political phenomena leads to an unjustified increase of ‘welfare nationalisms’. As to the ethical assessment of welfare nationalism, Suszycki follows the theses of liberal nationalists. Therefore, he advocates others to consider welfare nationalism in democratic states as a legitimate method of maintaining the citizens’ willingness to bear the financial and social burdens needed for the welfare system to function.

Chapter 3 combines conceptual and empirical insights regarding the new global framework of citizenship and welfare nationalism. Pauli Kettunen emphasises that although globalisation and processes of regional integration have seriously challenged the foundations of national welfare states, the significance of nationalism has not diminished. Quite the contrary: beside its “traditional” forms such as protectionist or racist policies and discourses against the global mobility of capital, information, ideas, and people, nationalism has become an inherent part of the globalised economy where it appears in the concern for “our” competitiveness. Kettunen argues that this new form of welfare nationalism associated with and nourished by global economic competition led to significant changes in the nationalistic legitimisation of the nation-state as well as in the shaping of political and social identities and in notions of citizenship. Kettunen stresses that even the Nordic welfare states were profoundly transformed by this new form of welfare nationalism. Furthermore, Kettunen claims that –in the case of EU member states –focusing on globalisation not just as a national challenge but as a communitarian European challenge implies Euro-nationalist agenda-settings fulfilling the imperatives of “our European” competitiveness. As to social citizenship, Kettunen argues that the Myrdalian post-World-War-II visions of national and worldwide “cre-

ated harmony”, with their optimistic confidence in “enlightened citizenry”, have been replaced by the concepts of “corporate citizenship” and –in the European context –“social partnership”. While “corporate citizenship” emerged as an affirmative response to demands for “social responsibility” in enterprises and demands to adopt a “stakeholder” instead of a narrow “shareholder” perspective, hence “social partnership”, as a response to the critique of neo-liberalist globalisation, has reflected an attempt by the EU to engage business companies in a strategy aimed at European competitiveness, based on knowledge, relatively high social norms, and trade union participation. Kettunen asserts that both concepts are characteristic of the recent discourse in which the ideas and practices of collective negotiations and agreements are discussed from the point of view of their compatibility with the new needs of national or European competitiveness.

Part II deals with welfare citizenship and welfare nationalism in a comparative perspective in the context of multi-ethnic or multilingual statehood and against the background of increasing immigration flows. It makes clear that, first, there is generally a strong causality between ethnic heterogeneity and distributional conflicts, and, second, that communitarian thinking is becoming stronger the more the welfare system is exposed to internalisation, globalisation and regional integration. In Chapter 4, Daniel Béland and André Lecours focus on the relationship between sub-state nationalism and welfare-state politics in Belgium, Canada, and the United Kingdom. Béland and Lecours claim that sub-state nationalism can affect welfare state development in two related ways. First, nationalist actors can reshape the social policy agenda while promoting new policy alternatives. Second, nationalist mobilisation can reinforce the institutional autonomy of their region

in the field of social policy governance. Béland and Lecours stress that sub-state nationalism in Flanders, Québec, and Scotland involves a social policy dimension and the nationalist movements strongly affect policy agendas at both the state and the sub-state levels, albeit in different ways and to varying degrees. In Belgium, the dominant Flemish nationalist discourse stresses the belief that wealthy Flanders is subsidising poor Wallonia through a country-wide social insurance system. As a consequence, Flemish nationalism has questioned the legitimacy of the federal government to regulate the social insurance system, and –increasingly –also the very meaning of solidarity between Flanders and Wallonia, transforming the call for welfare-state decentralisation into an unavoidable political issue across the country. In contrast to Flemish nationalism, Québécois nationalism in Canada has been an important agenda setter in social policy as it has contributed to the implementation of many distinctive social programmes –compared with the English-speaking Canadian provinces –and it has put pressure on the Canadian federal government to keep up with its progressive family policies. Also in Scotland, policies enacted in the name of ‘national distinctiveness’ have had an impact on state-level policy debates on issues like the elimination of up-front tuition fees for university students and the establishment of free personal care for the elderly. Recently, the Scottish nationalist discourse has increasingly made the case that Scottish independence would not only serve to achieve greater social justice in Scotland but also to generate new wealth. In sum, social policy has factored into nationalist mobilisation in all three cases insofar as Québécois, Scottish, and Flemish nationalism have pushed for welfare-state decentralisation. However, whereas the cases of Québec and Scottish nationalism are similar, as both pushed for equality and

redistributive justice in Canada and the United Kingdom, Flemish nationalism has rejected equality and redistributive justice in Belgium.

In Chapters 5, Patrick Emmenegger and Romana Careja claim that welfare-state nationalism has been permanently present, directly or indirectly, in the justification of social benefits schemes: In some cases the policy of defence or promotion of a nation was used as a reason for the creation of welfare entitlement schemes, in other cases welfare standards have been used to define a nation and rally the citizens in its defence. Emmenegger and Careja argue that in Western Europe a certain level of nationalism continues to influence the allocation of welfare benefits, and nationalism becomes most visible when the issue of welfare benefits is raised with respect to the category of 'migrants'. In this regard, they argue that current reforms in the area of migration and social policy in West European states have been inspired by the popular belief in these states that individuals from poorer countries are induced to migrate to richer countries by the wish and expectation of social benefits. Emmenegger and Careja emphasise that, since voters in affluent countries do not perceive immigrants as a part of the national community, they increasingly reject the idea of providing immigrants with social benefits even in times of need. As a reaction to the voters' anti-immigrant attitude, European governments inhibit immigration, reduce the welfare entitlements of asylum seekers and retrench social protection schemes that were believed to provide a disproportionate amount of benefits to immigrants. Emmenegger and Careja substantiate their arguments by presenting survey data on the deservingness of different societal groups and a review of policy reforms in the cross-section of migration policy and social policy in France, Germany and Great Britain.

Part III includes three in-depth single country case studies on Norway, Denmark and Ireland both in a historical and more contemporary perspective. In all three cases, the authors suggest that we deal with expanding and boundary-making welfare nationalism and with the politics of making welfare citizenship more difficult to be achieved by immigrants, hence the question of a longer (Denmark) or shorter (Norway and Ireland) history of welfare-state development does not play any significant role. Besides, the more recent developments in Denmark and Norway also starkly contrast with the earlier ideology of multicultural integration. In Chapter 6, Grete Brochmann examines how the tradition of strong egalitarian social citizenship governance, which had been a fundamental element of the nation-building process in Norway after World War II, was reconciled from the early 1970s onwards with claims for the integration of immigrants into the welfare state. Brochmann emphasises that the political elites of the country assumed that against the background of the relatively short history of the Norwegian nationhood their political legitimacy could only be secured through the ethnic Norwegian people. Besides, Brochmann points to the fact that Norway indeed had no experience in handling the phenomenon of immigration. That is why, as Brochmann argues, the immigrants with legal residency status were given immediate access to welfare rights by and large at par with Norwegian nationals, hence they were intentionally included into the social component of the citizenship, whereas at the same time they were perceived as culturally too different and alienated to be able to belong to the Norwegian nationhood and not included into the political component of citizenship. According to Brochmann, even recent developments such as the new Citizenship Law from 2005 with the reinforcement of the “single

citizenship”-policy demonstrate that immigrants are not targets for the otherwise ongoing and continuous nationhood formation.

In Chapter 7, Heidi Vad Jønsson deals in a historical perspective with the Danish immigration and integration policies from the 1960s to the early 1980s. Jønsson points to the fact that –in contrast to Norway –the foundations for these policies had already been laid in the late 19th and early 20th century as the responsibility for foreigners’ social situation, especially the protection of foreign workers from exploitation, was placed within the framework of the Danish state. Jønsson demonstrates that this responsibility remained with the state and the integration policy, in the form of guest-worker policy, to a great extent followed the general development in the expansion of the Danish welfare state and immigrants were granted equal social rights to the native Danes. However, since the middle of the 1970s, as it was recognised that the “temporary” guest-workers intended to stay in Denmark on a permanent basis and the unemployment rate of immigrants began to become higher than that of native Danes, the political and societal discourse began to consider immigrants as a ‘social problem’. The solution to this problem was seen in a comprehensive political and social inclusion of immigrants into the Danish welfare state as well as their societal adjustment, especially through their more active participation in the labour market. The policy of political and social equalisation of immigrants to the native Danes was continued in the 1980s with a gradual shift towards the enforcement of immigrants’ respect for the Danish norms, values and standards –a policy which has also characterised the Danish policy towards immigrants in the recent decade.

In Chapter 8, Bryan Fanning examines contemporary Irish immigration and integration policy against the background of the

Irish membership in the European Union, the interests of the national economy defined in neo-liberal terms, and the recent mass immigration to Ireland both from new EU member states and non-EU countries. Drawing on Joppke's approach, Fanning claims that the neo-liberal Irish welfare state coerces its own citizens into releasing their self-producing and self-regulating capacities as an alternative to the redistribution and public welfare that it does not deliver. Towards immigrants, the Irish welfare state follows the logic of "civic integration", which assumes that migrants and immigrants are responsible for their own social integration. In this sense, civic integration is the equivalent on the part of immigrants to the workfare policies that also the Irish population is subjected to in the context of the shrinking welfare state. Besides, Fanning argues that the Irish government –like the governments of many other EU member states –practiced welfare ethnic nepotism as a response to the challenge of immigration. For instance, in 2004, the birth-right to Irish citizenship for immigrant children born in Ireland, i.e. the *Ius Soli* principle, was removed. The change towards a *Ius Sanguine* basis of establishing rights to citizenship was accompanied by the weakening of social rights of immigrants. In 2004 the Irish government curtailed the welfare entitlements of new immigrants, also those arriving from other EU member states. In 2006 however, the Irish government had to acknowledge that EU law imposed reciprocal obligations on EU member states to recognise the welfare entitlements of citizens from other EU countries resident in Ireland. Consequently, the group most seriously affected by the new welfare stratifications remained the non-EU migrants. In this context Fanning asserts that EU member states extend cosmopolitan reciprocal welfare

altruism towards one another and welfare ethnic nepotism towards citizens of non-EU member states.

In conclusion, this volume on the one hand makes clear that we should examine the terms welfare citizenship and welfare nationalism as complex and multi-dimensional phenomena. On the other hand we should see them as not complete phenomena, hence subject to change. Such an approach might be a promising basis for a conceptual and theoretical as well as empirical explanatory framework.

Still, this volume leaves a number of important questions to be approached in further research on the topic. These problems include, for instance, the relationship between the variations in the historical development of different welfare states and the content and nature of their contemporary welfare citizenship and welfare nationalism. Besides, future research might discover surprising insights on the more recent discursive change which has been brought about by the demographical tendencies and labour demand in a number of West European states where immigrants after having been treated for decades as a “burden” on welfare are perceived as the potential saviours of the welfare systems. Another problem, which against the focus of the mainstream research on Western states has occupied marginal attention so far, is the phenomenon of welfare citizenship and welfare nationalism in non-Western states.

Part I

Welfare Citizenship and Welfare Nationalism: Conceptual and theoretical considerations

Conceptualising Welfare Citizenship

Ireneusz Paweł Karolewski

The goal of this chapter is to elucidate the relationship between citizenship and welfare by introducing the concept of welfare citizenship. In the following section I will explore the conceptual dimension of citizenship, which comprises the (parsimonious) semantic core of citizenship and disaggregates citizenship into three components of rights, obligations and compliance. Following this, I will use this disaggregation of citizenship as a point of departure for the models of citizenship. I will use each of these components of citizenship to construct generic models of citizenship, to which I will ascribe types of welfare citizenship. These three models of citizenship include the republican, the liberal and the caesarean citizenship.

What is citizenship?

A minimal definition would delineate citizenship as a *shared membership in a political community*.¹ This definition is insensitive regarding, for instance, the type of territoriality, since citizenship may be realised in smaller territories of the cities or larger territories of nation-states or

¹ Cf. Stewart, Angus (1995) 'Two Conceptions of Citizenship', *British Journal of Sociology* 46, no. 1, 63–78.

even federations.² In addition, this parsimonious definition does not tell us anything about the *substance* of citizenship, but relates it to the political authority and the relationship among citizens by stressing the political nature of the membership. Consequently, it leaves the question of who belongs to a polity unanswered by treating it as a variable.³

We can map citizenship along three criteria of rights, obligations and compliance. These three criteria are components of citizenship. They can assume different forms, different scopes, different ranges as well as different degrees. In this sense, they are variables and should be viewed neither as constants nor as teleological categories which need to be fulfilled in order to claim the 'genuine' citizenship.

The advantage of such a disaggregative and synthetic conception of citizenship is that by using rights, obligations and compliance we can examine any type of citizenship irrespective of its territorial range, its cultural background or its substance. Therefore, this approach is on the one hand synthetic, combining different aspects of citizenship as its components, and disaggregative on the other as we can examine the components of citizenship separately, thus disaggregating it along different analytical lines.

The components of citizenship are seldom equally highlighted in the conceptions of citizenship. Some stress the relevance of rights, whereas others focus on obligations or compliance. Therefore, we can speak, for instance, of a rights-orientated model of citizenship or ob-

2 Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon highlight the original meaning of 'citizen', relating it to the dwellers of medieval cities which were situated outside the feudal relations of servitude. Fraser, Nancy and Gordon, Linda (1998) 'Contract versus Charity: Why is there no social citizenship in the United States?', in Gershon, Shafir (ed.), *The Citizenship Debates*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 113–127.

3 Cf. Thomas, Elaine R. (2002) 'Who Belongs? Competing Conceptions of Political Membership', *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 3, 323–349.

ligation-centred model of citizenship. However, the focus on one of the components in various citizenship conceptions does not imply that the other two components are analytically irrelevant; they are merely secondary regarding a specific model of citizenship.

Citizenship components: Rights, Obligations, and Compliance

Rights are an essential component of almost every conception of citizenship. Historically derived from the Roman concept of citizenship, in which citizenship meant mainly a legal status, rights are regarded as entitlements or privileges. In the legal sense, rights empower citizens to resolve conflicts before courts. Therefore, citizenship protects citizens from arbitrary political decisions and renders them free, placing freedom at the heart of citizenship. Citizens can sue in courts and invoke a law that grants them rights. In the modern version of citizenship, T. H. Marshall's approach presents an apogee of the rights-accentuated citizenship. He argues that citizenship is a unified pool of various types of citizenship rights including civil, political and social rights.⁴

The rights-orientated conception of citizenship is underpinned by two principles. It is the principle of legality, which is associated with the judiciability of rights in the case of their violation. The other underlying principle of citizenship is the equality of status, which means that citizens cannot be excluded from entitlements enjoyed by other citizens. While many social inequalities and differences between individuals are impossible to annihilate, it is citizenship that equalizes individuals by bestowing the same entitlements upon them, thus having

4 Marshall, T. H. (1992/1950) *Citizenship and social class*, London: Pluto Press.

the power to politically mitigate class divisions. The equality of status in citizenship means that all types of citizenship rights are connected or unified. However, it is not the equality of the outcome, but rather the equality of status with regard to the rights of citizenship as entitlements. This amounts to legal equality and is closely linked to the concept of liberty.

However, the rights-accentuated approach to citizenship can take an alternative turn than the equality of status. The special group rights approach points in the opposite direction. It argues in favour of the recognition of differences in status for minority groups in diverse societies in order to achieve the equality of the outcome.⁵ Since in their account, the equal treatment of individuals (in the sense of equal status) is 'difference-blind', it tends to perpetuate oppression or disadvantages.⁶ In this perspective, the procedural equality of status does not result in the substantive equality of the outcome. This position holds that a more substantive equality cannot be achieved without recognising and valuing differences alongside individual rights. Consequently, the pursuit of equality should involve differential rights on the basis of group membership to reduce potential vulnerability and disadvantage from majorities.⁷

Irrespective of the aim of the citizenship rights (equality of status or equality of outcome), rights are believed to be the central regulative in-

5 Cf. Barry, Brian (2002) *Culture and Equality*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, esp. 91–103.

6 Taylor, Charles (1992) 'The politics of recognition', in Amy Gutmann (ed.), *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 25–73; Kymlicka, Will (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

7 Cf. Offe, Claus (1998) 'Homogeneity and Constitutional Democracy: Coping with Identity Conflicts through Group Rights', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 6, no. 2, 113–141; Modood, Tariq (1997) 'Introduction', in Tariq Modood and Pnina Werbner (eds.), *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe*. London: Zed Press, 1–25.

strument in achieving citizenship. Traditionally, in liberal approaches to citizenship, rights reflect the ontological priority of the individual, and link the individual to a political community. At the same time, rights exclude non-members from the community by not ascribing these rights to them.⁸ Therefore, rights integrate members of the community and 'close' the community socially.

Next to rights we identify obligations as a further component of citizenship. The main thrust of the obligation-based component of citizenship is that civic virtues such as solidarity, loyalty or trust are necessary features of being a citizen. There are two basic arguments in favour of this component. *First*, there is an ethical understanding of citizenship as moral obligation and virtue. Its point of departure is frequently a critique of a liberal society and selfhood which are supposed to be remedied, for instance with the Aristotelian conception of citizenship as civic friendship.⁹ In this sense, citizens are expected to demonstrate altruistic features, since they are concerned with the welfare of their friends for *their* sake, not merely for their own. The general bonds of civic friendship are a basis for a political community whose goal is to fulfil civic obligations towards each other.¹⁰ *Second*, beyond this virtue-accentuated and ethical account of citizenship, we can discern an instrumental view of civic obligations. This position argues first and foremost that potential threats to citizens' welfare and democracy exist whenever low levels of participation, trust and soli-

8 Cf. Haltern, Ulrich (2005) 'Das Janusgesicht der Unionsbürgerschaft', Swiss Political Science Review 11, no. 1, 87–117, esp. 90.

9 Cf. for instance Schwarzenbach, Sibyl A. (1996) 'On Civic Friendship', Ethics 107, no. 1, 97–128; Sherman, Nancy (1987) 'Aristotle on Friendship and the Shared Life', Philosophy and Phenomenological Research 47, no. 4, 589–613.

10 Cf. Bean, Clive (2001) 'Testing the precepts of republican political theory against citizen attitudes, beliefs and practices', Journal of Sociology 37, no. 2, 141–155.

parity occur, thus endangering the existence of the republic.¹¹ In this sense, civic fulfilment is not the ultimate goal but rather the survival of the republic. Of course, these two republican positions cannot be easily disconnected, since the existence of a republic is a prerequisite for the civic fulfilment through obligations in the citizenship.

In contemporary obligations-centred approaches to citizenship, deliberative norms assume a particularly outstanding position.¹² Most of the contemporary versions of obligation-based citizenship put an emphasis on deliberation processes and communicative norms, rather than demanding civic obligations in the form of the communal ethic of care or the obligation to participate fully in public life. Meanwhile, these communicative norms are regarded equally (or even more) relevant than many other conceptions of civic obligation, above all in their function as potential solutions to some of our most urgent contemporary political problems.¹³ In this perspective, activating the deliberative capabilities of citizens becomes a political priority. Citizens must learn to give their fellow citizens (and expect to receive from them) reasonable accounts of their political preferences and be ready to accept the power of better argument relating to common goods.¹⁴ Communicative norms are therefore norms of truth- and consensus-seeking, transferable to any of the deliberative settings such as legisla-

11 Cf. Pettit, Philip (1997) *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Skinner, Quentin, (1990) 'Republican ideal of political liberty', in Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner and Maurizio Viroli (eds.), *Machiavelli and Republicanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 293–309.

12 Mansbridge, Jane et al. (2006), 'Norms of Deliberation: An Inductive Study', *Journal of Public Deliberation* 2, no. 1, 1–47.

13 Vetlesen, Arne Johan (1995) 'Hannah Arendt, Habermas and the republican tradition', *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 21, no. 1, 1–16; Honneth, Axel (1991) 'The Limits of Liberalism: On the Political-Ethical Discussion on Communitarianism', *Thesis Eleven* 28, no. 1, 18–34.

14 Habermas, Jürgen (1995) 'Reconciliation through the Public use of Reason: Remarks on John Rawls's Political Liberalism', *Journal of Philosophy* 92, no. 3, 109–131.

tive sessions, court proceedings, and administrative hearings, as well as non-governmental associations.¹⁵ These deliberative settings are rule-free, since the citizens' goal is not to exercise power *over* each other, but rather to exercise power *with* each other. This discourse on ethics, grounded in communicative norms, can be derived from the Aristotelian concept of civic friendship, even though such ethics can be practiced for instrumental reasons as well as ethical ones.¹⁶

Beyond the matrix of rights and obligations we identify a third component of citizenship, which is compliance. In this perspective, citizens are also defined as the subjects of political authority. This perspective merges the concept of the citizen as a free person and as the subject of political authority with an accentuation of the latter. In this sense, the condition of liberty can only be reached when citizens are subject to political rule, which guarantees their survival in view of antagonistic political conflicts.¹⁷ Yet it does not necessarily mean an arbitrary power or domination. Central to this understanding of citizenship is the relationship between the citizenship and the political authority, where the interventions of the political authority can be legitimate and reasonable. This legitimacy generates political rule according to the collective interests of citizens, which is not simply domination. In this perspective, citizens possess enough rationality to understand the ne-

15 Carson, Lyn (2006), 'Improving Public Deliberative Practice: A Comparative Analysis of Two Italian Citizens' Jury Projects in 2006', *Journal of Public Deliberation* 2, no. 1, 1–18; Levine, Peter et al. (2005) 'Future Directions for Public Deliberation', *Journal of Public Deliberation* 1, no. 1, 1–13.

16 Cf. Habermas, Jürgen (1992) *Faktizität und Geltung: Beiträge zur Diskurstheorie des Rechts und des demokratischen Rechtsstaats*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp; Flynn, Jeffrey (2004) 'Communicative Power in Habermas's Theory of Democracy', *European Journal of Political Theory* 3, no. 4, 433–454.

17 Schmitt, Carl (1996/1932) *The concept of the political*, translated and with an introduction by George Schwab, Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Rasch, William (2000) 'Conflict as a Vocation: Carl Schmitt and the Possibility of Politics', *Theory, Culture & Society* 17, no. 6, 1–32.

cessity of compliance to political authority, without which there would be no civilized existence and therefore no citizenship. Citizens have the power to choose their leaders, and the leaders in turn are obligated to consider citizens' welfare. Therefore, the goal of citizenship for the citizens is to be ruled, otherwise societies will end up in chaos and anarchy, which would endanger the survival of the very citizens. The focus of this component of citizenship shifts towards the notion of power sovereignty and away from the individual rights and obligations of citizens. However, it does not necessitate that citizens degenerate into slaves, serfs or subjects of authoritarian power. The political ruler can possess legitimacy, since he is either elected by the citizens or the political decisions are accepted by them. Discussing citizenship as compliance relates rather to a question of final political authority, which does not reside with individual citizens.¹⁸

Citizenship as compliance becomes particularly relevant in the context of security-focused policies of the contemporary state. Inspired by the writings of Michel Foucault, surveillance practices of record-keeping and monitoring behaviour can be seen as defining features of modernity and citizenship.¹⁹ Considering the emergence of 'disciplinary technologies' the notion of panopticism assumes that citizens are never certain if they are being observed at any one particular moment by the state. Therefore, the rational citizen seeking to avoid punishment will act as if s/he were the object of constant surveillance.²⁰ This

18 Cf. Pranger, Robert J. (1966) 'An Explanation for Why Final Political Authority is Necessary', *American Political Science Review* 60, no. 4, 994–997.

19 Foucault, Michel (1977) *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*, London: Allen Lane.

20 Cf. Scholz, John T. and Pinney, Neil (1995) 'Duty, Fear, and Tax Compliance: The Heuristic Basis of Citizenship Behaviour', *American Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 2, 490–512.

theoretical perspective has recently been reinvigorated as a result of the growth in new communications technology and data-processing systems.²¹ It stresses that the state treats security measures encroaching on civil rights as largely negligible in the face of indeterminable danger for citizens' lives.²² It results in a shift from the category of civil, political and social citizenship with its emphasis on rights and participation, to the citizenship of the risk society. In this sense, citizenship is regarded as a function of 'risk society', which is associated with the dangers of nuclear catastrophes, global warming, regional financial crises and terrorist attacks.²³ As a consequence, compliance and obedience to authority are viewed as grounded in an enlightened and informed choice of citizens, rather than from state propaganda and manipulation.

Three models of citizenship

The three models of citizenship are ideal types in the Weberian sense. They do not exist in pure form, exactly as other typological categories. Even though our conception of citizenship includes all three components (rights, obligations, compliance), we can identify generic models of citizenship based on the emphasis of each of the components. Our three generic models of citizenship therefore correspond to the components of citizenship of obligations, rights, and compliance, producing the republican, the liberal and the Caesarean model of citizen-

21 Coleman, Roy (2003) 'Images from a Neoliberal City: The State, Surveillance and Social Control', *Critical Criminology* 12, no. 1, 21–42.

22 Bell, Colleen (2006) 'Surveillance Strategies and Populations at Risk: Biopolitical Governance in Canada's National Security Policy', *Security Dialogue* 37, no. 2, 147–165; Henman, Paul (2004) 'Targeted!: Population Segmentation, Electronic Surveillance and Governing the Unemployed in Australia', *International Sociology* 19, no. 2, 173–191.

23 Cf. Beck, Ulrich (2002) 'The Terrorist Threat: World Risk Society Revisited', *Theory, Culture & Society* 19, no. 4, 39–55; Beck, Ulrich (2003) 'The Silence of Words: On Terror and War', *Security Dialogue* 34, no. 3, 255–267.

ship. Each model stresses a different component while maintaining the other components, even though these assume weak values.

The republican model of citizenship is based on the Aristotelian ideal of the citizen as a *zoon politikon*, the political man for whom politics is a means of leading a good life in the republic.²⁴ In contrast, the liberal tradition of citizenship draws strongly from the writings of John Locke and David Hume²⁵, according to whom citizens are individuals whose primary concern is not realising any human ideal of good but, on the contrary, lies in the realising of their interests and passions.²⁶ In this conception of citizenship, politics is only an instrument for guaranteeing the realisation of citizens' individual interests.²⁷ The third model is Caesarean citizenship, the roots of which can be found in the writings of Thomas Hobbes and, in its modern version, in the works of Carl Schmitt.²⁸ Being a citizen means to think of politics in categories of friend and enemy. The Caesarean citizen delineates politics as a perpetual struggle against enemies, be it internal (Hobbes) or external

24 Aristotle, *Politics* 1253 a I; Logs, Isaac (1897) 'The Political Philosophy of Aristotle', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 10, 313–333; Coby, Patrick (1986) 'Aristotle's Four Conceptions of Politics', *Political Research Quarterly* 39, 480–503.

25 Some authors regard also Baruch Spinoza as a co-founder of liberalism, while others disagree. Cooper, Julie (2006) 'Freedom of Speech and Philosophical Citizenship in Spinoza's *Theologico-Political Treatise*', *Law, Culture and the Humanities* 2, 91–114. That the works of John Stuart Mill were essential for the development of the liberal doctrine appears, however, to be consensual. See Stimson, Shannon C and Milgate, Murray (2001) 'Mill, Liberty and the Facts of Life', *Political Studies* 49, 231–248.

26 Locke, John (1988/1739) *Two treatises of government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Hume, David (1992/1739), *Treatise of Human Nature*, New York: Prometheus Books; Kohn, Margaret (2006) 'The Passion of Liberalism', *Political Theory* 34, no. 4, 499–505.

27 Hume, David, *Treatise of Human Nature*, 534ff; Finlay, Christopher J. (2004). 'Hume's Theory of Civil Society', *European Journal of Political Theory* 3, no. 4, 369–391.

28 Hobbes, Thomas (1996/1651) *Leviathan, or the matter, form and power of a commonwealth, ecclesiastical and civil*, edited with an introduction by J.C. A. Gashin. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Schmitt, Carl (1996/1932) *The concept of the political*, translated and with an introduction by George Schwab. Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

enemies (Schmitt). Citizenship is thus about survival, security and the effectiveness of political decisions. Politics is therefore ubiquitous, although in a different manner than in the republican model. The citizen does not realise any human good, nor does s/he pursue her/his purely private interests. Rather, the citizen authorises the Caesar, a political leader with power, who guarantees the survival of the individual and the nation in a hostile environment with foes. Therefore, the citizen must not only be aware of enemies but also be organised within a homogenous nation aware of the danger, thus allowing for unanimous decisions.

Republican citizenship

The republican approach to citizenship focuses on the duties of the citizens in a democratic community. On the one hand, it follows the idea that political participation is the way of realisation of human good, since only political participation allows for an active liberty – that is, freedom to make laws that one can live by.²⁹ On the other hand, there is a clear moral prescription for the citizen to politically participate in the affairs of the community. The citizen is primarily a ‘holder of duties’ vis-à-vis the polity, as the holding of political office is regarded as a necessary burden resulting from the republican aversion to a permanent political class. Therefore, republican citizenship stresses the obli-

29 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1999/1762) *Du contrat social ou principes du droit politique*. Paris: GF Flammarion; Sandel, Michael J. (1999) ‘Liberalism and Republicanism: Friends or Foes? A Reply to Richard Dagger’, *The Review of Politics* 61, no. 2, 209–214; Colish, Marcia L. (1971) ‘The Idea of Liberty in Machiavelli’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 32, no. 3, 323–350; Shaw, Carl K.Y. (2003) ‘Quentin Skinner on the Proper Meaning of Republican Liberty’, *Politics* 23, no. 1, 46–56.

gation component of all citizenship components (rights, obligations, compliance) the most.³⁰

The deliberative theory of democracy offers a post-modern, although curtailed, version of republicanism, based on the obligation component of citizenship. The essential element of the deliberative democracy theory is the argumentative exchange between equal citizens who engage in consensus building.³¹ Deliberation rests on the principle of a continuous debate between citizens in which only the power of argument is expected to count. The debate should be free, open and fair, and it ought to guarantee equal access for every interested citizen. Deliberative theory excludes voting procedures, since citizens should debate until they reach a consensus.³² The only way to influence the political outcome is through the debate in which only better arguments succeed. Those arguments must not, however, be based on selfish preferences, since the goal of deliberation is not only to solve common problems but also, often primarily, to find what the public good is. Correspondingly, the arguments ought to relate to the common good and public interest.³³ In this deliberative perspective, the model of citizenship is active, participatory and citizens should be committed to the *res publica*.³⁴ In this sense, citizens are obliged to share discursive

30 Dagger, Richard K. (1977) 'What is Political Obligation?', *American Political Science Review* 71, no. 1, 86–94; cf. also Segall, Shlomi (2005), 'Political Participation as an Engine of Social Solidarity: A Sceptical View', *Political Studies* 53, 362–378.

31 Cohen, Joshua (1989) 'Deliberation and democratic legitimacy', in Alan Hamlin and Philip Pettit (eds.), *The good polity: normative analysis of the state*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 17–34, esp. 74.

32 Fabre, Cécile (2003) 'To Deliberate or to Discourse: Is that the Question?', *European Journal of Political Theory* 2, no. 1, 107–115; Scholz, Sally J. (2002) 'Dyadic Deliberation versus Discursive Democracy', *Political Theory* 30, no. 5, 746–750.

33 Cf. Manin, Bernard (1987) 'On Legitimacy and Political Deliberation', *Political Theory* 15, no. 3, 338–368.

34 Vitale, Denise (2006) 'Between deliberative and participatory democracy: A contribution on Habermas', *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 32, no. 6, 739–766.

ethics, rather than sacrifice their lives.³⁵ In addition, the deliberative conception of citizenship hopes for the integrative effects of deliberation, particularly in divided societies.³⁶ Although unmistakably republican, deliberative theory cuts down the role of the citizen to a communicative process, whilst putting aside issues of voting, the holding of political office and obligations to the polity.³⁷ Nevertheless, it is, as is the entire republican tradition of citizenship, driven by the logic of shared obligations, from which moral resources, societal integration and collective identity are drawn.³⁸

35 Cf. Flynn, Jeffrey (2004) 'Communicative Power in Habermas's Theory of Democracy', *European Journal of Political Theory* 3, no. 4, 433–454; Yack, Bernard (2006) 'Rhetoric and Public Reasoning: An Aristotelian Understanding of Political Deliberation', *Political Theory* 34, no. 4, 417–438; Shockley, Kenneth (2006) 'On Participation and Membership in Discursive Practices', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 36, no. 1, 67–85; cf. also Buchstein, Hubertus (1995) 'Die Zumutungen der Demokratie. Von der normativen Theorie des Bürgers zur institutionell vermittelten Präferenzkompetenz', in Klaus von Beyme and Claus Offe (eds.), *Politische Theorien in der Ära der Transformation*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 295–324.

36 Dryzek, John S. (2005) 'Deliberative Democracy in Divided Societies: Alternatives to Agonism and Analgesia', *Political Theory* 33, no. 2, 218–242; Bohman, James (2003) 'Reflexive public deliberation: Democracy and the limits of pluralism', *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 29, no. 1, 85–105.

37 Epstein, Richard A. (1988) 'Modern Republicanism: or the Flight from Substance', *Yale Law Journal* 97, no. 8, 1633–1650.

38 Cf. Habermas, Jürgen (1995) 'Reconciliation through the Public use of Reason: Remarks on John Rawls's Political Liberalism', *Journal of Philosophy* 92, no. 3, 109–131. However, some republican authors see limitations of public deliberation in respect of cultural conflicts. Cf. Bohman, James (2003) 'Reflexive public deliberation: Democracy and the limits of pluralism', *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 29, no. 1, 85–105. In this sense, public deliberation would require a substantive dimension apart from the purely procedural propagated by Jürgen Habermas. However, giving public deliberation more substance shifts it again from procedural universalism towards republicanism. Cf. Gilbert, Pablo (2005) 'The substantive dimension of deliberative practical rationality', *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 31, no. 2, 185–210.

Liberal citizenship

The liberal model of citizenship is rights-based, in contrast to the obligations-orientated republican citizenship.³⁹ This results from a paradigm in which individuals are guided in their actions by private interests and passions, with politics being just one area besides economy, religion, culture, science etc. Public space does not possess any moral supremacy since political power comes into being by the voluntary decision of rational creatures.⁴⁰ The government function is neither to fulfil a supreme human good nor are citizens' actions subordinated to the shared public interest. The elected government's main role is to deter citizens' transgressions of other citizens' rights. The gravest of these are offences against individual freedom and property.⁴¹ Any number of individuals can exercise political power collectively by electing a government and replacing it any time they please. The political community entrusts political power to a government consisting of deputies for the people – trustees who can be discarded if they fail their electors.⁴² The government can therefore be dissolved when the governors neglect their tasks or act contrary to the will of the citizens.⁴³ The po-

39 Cf. Patrick, Morag (2000) 'Liberalism, rights and recognition', *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 26, no. 5, 28–46; Scorza, Jason A. (2004) 'Liberal Citizenship and Civic Friendship', *Political Theory* 32, no. 1, 85–108.

40 Cf. Riley, Patrick (1976) 'Locke on Voluntary Agreement and Political Power', *Political Research Quarterly* 29, 136–145; Van Leeuwen, Bart (2006) 'Social Attachments as conditions for the condition of the good life?: A critique of Will Kymlicka's moral monism', *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 32, no. 3, 401–428.

41 Locke, John (1988/1690) *Two treatises of government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, esp. Chapter V; Larmore, Charles (1990) 'Political Liberalism', *Political Theory* 18, no. 3, 339–360; Waldron, Jeremy (1987) 'Theoretical Foundations of Liberalism', *Philosophical Quarterly* 37, no. 147, 127–150.

42 Cf. McSwain, Cynthia J. (1985) 'Administrators and Citizenship: The Liberalist Legacy of the Constitution', *Administration and Society* 17, no. 2, 131–148.

43 Locke, John (1988/1690), *Two treatises of government*, esp. Chapter XIX; Seliger, Martin (1963) 'Locke's Theory of Revolutionary Action', *Political Research Quarterly* 16, 548–568; Langston, Thomas S. and Lind, Michael E. (1991) 'John Locke and the Limits of Presidential Prerogative', *Polity* 24, no. 1, 49–68.

litical community comes into being by the consent of every individual by way of the social contract, which has to be constructed in a manner fair to everybody. Against this background, citizens by and large enjoy *passive liberty*, which is expressed in terms of the rule of law. In other words, citizens are not necessarily interested in participation but rather in an undisturbed accumulation of wealth. To put it provocatively, a liberal citizen is likely to be more interested in property than in democracy, as opposed to his republican counterparts. A liberal citizen could even choose to live under a despotic regime but under the rule of law – one which allows him the freedom to advance his affairs in private and guarantees the security of his property – rather than to live in a democracy accompanied by insecurity and disorder.⁴⁴

The role of the citizen as an individual is merely one among many.⁴⁵ S/he is an economic creature living in a market-based society, the logic of which is competition.⁴⁶ The government seems to be merely a tool to enable citizens' cooperation. This guarantees the security of contracts, reduces transaction costs and offers information to the participants in the market who suffer from the dilemmas of collective action.⁴⁷ Still, liberal citizens are not equal in the market. On the one hand, some individuals lose due to competition, and therefore lean towards the social taming of the market by the state. On the other hand, there are winners in the market competition who in turn view themselves primarily as

44 Ignatieff, Michael, 'The myth of citizenship', 61; Barry, Brian (1973) 'Liberalism and Want-Satisfaction: A Critique of John Rawls', *Political Theory* 1, no. 2, 134–153.

45 Moon, J. Donald (2003) 'Liberalism, Autonomy, and Moral Pluralism', *Political Theory* 31, no. 1, 125–135.

46 Cf. Pettit, Philip (2006) 'Freedom in the market', *Politics, Philosophy and Economics* 5, no. 2, 131–149.

47 Cf. North, Douglass C. (1993) 'What do we mean by rationality?', *Public Choice* 77, 159–162; Kato, Junko (1996) 'Institutions and Rationality in Politics – Three Varieties of Neo-Institutionalists', *British Journal of Political Science* 26, no. 4, 553–582.

taxpayers. These two major roles are decisive for the self-definition of individuals as citizens in the liberal model of citizenship. In the *libertarian version* of this model, individuals are interested in a small government that acts effectively with regard to the tasks entrusted to it. This is because an expanding government functions beyond the necessary minimum, potentially endangering the freedom of citizens. In his radical theory of justice, Robert Nozick points out that the redistribution of resources by the state in a free society without the consent of everybody inevitably leads to enslavement, as taxpayers are forced against their will to contribute to the welfare of strangers.⁴⁸ There is, therefore, an imminent threat from government to citizens' freedom, meaning that it is in citizens' best interests to keep the government at bay. For this reason, the government is only allowed to execute actions necessary for the production of common goods, which cannot be produced individually. Since the expansion of government tasks means higher taxes, citizens tend towards reducing the costs of state activity, particularly since the government is not indispensable for the functioning of the society. As David Hume put it "though government be an invention very advantageous, and even in some circumstances absolutely necessary to mankind; it is not necessary in all circumstances, nor is it impossible for men to preserve society for some time, without having recourse to such an invention".⁴⁹

48 Nozick, Robert (1974) *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Nozick, Robert (1973) 'Distributive Justice', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 3, no. 1, 45–126; Cf. also Nock, Christopher John (1992), 'Equal Freedom and Unequal Property: A critique of Nozick's Libertarian Case', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 25, no. 4, 677–695.

49 Hume, David, *Treatise of Human Nature*, 539.

Caesarean citizenship

Whereas republican citizenship aims for the common good, and the liberal citizenship highlights the individual's rights and interests, the Caesarean model of citizenship is regarded by its protagonists as a remedy against the decline of political order. Caesarean citizenship is based on the idea of the self-preservation of individuals who construct the state or/and acknowledge its total authority for the sake of protection against enemies. In the writings of Thomas Hobbes, the peace-keeping state is the result of consent between individuals who decide to permanently surrender political authority over themselves to *Leviathan*, the omnipotent ruler.⁵⁰ Individuals are unfit to live peacefully by themselves, as they cannot trust each other.⁵¹ The ruler, symbolically represented by a biblical monster, is to subdue another monster, the multi-headed Behemoth – a symbol of rebellion and civil war.⁵² A strong ruler is thus regarded as the only solution to political chaos

50 Hobbes, Thomas (1990/1682) *Behemoth or the long parliament*, edited by Ferdinand Tönnies, with an introduction by Stephen Holmes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Hobbes, Thomas (1991/1642), *The citizen (De Cive)*, edited by Bernard Gert. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company; Hobbes, Thomas (1996/1651) *Leviathan, or the matter, form and power of a commonwealth, ecclesiastical and civil*, edited with an introduction by J. C. A. Gashin. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

51 Hobbes, Thomas (1991/1642) *The citizen*, 100ff. Some authors discover liberal elements in Hobbes' state theory. However, the main stream liberalism rejects Hobbes as a liberal author and regards the Hobbes-orientated school of thought not more than 'vulgar liberalism'. See Neal, Patrick (1993) 'Vulgar liberalism', *Political Theory* 21, no. 4, 623–642.

52 Springborg, Patricia (1995) 'Hobbes's Biblical Beasts: Leviathan and Behemoth', *Political Theory* 23, no. 2, 353–375; Petit, Philip (2005) 'Liberty and Leviathan', *Politics, Philosophy and Economics* 4, no. 1, 131–151; Boyd, Richard (2001) 'Thomas Hobbes and the Perils of Pluralism', *The Journal of Politics* 63, no. 2, 392–413.

which would otherwise tear society apart and claim the lives of its citizens.⁵³

Yet with the conclusion of the contract of rule, citizens willingly surrender their political rights and pledge their obedience to the *Leviathan*. Consequently, the ruler, like the Roman emperor Caesar, is free to make laws according to his will, even if capricious and despotic, for he guarantees the survival and security of his citizens. Moreover, Leviathan, or Caesar, possesses the ultimate authority of interpretation, since society suffers potentially from the chaos of different meanings, which begin, for example, with diverging interpretations of religious doctrines. Thus, in the case of the Caesarean citizenship, we deal with the political and interpretational *decisionism*. Although citizens of the Caesarean model are fully allowed to pursue their economic interests, politics is reduced to the arbitrary decisions of the ruler. As a consequence, the Caesarean model of citizenship is not about the rights and obligations of citizens but about the effectiveness of political decisions and the compliance of the citizens who submit to an authority in the face of potential danger.

This train of thought had been further developed by Carl Schmitt in the first half of the 20th century. According to Schmitt, the very essence of politics is the ability of citizens to think of the others in terms of 'enemies', to let themselves become politically mobilised and to make unanimous decisions. In his view, the democratic claim of equality

53 Cf. Frost, Samantha (2004) 'Hobbes out of Bounds', *Political Theory* 32, no. 2, 257–273. As a further Caesarean author we could identify Jean Bodin due to his focus on state sovereignty regarding internal conflicts. Bodin, Jean (1961/1583) *Les six Livres de la République*. Paris: Aalen; Dunning, Wm. A. (1896) 'Jean Bodin on Sovereignty', *Political Science Quarterly* 11, no. 1, pp. 82–104; Shepard, Max Adams (1930) 'Sovereignty at the Crossroads: A Study of Bodin', *Political Science Quarterly* 45, no. 4, 580–603; Maritain, Jacques (1950) 'The Concept of Sovereignty', *American Political Science Review* 44, no. 2, 343–357.

cannot be resolved on the basis of liberal democracy, which offers only temporary and occasional solutions to the existing problem of inequality. Whereas shifting majorities are sufficient for liberal citizens to cooperate with each other by entrusting the governors with political tasks, Schmitt regards it as mere *legality* as opposed to real *legitimacy*.

In the Caesarean model the dichotomy does not run along the lines of a citizen/non-citizen difference, as is the case in the cognitive perspective on collective identity. Instead, it highlights the difference between the citizen and the suspect. Therefore, the Caesarean identity technology does not exhaust itself in the process of categorisation, but uses the very identifying process to strengthen collective responses and compliance. As biometric technologies, detention facilities and new methods of surveillance are employed to conceal and advance the exclusionary and restrictive practices of the Caesarean citizenship, the goal of citizens and government agencies had become to secure identity.⁵⁴

What kind of welfare citizenship?

I argue that besides the diverging perspectives on what constitutes citizenship, the three outlined models of citizenship indicate quite different welfare concepts. In each citizenship model we can differentiate diverging types of welfare citizenship. The concept of welfare

⁵⁴ Cf. Muller, Benjamin J. (2004) '(Dis)Qualified Bodies: Securitization, Citizenship and Identity Management', *Citizenship Studies* 8, no. 3, 279–294; Scheuerman, William E. (2006) 'Carl Schmitt and the Road to Abu Ghraib', *Constellations* 13, no. 1, 108–124; Dee, Mike (2002) *The New Citizenship of the risk and Surveillance Society: From a Citizenship of Hope to a Citizenship of Fear?*, Centre for Social Change Research, School of Humanities and Human Services, Queensland University of Technology; Zedner, Lucia (2005) 'Securing Liberty in the Face of Terror: Reflections from Criminal Justice', *Journal of Law and Society* 32, no. 4, 507–533.

citizenship deals with a specific issue of citizenship, which is linked to the relationship between the individual citizen and the state activity. However, welfare citizenship is not equal with social citizenship, which constructs citizenship mainly through the prism of social policies of the state. In contrast, I argue that we can speak of welfare citizenship, even in the absence of social policies, since welfare citizenship can be found in each citizenship model regardless the social activity of the state. Against this backdrop, we can differentiate republican, liberal and Caesarean welfare citizenship.

Republican Welfare Citizenship

In the perspective of the republican citizenship, welfare is relevant vis-à-vis civic duties of the citizens. Since civic obligations are deemed necessary with regard to the collectivity, republican citizenship is not about the individual welfare but rather the community welfare. The republican welfare state becomes crucial when it comes, for instance, to the participation in the political process in which citizens become socialised in their acceptance of political obligations. In order to guarantee civic participation, the modern welfare state replaces in a certain sense the society based on slavery, in which the citizen possessed the time and the material resources to actively participate in the political process for the sake of the public interest. In ancient Greece, civic engagement was mainly possible, given that the every-day production and distribution of goods was carried out by slaves. The modern welfare state fulfils the same functions through policies of social security (by regulating labour time, allocating resources to the old and poor, funding the citizenship-orientated education system etc.). Thus, the

welfare state is a modern equivalent for the republican citizenship model, as its function is to secure citizens' material and social minimal independence, in particular in times of economic downturn and citizens' unemployment. As the market processes constantly produces 'losers' and cannot rule out impoverishment, the modern state needs to guarantee the minimal social net, which would allow the impoverished or sick citizens to make political decisions dedicated to the common good, rather than decisions aimed at improving their own lives.

In addition, the modern welfare state has to undergird the deliberative institutions of republicanism. In this perspective, at least some form of labour time regulation and/or material redistribution is needed to make deliberation days or citizens' participation in decisions on the municipal budget possible. For instance, citizens working every day of the week have very limited chances of participation. By the same token, citizens living from the minimum wage need to be compensated for their participation, as they are confronted with less income due to their civic activity. In this sense, the republican welfare state is supposed to correct the inequalities of the market, which can encroach on civic engagement. In other words, rule-free deliberation among citizens does not come for free, as both the deliberative institutions have to be 'produced' and the participation of the citizens has to be financially supported.

A further field of political activity by the republican welfare state, is the investment in mass education, which should guarantee the discursive equality of citizens through a high level of citizens' enlightenment. This is not trivial, as it might sound, since in the deliberative version of the republican citizenship arguments mean political power. However, civic communication has to be learnt, otherwise citizens with a bet-

ter education would be systematically privileged, which would in turn establish structural asymmetries in the citizenship, thus undermining the very concept of citizens' equality.

Liberal Welfare Citizenship

We can differentiate two versions of liberal welfare citizenship. In the *libertarian version*, citizens live in a society of atomistic individuals. Here, participation in the political process is not constitutive for being a citizen and welfare is subject to individual choice. Politics is merely one of a plethora of various areas in which citizens construct their broad spectrum of preferences, although there is a meta-preference for individual-cost sensitivity that plays an important role in deciding on the hierarchy of preferences. Therefore, the state is not allowed to enforce collective welfare policies in the name of collectivity. Every individual enjoys natural rights, which may be infringed either by others or by the state. The main function of the government is thus to hinder the infringement of natural rights and punish legal transgressions by individuals. However, the state has to restrain itself from activism in other policy fields. Libertarian citizens are therefore suspicious of collective welfare policies, since these present potential threats to individual freedoms. In most cases, individuals believe in the workings of the market as an embodiment of freedom. In this context, welfare can be realised mainly in the form of charity.

In its *social version*, liberal citizenship, unlike its republican counterpart, also excludes political hyperactivity, since the primary concern of citizens is more with their material existence than with self-fulfilment in the polity. In this welfare perspective, political rights guarantee only

a formal equality without addressing real inequalities induced by the market. Therefore, social rights in addition to civil and political rights are viewed as a necessary component of citizenship. Among other things, they encompass healthcare services, social security, as well as state investment in citizens' education. Interestingly enough, this can lead to similar welfare policies as in the republican welfare citizenship. Yet in the social version of liberal welfare citizenship, citizens are private *holders of rights* (including rights to welfare) and have at the same time minimal responsibilities if any (first and foremost taxpaying) vis-à-vis the government. Public space is thus not essential in this model of citizenship, since the individual, as a citizen, remains a private person, faithful mainly to himself. S/he balances her/his different roles in society to realise her/his utility. Certainly, it does not exclude civic virtues such as individualism and pluralism, which are tenets of liberal citizenship. However, these virtues differ visibly from republican civic virtues. As a liberal citizen is a member of a pluralist society, government represents the interests of the majority, since it cannot reconcile the preferences of all its citizens. However, this is acceptable for the liberal citizen of the political minority, since the minority can potentially become a political majority after the next election.

Caesarean Welfare Citizenship

In the modern post-9/11 version, Caesarean welfare citizenship stresses security politics as the major welfare concern of the state. Security politics become the basis for the new definition of welfare, as the state increasingly uses technologies of surveillance and shifts the focus from a rights-orientated citizenship to neurotic citizenship. A neurotic citi-

zen defines welfare politics in terms of its permanent insecurity, which can only be guaranteed by the state. His preference for liberty and freedom becomes surpassed by his fears of survival in view of organised crime and possible terrorist attacks. In this sense, welfare becomes securitised.

In addition, the activity of the citizen focuses more strongly on reporting potentially dangerous situations and spying on his/her compatriots, rather than on elections, public space and ensuring the accountability of the government. Consequently, the state highlighting welfare as security is inclined to perpetuate the feeling of insecurity, thus transforming security politics into politics of insecurity. As a result, the state demonstrates its indispensability (and thus legitimacy), whereas the fear-inclined citizens support the state almost unconditionally. In this way, a shared perception of danger and threat generates the feeling of collective vulnerability. However, it is not only a diffuse feeling of insecurity which is instigated as a result of identity technologies; governments are instead likely to give the enemy a face and a name.

Beyond terrorists and criminals, migrants and minorities can be used as a negative point of reference for Caesarean citizenship and its security policies. The Caesarean welfare citizenship establishes a security discourse that defines migration in terms of identification of existential threats. Images of societal danger from a criminal and invading enemy are reified in the discourse. In the process, the security concerns are defined against the background of dangers to societal integration, threats to the community's conception of a good life and the welfare of the community. Migration is thus increasingly depicted as a threat to the community's survival in its current social and cultural

form.⁵⁵ As a result, the Caesarean welfare citizenship highlights border control and asylum policies, which became the cornerstone of a defensive collective identity.

Conclusions

I argued that we can use the term ‘welfare citizenship’ in each model of citizenship. Even though these different types of welfare citizenship are still sketchy, as I presented only a preliminary attempt to systematise the notion of welfare citizenship, it can be fruitful to pursue further research on this subject. One of the advantages is that we could transcend the notion of social citizenship and compare different concepts of welfare citizenship.

Within the republican model of citizenship we can observe a shift towards deliberation, which emphasises the welfare obligations of the community as an underpinning for the deliberative ethics of the citizens. Conversely, the citizens are obliged to take the welfare of the collective into account, rather than their individual welfare. In this sense, the republican welfare citizenship can exist only against the background of a strong community. In contrast, the liberal model of citizenship spawns a rights-orientated welfare citizenship, in which there is a focus on the liberal rights equality among citizens. In the social version of the liberal welfare citizenship, individual social rights are viewed as a necessary component of citizenship in addition to civil and political rights, whereas the libertarian version wants to defend the individual citizens against welfare collectivism, which is associated with transgressions of the individual freedoms. Thus, libertarian welfare is

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 758.

mainly based on charity. The Caesarean welfare citizenship is associated with the securitisation of welfare, where, for instance, migration is regarded as a threat to the welfare of a community. Here, the liberal preference for liberty and freedom becomes surpassed by the citizen's fears of survival in view of organised crime and possible terrorist attacks.

Welfare Nationalism: Conceptual and theoretical considerations

Andrzej Marcin Suszycki

Introduction

The concept of welfare nationalism has enjoyed a rising popularity among scholars of sociology, political science and history. Despite a growing body of literature on the topic there is little agreement on what welfare nationalism is, or how to make the concept suitable for the purposes of empirical studies.

The major conceptual problem seems to be the practice of describing a number of policies or discourses, which refer to an exclusive character of a welfare system, as welfare nationalism, without first thoroughly defining the term nationalism. Therefore, this chapter claims that conceptualising welfare nationalism requires first a definition of the term nationalism.

The conceptual vagueness of the term nationalism leads to confusion at the theoretical level. One of the major theoretical problems, which relates to the contemporary phenomena of globalisation and regional integration, is that scholars conventionally regard a mere re-

sistance against the transfer of sovereignty in welfare issues to a supra-national level (European integration is here the most prominent example) as welfare nationalism, whereas a mere support for sovereignty transfer is automatically seen as non-welfare nationalism. This chapter claims that we can speak of welfare nationalism only when political actors refer to specific national welfare interests and ideas (welfare narratives) to legitimise their resistance against or support for sovereignty losses in welfare issues.

Another theoretical problem is that scholars use the term welfare nationalism to describe phenomena which should not be considered as welfare nationalism, such as (welfare) regionalism or (welfare) localism. This chapter argues that using approaches which emulate the characteristics of the nation-states to regionalism or other sub-state political phenomena lead to an unjustified increase of ‘welfare nationalisms’.

A third theoretical aspect to be discussed in this chapter considers the reasons for the phenomena of consistent welfare nationalism, i.e. regular adherence of political actors towards welfare nationalism, and contextual welfare nationalism, i.e. the selective adoption of welfare nationalism by political actors. This chapter suggests that the extent to which political or societal actors resort to both forms of welfare nationalism mainly depends on the socio-economic degree of dependence the country has on its international environment.

The major normative fallacy is that scholars have not clearly defined the conditions which would make a normative ‘reconciliation’ between (welfare) nationalism and liberal political systems. Generally, welfare nationalism –like nationalism in general –has mostly been regarded as a morally pejorative force leading to conflict, separatism and chauvin-

ism. The point of departure for this chapter is the notion of liberal nationalism which regards nationalism as an inherent part of democracy and believes that liberal values can be easier realised by people with a strong national identity. In this sense this chapter claims that nationalist welfare policies and discourses can be consistently pursued with liberal principles.

Conceptual considerations

Drawing on the approaches of two prominent scholars of nationalism, David Miller and Liah Greenfeld, we can characterise nationalism in discursive terms as an individual or collective commitment to national ideas or interests included in four general narratives. These narratives are, first, the idea that nations are real, which means that there exists a specific factor differentiating people belonging to one nation from those belonging to other nations, even though – as emphasised by Miller –there are different views about what that this specific factor is. Second, it is the belief that membership in a nation confers rights and imposes obligations. Nations are communities in which members recognise special ties to their compatriots, and they feel that they owe them more than they owe non-members.¹ Third, this idea is reinforced by the principle of fundamental equality of membership, which allows for the open class system of stratification. The open class system is based on achievement, rather than ascription, and has transferable properties, such as wealth and education, rather than birth, as the basis of status distinctions. Hence, nationalism accepts social mobility as

1 Miller, David (2008) 'Nationalism', in Dryzek, John/Honig, Bonnie/Phillips, Anne (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, Oxford University Press, 529–530.

legitimate in principle.² The fourth narrative is the idea that nations are valuable communities and nationhood is the very core of political and social life. Therefore, nationalism wants to maintain political institutions that allow national decision-making free from external coercion, and, in more extreme cases, they expect the members to maintain their nation even at the price of significant sacrifices.³

Along the lines of the above description of nationalism we can characterise welfare nationalism as an individual or collective commitment to narratives related to welfare, which we can find in nearly all national referential frameworks. These narratives include, first, the idea that differences between nations result from the different state of their socio-economic development, hence welfare is one of the main criteria used to identify that specific factor from Miller's definition that differentiates people of one nation from those belonging to other nations, i.e. the notion of a particular welfare-based identity of the nation. In this sense welfare nationalism is also a form of "methodological" welfare nationalism, as the possibility that the unity of welfare and nation might dissolve, disintegrate or undergo a total transformation remains beyond the cognitive perspective of welfare nationalists.⁴ Closely linked to this aspect, is, second, the welfare nationalist belief that the national welfare system is superior to other welfare and non-welfare systems, i.e. the notion of a social-economic "grandness" of the nation or it being a "model of welfare" to be followed by other states. Third, welfare

2 Greenfeld, Liah (1999) 'Is Nation Unavoidable? Is Nation Unavoidable Today?', in Kriesi, Hanspeter/Armingeon, Klaus/Siegrist, Hannes/Wimmer, Andreas (eds.) *Nation and National Identity. The European Experience in Perspective*, Zürich: Verlag Rüegger, 40.

3 Miller, David (2008) 'Nationalism', 529–530.

4 For the critique of the methodological nationalism see Beck, Ulrich (2006) *Cosmopolitan Vision*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 29.

nationalism includes the belief that members of a national community are obliged to make sacrifices for their compatriots in order to preserve the national welfare, and that these obligations belong to the most demanding moral commitments that the members of the community have. The republican appeal for a collective action for the common wealth constitutes a spectacular example of this idea. At the same time, these obligations are not owed equally to non-members, whereas it has to be added that 'not equally' does not mean that no obligations are owed to non-members; respect for others' human rights and solidarity (also financial aid) with non-members in need remains a general obligation. Fourth, welfare nationalism assumes that the fundamental equality of membership and considerable rates of social mobility can be achieved only within the national welfare system, i.e. the notion of causality between social justice and national belonging. Fifth, welfare nationalism includes the idea that national welfare is politically significant and the belief that since welfare systems are not equal, national welfare cannot be fully realised unless given the political independence to maintain its own model of development. Hence, national welfare should not be subject to laws passed for other national (welfare) communities. Consequently, welfare nationalism contains the support for preserving political, economic and social institutions that make it possible for the national community to decide on the main rules of its welfare system free from external pressures, allowing a transfer of the main nation-state functions beyond the national boundaries where, on balance, the welfare benefits outweigh the welfare losses. All these aspects are linked to one another: the belief that members of a national community are obliged to make sacrifices for their compatriots to preserve their national welfare through fighting for independent political,

economic and social institutions is linked to the belief that the national welfare system constitutes a specific national good and is superior to other welfare systems.

Levels of analysis

Against the multiplicity of aspects to be considered at the conceptual level, it is clear that welfare nationalism is not a one-dimensional or one-level phenomenon. Rather, welfare nationalism often occurs in complex situations with several regional, national or supranational actors acting at different levels and in different political and social structures. This section suggests that, departing from the above definition of welfare nationalism as an individual or collective commitment to the welfare-related national interests and ideas, we should examine the empiric dimension of welfare nationalism at four levels.⁵

The micro level of analysis refers to the welfare nationalism of individuals and focuses mainly on its psychological aspects. It is mainly a domain of quantitative research which provides us with insights on auto-categorisations and xeno-categorisations in terms of national distinction on the basis of welfare narratives, as well as individuals' expressions of interests and emotions related to national attachment resulting from national mega-narratives related to welfare. In other words, the micro level of welfare nationalism refers to the individuals' self-categorisation as members of a welfare nation with the term welfare being the most important "membership category".⁶ Such a

5 For the four levels of nationalism see Suszycki, Andrzej Marcin and Ireneusz Paweł Karolewski (2011) *The Nation and Nationalism in Europe. An Introduction*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 104–114.

6 See Sacks, Harvey (1992) *Lectures on Conversation*, edited by Gail Jefferson; with an introduction by Emanuel A. Schegloff, Oxford: Blackwell.

self-categorisation leads –according to Tajfel –to individuals favouring their own national ingroup and discriminating against members of the outgroup: The “we” of the welfare ingroup identity implies a contrastive “them” who do not constitute a part of the ingroup.⁷

The second level of analysis is –in reference to Robert Merton –the meso level.⁸ It functions as a ‘theoretical field in which the structural mechanisms and the interactions between macro and micro levels might be observed’⁹ but might also be absent. Accordingly, the meso level of welfare nationalism is an intermediary level between the welfare nationalism of individuals and that of central government or, in other words, between the individual and the state. It can be considered as a part of society or of politics, or, more likely, a mixture of the two. Relevant actors at this level are political and societal groups, for instance representatives of political life (political parties and other political organisations), economic and social interest groups and trade unions. Welfare nationalism at the meso level can be defined as a discursive commitment of non-governmental actors to national welfare interests or to national ideas related to welfare. The meso level of welfare nationalism includes various meanings of narratives referring to national interests and ideas, their construction and reconstruction, and conflicts between contending visions of these narratives, as they are identified and sustained by different political and societal groups.¹⁰

7 Tajfel, Henri (1981) *Human groups and social categories*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

8 See Merton, Robert (1968) *Social Theory and Social Structure*, New York: Free Press.

9 See Haanpaa, Leena (2007) ‘Structures and mechanisms in sustainable consumption research’, *International Journal of Environment and Sustainable Development* 6, 1, pp. 53–66.

10 See also Finlayson, Alain (1998) ‘Ideology, discourse and nationalism’, *Journal of Political Ideologies* 3, 1, 99–118.

Welfare nationalism at the meso level might be an instrument to gain control of central power in a state, as is often the case with political parties. Alternatively, it might remain merely an expression of particular ideas without (directly) claiming control of central government, this case frequently occurring with discourses made by representatives of economic or social interest groups. The two most common forms of welfare nationalist discourse at the meso level are instrumental and ideological discourse.¹¹ Instrumental welfare nationalist discourse is associated with a general instrumentalist understanding of politics as dominated by the pragmatic, self-interested pursuit of material resources and political advantage. It mostly addresses and tries to remove the relative socioeconomic deprivation. The ideological welfare nationalist discourse tries to mitigate social heterogeneity by constructing a simplistic confrontation between the virtuous 'Us' and the significant –but at the same time demonised –'Other'.¹² By doing so, this discourse often promotes feelings of fear and distrust and engenders collectivist prejudicial stereotyping of the 'Other'. In other words, whereas instrumental welfare nationalist discourse can be defined as a reflection of interest, ideological welfare nationalist discourse finds its fulfilment in the pursuit of moral certainty or socioeconomic superiority of the nation. Frequently, welfare nationalist discourses are subject to fragmentation, as competing groups attempt to realise their vision of national welfare interests and ideas.

The macro level of welfare nationalism refers to the political action of national governments, which usually has two main goals. This level

11 See also Brown, David (2004), 'Why independence? The instrumental and ideological dimensions of nationalism', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 45, 3/4, 277–96.

12 *Ibid.* 284.

includes, first, governmental strategies for maintaining and strengthening the state, as the most important goal of all national governments is, in nearly all cases, the survival of their states. This goal results from the immanent interest of the state as an autonomous structure in self-maintenance¹³ and the elimination of functional differentiation between the state units in international politics, or, in other words, their original need to survive.¹⁴ Hence, every national government is expected to protect and strengthen the institution of the 'state' it represents and administrates. This goal becomes particularly important in states with ethnic minorities, in federal multi-ethnic states and in states with severe socioeconomic cleavages between regions with different ethnic settings, hence in states whose political existence or territorial integrity may possibly be endangered by separatist tendencies. Many actions by which central governments usually respond to these challenges can be regarded as expressions of welfare nationalism, e.g. practices of enforcing socio-economic homogeneity through the introduction of uniform health and labour market insurances, or occupational pension schemes across the whole country,¹⁵ and also the

13 For this argument see Poulantzas, Nicos (1975) *Political Power and Social Classes*, London: Verso, and Miliband, Ralph (1969) *The State in Capitalist Society*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

14 Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979) *Theory of International Politics*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

15 Prominent examples include Belgium, Great Britain and Canada.

practices of enforcing interregional financial adjustment¹⁶, and the politics of identity-building through an extensive use of national symbols related to welfare, or even the emphasis on ‘Significant Others’ menacing the national economy or social system.

Second, the macro level of welfare nationalism might refer to the strategies of the legitimisation of political action related to the ‘pure’ governmental dimension of politics, hence the interest of governments in the maintenance of their domestic power position. The maintenance of domestic power in modern democratic states depends primarily on the satisfaction of the socioeconomic interests of society. The central concern of the government of democratic states is therefore to guarantee the continuous supply of the collective socioeconomic goods for which the state is responsible in a national system. These goods include, for instance, macroeconomic stability, social security and socioeconomic equality. For this purpose governments attempt to promote economic growth, the maintenance of or an increase in the employment rate, new tax sources and a balance between conflicting social interests. In democratic systems, these policies must be legitimised before the voters and we can speak of macro welfare nationalism if governmental actors legitimise their policies through a discursive commitment to the welfare-related national interests or ideas.

16 One example of such policy is the system of revenue redistribution among the German Länder (the so-called financial equalisation mechanism), especially the enormous support for East German regions). Another prominent example of this form of welfare nationalism are the vast financial transfers of the Italian central government to the southern regions of the country aimed at reducing gaps in socioeconomic development between the northern and southern parts of Italy. The reduction of the huge socioeconomic differences between the North and the South has been considered as essential for the unity of the Italian state. A spectacular example of such policy towards regions with ethnic minorities is the financial aid of the central Italian government for the region of South Tyrol in Northern Italy inhabited by a German-speaking majority, which demonstrated separatist tendencies for decades after it had been incorporated into the Italian state in 1918.

The level of supranational effects of welfare nationalism is the fourth level at which we can examine welfare nationalism. However, it is not a level of welfare nationalism, as, because of the theoretical and methodological assumptions, there cannot be any welfare nationalism beyond the level of the nation-state. At this level, we scrutinise how domestic politics (welfare nationalism at the micro, meso and macro level) influence international politics (the so-called second image in international relations theory). The impact of international politics on the domestic level of nationalism (second image reversed in the sense of Gourevitch)¹⁷ is examined at the micro, meso and macro levels (as factors coming from outside the nation-state). There are two main supranational effects of welfare nationalism. First, there might be consequences for the structure of the international system. The structure of the international system is defined in terms of its polarity and anarchy. Polarity is the number of poles of power, that is, the number of great powers in the system. It determines the possibility of the use of relative power resources by single actors.¹⁸ Anarchy means that there is no authority above states capable of regulating their interactions and potential conflicts. In most cases, states must interact with other states on their own, rather than being determined by a 'world government' – a higher-control entity. In realist understanding, because states exist in anarchy, self-help is necessarily the principle of their action. States must rely on their own means to realise their interests.¹⁹ As to the consequences of welfare nationalism for polarity, we can argue that, especially in the case of bigger states, the demands of influential ac-

17 Gourevitch, Peter (1978) 'The second image reversed: The international sources of domestic politics', *International Organization* 32, 4, 881–912.

18 Waltz, Kenneth N. *Theory of International Politics*, 134–7.

19 *Ibid.* 125.

tors at the meso level for the protection of their economic interests or the national social system (meso welfare nationalism) and the respective governmental policies (macro welfare nationalism) towards other international actors might lead to interstate conflicts and even wars.²⁰ Welfare nationalism can also lead to an implosion of multinational states with severe socioeconomic differences between the ethnic groups, and the more relevant such states were in the international system, the more significant the changes in polarity are.²¹ As far as the consequences of welfare nationalism for anarchy are concerned, welfare nationalism might belong to factors leading to a stabilisation of or an increase in anarchy. For instance, in the unipolar scenario in which a single great power with nationalist motives in the field of welfare chooses a policy of isolationism and ceases to exercise control of the systemic interactions, the result could be a more anarchic character of international politics. Under conditions of multipolarity, in which several more or less equal powers will try to safeguard their national sovereignty and freedom of action in the realm of welfare against external control mechanisms, anarchy will increase. Under conditions of bipolarity, welfare nationalism is of limited importance for the level of

20 Here, we might think, for example, of the military interventions of Great Britain and France in the Middle East, of military actions of the United States in Central America and in the Middle East, and of Russia in the Caucasus, especially in Georgia. The major part of these actions was aimed at securing the supply of the national economy with strategic resources such as oil and gas and advantaging their own national business companies.

21 We might think, for instance, of the collapse of the former Yugoslavia, where the original calls for the dissolution of the state were partially caused by the Slovenian and Croatian unwillingness to share their more advanced socioeconomic resources with less developed regions like Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina or Macedonia. We might also draw on the case of the former Czechoslovakia, where the dominant Czech discourse at the meso level, against the background of having a more advanced economy and better social situation in the Czech part of the state than in the Slovakian part, advocated the dissolution of the state.

anarchy because of the structurally determined check between the two great powers as it persisted during the period of the Cold War.

The supranational level of the effects of welfare nationalism might also include consequences for the processes of regional integration, which often lead to the emergence of regional subsystems such as the European Union. Welfare nationalism might be a catalyst for integration when relevant actors at the meso level and macro level consider it to be advantageous for their states. Welfare nationalism might also function as a barrier to European integration if ordinary citizens at the micro level and relevant actors at the two other levels expect, in the economic and social realm, more losses than gains from this process.²² Whereas structural changes in the international system may be mainly caused by the welfare nationalism of big powers, in regional subsystems even welfare nationalism in smaller states can have significant effects on the political and economic processes.²³

In sum, examining welfare nationalism as a complex, multi-level phenomenon does not imply regarding it as a 'complete' phenomenon. The notion of completeness denotes a methodological finality. Complete phenomena are not subject to change and thus remain methodologically self-sufficient –just the contrary to what welfare nationalism is expected to be.

22 For this aspect see for instance Karolewski, Ireneusz Paweł and Suszycki, Andrzej Marcin (eds.) (2007) *Nationalism and European Integration. The Need for New Theoretical and Empirical Insights*, New York and London: Continuum.

23 For instance, welfare nationalist attitudes at the micro level and meso level in Denmark and Ireland had important effects on the whole process of European integration. After the rejection of the Maastricht Treaty in a referendum in Denmark in 1992 the treaty had to be renegotiated, and the rejection of the Lisbon Treaty in a referendum in Ireland in 2008 delayed the commencement of this treaty.

Ideal types of welfare nationalism

As far as ideal types of welfare nationalism are concerned, we can distinguish them by the status of national welfare narratives in the referential discursive frameworks and by the strength of commitment by political actors to narratives of national welfare in relation to other narratives, as well as by the consistency of the commitment to the national welfare narratives by political actors.

If we look closer at the status which the narratives related to welfare have within different national referential frameworks, we can distinguish at least two ideal types of welfare nationalism to be found at both the meso level and the macro level. The first type is “archaeological” welfare nationalism. In this case, the narrative of welfare has merged with the dominant discursive comprehension and connotations of the term nation and the term state (and the term nation has usually merged with the term state) and it has become the very core of national identity. It appeals to tribal instincts and prejudices and makes reflection, internal criticism and choice exceptional. This “archaeological” source of welfare makes it difficult (even if not impossible) for political actors to justify their decisions by a commitment to narratives going beyond an attempt to re-create the particularity of the (welfare) nation. Generally, actors resorting to this national “archaeological” welfare narrative perpetuate and freeze the “order of discourse” in the sense of Foucault.²⁴ Not all nation-states have this archaeological type of welfare nationalism. We can observe this phenomenon especially in Scandinavian states, where the dominant discourse uses the terms state and nation almost synonymously and links them to the term welfare.

²⁴ Foucault, Michel (1969) *L'archéologie du savoir*, Paris: Éditions Gallimard, in particular 259–275.

A decoupling of nation and state or a decoupling of state and welfare, and consequently a decoupling of nation and welfare is unusual to the political tradition of these states.²⁵ Most continental states in Europe do not have such strong and deep welfare narratives and they represent the second type of welfare nationalism which can be described as instrumental. In this case, the narrative of welfare has not merged with the dominant discursive understanding of the term nation and the nation-state, and political and national identities are more multifaceted, multilayered, and multistranded. Appeals to national welfare to legitimise political choices are not primarily determined by the actors' original socialisation and national identity. Rather, instrumental welfare nationalism has been affected by the logic of regular domestic power politics with actors attempting to gain, maintain and enlarge electoral support through politics and discourses which satisfy the socio-economic needs of the society.

Furthermore, we can distinguish at least two ideal types of political actors' welfare nationalism by observing the levels of political actors' discursive commitment to narratives of national welfare in relation to their commitment to non-national narratives (such as international, transnational, supranational, regional or local narratives). It is suggested here that actors with a strong welfare nationalism resort exclusively to the narratives of national welfare to legitimise their political action. Political actors with a moderate level of welfare nationalism refer both to the narratives of national welfare and to non-national welfare nar-

25 For this aspect see for example Stråth, Bo (2000) 'Poverty, neutrality and welfare: three key concepts in the modern foundation myth of Sweden', in Stråth, Bo (ed.), *Myth and memory in the construction of community: historical patterns in Europe and beyond*, Brussels: Peter Lang, 375–401, see also Stråth, Bo (1995) 'Scandinavian identity: a mythical reality', in Sørensen, Nils Arne (ed.) *European identities. Cultural diversity and integration in Europe since 1700*, Odense: Odense University Press, 37–57.

ratives. Political actors with a weak form of welfare nationalism refer to narratives coming from outside the national referential framework stronger than to narratives of national welfare.

As far as the consistency and coherence of welfare nationalism is concerned, we can speak of consistent welfare nationalism when political actors refer on a regular basis to the narrative of national welfare to legitimise their decisions. However, political actors may also “jump” between different referential frameworks, leaving the ground of the national in one issue, and again appealing to national welfare narratives to legitimise their choices in other issues. In this case, we can speak of contextual welfare nationalism.²⁶

Theoretical considerations

The conventional conceptual vagueness of welfare nationalism often produces questionable instruments of analysis with controversial explanatory power. One of the recent major theoretical problems with regard to the phenomena of globalisation and regional integration is what can be defined as a “discursive trap”. It means that scholars conventionally regard a mere resistance against the transfer of sovereignty in welfare issues to a supranational level (European integration is here the most prominent example) or to international institutions as welfare nationalism, whereas a mere support for sovereignty transfer is automatically seen as not welfare nationalism.²⁷ Consequently, po-

26 Most conventional studies suffer from picturing welfare nationalism in terms of ideological consistency and strategic rigidity. They distinguish between welfare nationalist and non-nationalist actors and assume that actors which are labelled “nationalist” in one policy issue are necessarily “nationalist” in other policy fields, too.

27 See for instance Schmidt, Vivien A. (2007) ‘Trapped by their ideas: French élites’ discourses of European integration and globalization,’ *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14:7, 992–1009.

litical actors (especially those at the meso and macro level of analysis) opposed to the losses of national sovereignty in welfare issues are described as welfare nationalists, even if they do not refer to narratives of national welfare to legitimise their resistance towards sovereignty losses, while political actors supporting the transfer of sovereignty to supranational or international institutions are not regarded as welfare nationalists even if they refer exclusively to national welfare narratives to legitimise their support for sovereignty transfers.²⁸

By contrast, this chapter suggests that discursive resistance against the sovereignty losses and the affirmation of welfare nationalism should be decoupled. Defining welfare nationalism as an individual or collective discursive commitment to the welfare-related national interests and ideas allows us to assume that discourses that argue against sovereignty transfers to the international or supranational level, but are not based on a commitment to the narratives of national welfare, do not foster welfare nationalism. Vice versa, those political actors who are in favour of sovereignty transfers, but argue exclusively on the basis of the national welfare narratives to legitimise their support for these sovereignty transfers, should be regarded as welfare nation-

28 See also Suszycki, Andrzej Marcin (2006) 'European identity in Sweden', in Kaina, Victoria/Karolewski, Ireneusz Paweł (eds.) *European identity. Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Insights*, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 179–207.

alists.²⁹ This perspective significantly reduces what can be regarded as welfare nationalism in view of European integration or globalisation.

Furthermore, defining welfare nationalism as a (discursive) commitment to national welfare ideas and interests helps to avoid a methodological mimicry in the analysis of regionalism or other sub-state phenomena. In several studies scholars have applied the characteristics of nations (such as territory, integrated economy, and political power) to regions or other sub-state entities, as regions have been treated as partial nation-states, or nation-states on a smaller scale.³⁰ This has led to an increase in the number of “welfare nationalisms”, since discourses in favour of a strengthening of regional welfare systems (to the detriment of the centre or international and supranational institutions) have been seen as a form of welfare nationalism.³¹ However, for at least three reasons the characteristics of nations should not be applied to regions. First, from the historical and macrosociological point of view, regional identities are significantly less institutionalised and

29 Of course, a weakness of this approach might be seen in the fact that it does not explain the “real” thoughts and perceptions of political actors. It is true that –as argued by Wæver – discourse analysis does not attempt to detect the thoughts, motives, hidden intentions or secret plans of the political actors. For this see Wæver, Ole (2000) ‘Europæisk sikkerhed og integration: en analyse af franske og tyske diskurser om stat, nation og Europa’, in Dyrberg, Torben Bech/Hansen, Allan Dreyer/Torfing, Jacob (eds.) *Diskursteorien på arbejde*, Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag, 279–318. However, it is not contested that structures within discourses condition possible actions. In the democratic systems, policies must hold a definite relationship to discursive structures, because political actors must always be able to explain to the voters the consequences of their demands.

30 For examples see Guibernau, Montserrat (1999) *Nations Without States: Political Communities in a Global Age*, Cambridge: Polity Press; Tambini, Damian (2001) *Nationalism in Italian Politics: The Stories of the Northern League, 1980–2000*. London: Routledge; Hamilton, Paul (2004) ‘Converging Nationalisms: Quebec, Scotland, and Wales in Comparative Perspective’, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 10, 657–685; Haesly, Richard (2005) ‘Identifying Scotland and Wales: types of Scottish and Welsh national identities’, *Nations and Nationalism* 11 (2), 243–263.

31 Studies on the emergence and growth of regional parties in Northern Italy, Belgium, Canada, Spain and the United Kingdom usually speak of welfare nationalism in the context of the distributional issues raised by these parties.

have a less statist character, even in federal states, compared with national identities.³² It follows that the referential narrative frameworks of regional identities, to which regional actors might refer while legitimising their political choices, are less established and recognised than the national ones. Second, specific political rights and obligations do not exist at the regional level as citizenship status is established in the national range and does not vary regionally.³³ Hence, the effectiveness of social citizenship can only be assured and measured in the framework of the nation-state. A third argument is linked to the first one. It states that nations play a crucial role in legitimising political systems.³⁴ Legitimacy results primarily from the quality of the political process (output). Here, it is the nation and not the region that fulfils relevant tasks: the output of the political system can only be guaranteed if the nation provides for the stability of the entire political order,³⁵ therefore, the socioeconomic claims of the inhabitants of regions depend on the effectiveness of the national level of law making and production of collective goods. This task cannot be replaced at the regional level.

Against the background of these arguments, we should regard policies and discourses which exhibit welfare boundary mechanisms through appeals to the national narratives of social cohesion and solidarity as welfare nationalism. For instance, the anti-Walloon discourses of the Flemish movement *Vlaams Belang* in Belgium are an example of welfare nationalism since they refer to the Flemish national

32 Karolewski, Ireneusz Paweł (2007) 'Regionalism, Nationalism, and European Integration', in Karolewski, Ireneusz Paweł and Suszycki, Andrzej Marcin (eds.) *Nationalism and European Integration. The Need for New Theoretical and Empirical Insights*. New York, London: Continuum, 9–32 (18).

33 *Ibid.* 18.

34 *Ibid.* 19.

35 *Ibid.* 19.

narratives.³⁶ Vice versa, we should not regard policies and discourses which exhibit welfare boundary mechanisms through appeals to the narratives of social cohesion and solidarity at the regional or communal level as welfare nationalism. For example, the contemporary discourses of the Lega Nord in Northern Italy against immigration, European integration and the centralised system of welfare redistribution in Italy should be seen as examples of welfare regionalism or welfare localism, because they do not appeal to the Italian welfare-related national narratives but to regional and local ones: even though the Lega Nord tries to stress the high level of welfare in Northern Italy in order to construct a North Italian national mythology, its discourse can still be seen as a modification of Italian nationalism since it amends and usurps the main narratives of the Italian national identity in order to justify the separatist claims.³⁷

A third significant theoretical issue at the meso and macro level of welfare nationalism is to explain the reasons for the phenomena of consistent welfare nationalism, i.e. actors' regular discursive commitment to the welfare-related national interests and ideas, and contextual welfare nationalism, i.e. actors' selective use of welfare nationalism.³⁸ This chapter suggests that the extent to which actors resort to both

36 See also De Cleen, Benjamin and Carpentier, Nico (2010) 'Contesting the populist claim on "the people" through popular culture: the 0110 concerts versus the Vlaams Belang', *Social Semiotics* 20, 2, 175–96.

37 For this argument see Suszycki, Andrzej Marcin (2010) 'Nationalism in Italy', in Karolewski, Ireneusz Paweł and Suszycki, Andrzej Marcin (eds.) *Multiplicity of Nationalism in Contemporary Europe*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 175–191.

38 For this phenomenon see for example Rohrschneider, Robert/Whitefield Stephen (2010) 'Consistent choice sets? The stances of political parties towards European integration in ten Central East European democracies, 2003–2007', *Journal of European Public Policy* 17:1, 55–75; see also Marks, Gary/Wilson, Carole/Ray, Leonard (2002) 'National political Parties and European Integration', *American Journal of Political Science* 36(3), 585–94.

forms of welfare nationalism mainly depends on the degree of socio-economic dependence of a country on its international environment. The higher the level of participation a country has in the processes of regional integration and globalisation, the weaker political actors attach themselves to consistent welfare nationalism and the stronger they resort to contextual welfare nationalism. There are two main factors explaining this relationship. The first aspect refers to the fact that regional integration and globalisation cause the “horizontal” and “vertical” disorientation of the voters, and thus reduce the electoral vulnerability of political actors in front of their voter base. Horizontal disorientation means that processes of regional integration (in particular European integration) and globalisation have significantly increased the number of political, economic and social issues to be approached by the domestic politics. Vertical disorientation means that the field of vision of voters has been strongly limited by the multi-layer decisional systems of regional integration (here the EU is again the most prominent example)³⁹ and by the complex structures patterns of global economic interdependence. Both forms of disorientation make the clear allocation of political responsibilities at the national level more difficult and consequently limit the ability of the voters to sanction political actors’ eventual programmatic or ideological fluctuations. Hence, this disorientation leaves the door open for a selective use of national welfare narratives. Such an abandonment of consistent welfare nationalism becomes a valuable option, for instance, in situations in which changes in the policy or discourses cannot be legitimised (exclusively)

39 For the multi-layer system of the EU see for instance Marks, Gary/Hooghe Liesbet/Blank Kermit (1996) ‘European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 341–378.

by a commitment to national welfare narratives, or in situations in which political actors adopt policy and discourses platforms which allow them to capture segments of voters with affective and ideological preferences to be satisfied by a commitment to narratives going beyond the national referential framework.

The second aspect is linked to the first one and refers to the fact that the use of national welfare narratives to legitimise political action has become increasingly discernible and vulnerable beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. Foreign political actors might see their own welfare interests disadvantaged by these welfare nationalist policies or discourses and also resort to welfare nationalism. Hence, national actors demonstrating welfare nationalism on a regular basis might face retaliatory actions at the international level. Given the strong political and economic interdependence, these sanctions might jeopardise the just domestic distribution of economic benefits and burdens and, consequently, weaken their own domestic power position. Consequently, international sanction mechanisms reduce the incentives for persistent welfare nationalism (in the form of a permanent use of national welfare narratives) and make contextual welfare nationalism more attractive.⁴⁰

Normative assessment of welfare nationalism

As far as the normative dimension of welfare nationalism is concerned, this chapter claims that nationalist welfare policies and discourses can be reconciled with liberalism. Supportive for such a normative reconciliation between welfare nationalism and liberal principles are the

40 Suszycki, Andrzej Marcin (2010) 'Nationalism in Italy', 185–186.

core statements of the liberal notion of nationalism. Here, we can bring forward three main arguments.

First, liberal nationalists focus on the conditions for personal autonomy and claim that individuals must be free to choose their way of life after reflecting on alternative choices. However, the choices always take place in specific contexts. The alternatives come from the culture that individuals belong to, and only national cultural systems are understandable enough to provide a large number of choices.⁴¹ To be free in their choice, individuals must be given the possibility to live in a community whose culture they share and whose other members deem their choices valuable. Against this background, the maintenance of the national culture is essential for the personal autonomy. The condition for this maintenance is, however, that the national community retains its political independence.⁴² Adopting this argument to welfare nationalism, we can argue that, in many states, welfare is an indispensable part of national culture and one of the central points of reference in the lives of individuals. As such, it provides a defined symbolic and organisational site for individuals and elites to mobilise resources in the pursuit of individual and common goals. Hence, policies or discourses aimed at the maintenance of the political independence of the national community in the realm of welfare constitute a necessary condition for the protection of the personal autonomy of individuals, which is a central liberal claim.

Second, liberal nationalism claims that a well-functioning of democratic institutions requires citizens to trust one another to follow democratic norms and not to consider politics as a zero-sum game. Ac-

⁴¹ Miller, David (2008) 'Nationalism', 535.

⁴² *Ibid.* 535.

cording to liberal nationalism, trust is primarily created by the shared nationality of citizens and it is difficult to establish trust in multinational states where members of different ethnic groups distrust the other groups.⁴³ In political systems with no trust or with a low level of trust, it is difficult to preserve democratic institutions.⁴⁴ Against this background, we can assume that policies and discourses, which aim to establish or maintain trust through favouring the welfare interests of members of the national community over those of non-members, can still be regarded as being in accordance with liberalism as long as the rules of democracy and law are maintained.

The third main argument of liberal nationalism can directly be brought forward in defence of welfare nationalism. It states that nationhood is a precondition for social justice.⁴⁵ The welfare state represents an agreement to use resources to provide all the citizens with a lower or higher level of protection against the risks of life.⁴⁶ Built into the system is the redistribution of resources from the richer, talented and strong members to the more vulnerable or weaker members of the community.⁴⁷ Liberal nationalism argues that individuals agree to redistribute the resources because of a sense of solidarity with fellow-citizens and a sympathetic commitment to their interests.⁴⁸ This sense of solidarity results from a common national identity which increases confidence in the compatriots that they will reciprocate one's

43 Miller, David (1995) *On Nationality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 91–92.

44 Miller, David (2008) 'Nationalism', 536.

45 Canovan, Margaret (1996) *Nationhood and Political Theory*, Cheltenham, Brookfield: Edward Elgar, 27–36.

46 Miller, David (2008) 'Nationalism', 536.

47 *Ibid.* 536.

48 See Barry, Brian (1991) *Democracy and Power: Essays in Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

own sacrifices.⁴⁹ These arguments again render justifiable policies and discourses which establish or strengthen the exclusiveness of welfare.

Against the background of these three arguments, liberal nationalism seems to be supportive of a reconciliation between welfare nationalism and liberal principles. Nonetheless, the classical liberal distrust towards (welfare) nationalism still exists and many mainstream liberal scholars reject the arguments of liberal nationalists. As David Miller shows, critics claim, first, that since most contemporary societies are multicultural or at least confronted with large immigration flows, personal autonomy becomes more a matter of choosing elements from different cultures.⁵⁰ However, these arguments might, if so, refer mainly to typical immigration countries with a number of enrooted and recognised ethnic structures like the United States, Canada, Australia and, to a limited extent, Great Britain and France, whereas most European welfare states such as Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian states remained homogenous in ethnic terms until the post-war period and they lack any established cultural basis for individuals' (especially for the members of the core nation) freedom of choice.⁵¹

The second major argument against the normative upgrading of liberal (welfare) nationalism is that individuals in contemporary societies usually have multiple identities of a familial, local, ethnic, religious or professional character and they thus have no particular dominant identity. Therefore, it is claimed that liberal states should guarantee the

49 Miller, David (1995) *On Nationality*, 92.

50 Miller, David (2008) 'Nationalism', 536.

51 As depicted, for instance, by Waldron: Waldron, Jeremy (2000) 'What is Cosmopolitan?', *The Journal of Political Philosophy* Vol. 8, Number 2, 227–243.

equal treatment of all identities⁵², whereas nationalism would favour the dominant “national” identity to the detriment of other identities, and usually against the principles of justice, liberty and against people’s “happiness”.⁵³ Consequently, this would violate the liberal principle of equal citizenship.⁵⁴ Against this argument it can be emphasised that empirical studies on personal and collective identity demonstrate that national identity remains the strongest and by far unchallengeable identity.⁵⁵

Third, critics of liberal (welfare) nationalism reject the argument that democracy and social justice need a strong shared sense of nationality⁵⁶ and consider citizens’ identification with their political community, also on a strictly political basis and not necessarily on a national one as sufficient⁵⁷. Consequently they argue that many ethnic minority groups – for instance immigrant groups – could be included into the community as equal citizens.⁵⁸ This argument against the normative upgrading of liberal (welfare) nationalism seems to be the

52 See for example Habermas, Jürgen (2005) ‘Equal Treatment of Cultures and the Limits of Postmodern Liberalism’, *The Journal of Political Philosophy* Vol. 13, No. 1, 1–28

53 Berlin, Isaiah (1981) *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 342–343.

54 Miller, David (2008) ‘Nationalism’, 537.

55 For instance recently Lechner, J. Frank (2007) ‘Redefining National Identity. Dutch Evidence on Global Patterns’, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol 48(4): 355–368, see also Smith, Tom W. and Seokho Kim (2006) ‘National Pride in Comparative Perspective: 1995/96 and 2003/04’, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* Vol. 18, Issue 1, 127–136.

56 Abizadeh, Arash (2004) ‘Liberal nationalist versus postnational social integration: on the nation’s ethno-cultural particularity and ‘concreteness’, *Nations and Nationalism* 10 (3), 231–250.

57 See Dzur, Albert W. (2002) ‘Nationalism, Liberalism, and Democracy’, *Political Research Quarterly* 55 (1), 191–211.

58 See for this argument Crepaz, Markus M. L. (2007) *Trust beyond Borders: Immigration, the Welfare State and Identity in Modern Societies*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; see also Banting, Keith/Johnston, Richard/Kymlicka Will/Soroka Stuart (2006) ‘Do multiculturalism policies erode the welfare state? An empirical analysis’ in Banting, Keith and Kymlicka, Will (eds.) *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 49–91.

most plausible one. However, a successful identification on exclusively civic terms with a national political system or a “constitutional patriotism” requires the existence of political institutions designed to deal with complex multicultural contexts. In the realm of most European welfare states the structures and character of political conciliation and social institutions reflect more the democratic development based on nation and nationality than a set of more abstract political principles free from national contexts.⁵⁹

In sum, even if the concept of liberal nationalism remains debatable, it provides us with good arguments for a normative reconciliation between welfare nationalism and liberalism.

⁵⁹ See Greenfeld, Liah (1992) *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Welfare Nationalism and Competitive Community

Pauli Kettunen

Introduction

Nationalism is constitutive of modern political forms of social life. It postulates the nations, however defined, as primary political units. Thus it provides legitimisation for the territorial political entities called nation-states and for the international system based on nation-states. Nationalism is also a crucial ingredient in the nation-states bearing the character of a welfare state. The evolving of the welfare-state character of nation-states, in turn, has remarkably affected the forms and contents of nationalism, not least by reshaping national identities and the notions of nation-state citizenship.

Through the transformations called globalisation, national welfare states have been challenged. Yet it is far from evident that this means a diminishing role for nationalism. Nationalism does not only appear in protectionist or racist reactions against the global mobility of capital, information, ideas, and people, or in ethnic conflicts in countries of collapsed statehood. It is also an inherent part of the globalised economy, appearing, especially, in the concern for “our” competitiveness. In this chapter I will argue that, as an integral aspect of globalisation, the national welfare states like those referred to by the concept of

the “Nordic model” have been gradually but profoundly transformed through the nationalism associated with and nourished by global economic competition.

It is reasonable to recognise the limits of nation-state capacities in the globalised economy. Nation-states are important but not the sole norm-giving actors in the emerging multi-level structure of global governance. There are various national, international and transnational players, including transnational organisations of regional integration, most notably the European Union, worldwide regulative institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the Gs with a changing and varying number of countries and leaders, as well as transnational companies and investors. The global governance relying on and facilitating the free play of the competitive market became a target of critique by the “anti-globalisation” movements that emerged in the late 1990s and by a much wider range of political actors and public opinion when the global economic crisis began in 2008. Critics have questioned the capacities of the nation-states, and of the international system of nation-states, to secure the functioning of global capitalism, and many of them, notably those active in transnational non-governmental organisations, have made efforts to promote social and democratic forms of global governance. Such efforts may be aimed to move elements of national welfare states onto the level of transnational regulative arrangements.

Nevertheless, defining globalisation as a national challenge is still a widely adopted way of dealing with this transformation. This perspective is certainly not only associated with nostalgic welfare nationalism or protectionist recipes that appear in the discussion on globalisation and economic crisis. Since the early 1990s, some scholars have em-

ployed the concept of “competition state” to grasp the modes in which the functions, institutions and discourses of the nation-states have changed in connection with national responses to globalisation.¹ This transformation obviously also includes changes in the nationalistic legitimisation of the nation-state as well as in the shaping of identities and in notions of citizenship.

The changes seem to be at the same time paradoxical and controversial. They are paradoxical because the competition state, while fulfilling imperatives of “our” competitiveness, seems to point to the notion of a warm *community* instead of a cool *society* that has been arguably associated with the Nordic-type welfare states. The changes are, however, not just paradoxical but also inherently controversial. While the emphasis on “us” in the making of competitive territorial (most notably national) communities is an integral part of globalised economic competition, the very same transformations may also either erode the solidarity based on common spatial ties or help to open new cross-national and cross-territorial perspectives for defining “us”.

In what follows, I first examine the notion of national society in the making of the Nordic welfare state. Secondly, focussing on the Swedish economist and policy planner Gunnar Myrdal, the emergence of the critique of welfare-state nationalism is discussed. The Myrdalian post-World-War-II visions of national and worldwide “created harmony”, with their optimistic confidence in “enlightened citizenry”, are then contrasted with some turn-of-the-millennium ideas of national

1 Cerny, Philip G. (1990) *The changing architecture of politics. Structure, agency, and the future of the state*. London: Sage Publications; Streeck, Wolfgang (1998) ‘Industrielle Beziehungen in einer internationalisierten Wirtschaft’, in Ulrich Beck (ed.) *Politik der Globalisierung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp; Palan, Ronen & Abbot, Jason, with Phil Deans (1999) *State Strategies in the Global Political Economy*. London and New York: Pinter.

and transnational social harmony, notably those associated with the concepts of “corporate citizenship” and “social partnership”. I will argue that these concepts have reflected and contributed to the changing relationship between the public and the private, which has been a crucial aspect in the reshaping of the nation-state as a competition state, and to the changing relationships between consensus and compromise. In conclusion, the popular concept of “model” is associated with the changing role of the nation-state as well as with the role of competitiveness for Euronationalism and for the motivation of social policies in the EU.

The society of virtuous circles and symmetries

‘Society’ has been a popular concept in the Nordic countries. The concept in its Nordic usage bears those characteristics of the modern idea of society which in debates on postmodernity and globalisation have been deemed as unsustainable. ‘Society’ has been fixed to the nation-state, referred to an integrated entity with its own subjectivity, and included progress as an inherent code of the future.² In the 19th century when the modernising nation-state society emerged as the framework for the “social question”, the concept of society in the Nordic countries as well as elsewhere in Europe came to refer both to a normative power and to a target of empirical knowledge. The normative criteria and capacities associated with society were applied to the empirical society in which need, poverty, class divisions, discontent and a lack of discipline

2 Featherstone, Mike (1995) *Undoing Culture. Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*. London: Sage Publications; Touraine, Alain (1995) *Critique of Modernity*. Cambridge, Mass. and Oxford: Blackwell; Beck, Ulrich (1997) *Was ist Globalisierung? Irrtümer des Globalismus – Antworten auf Globalisierung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

was recognised. Normative society was a representation of the interest of the national whole in a dual sense: it referred, on one hand, to the interest of the *national economy* above private economic interests and, on the other hand, to the *social principle* that put limits to economic action in the name of society.³

A Nordic specificity seems to be, however, that the concept of society is provided with a particular normative power. ‘Society’ was and is often used as a term for the *state or public power* in a way that would be hardly comprehensible in English, French or German political languages. Arguably, this usage of ‘society’ – *samhälle* (Swedish), *samfund* (Danish), *samfunn* (Norwegian), *samfélag* (Icelandic) or *yhteiskunta* (Finnish) – reflected and legitimised the crucial role of the state in the processes through which Europe’s Northern periphery was integrated into the expanding capitalist economy. As the interest of the national economy as well as the social principle putting limits to economic action were advocated in the name of society, the message gained extra influence from the association of society with the state at the same time as it directly provided governmental interventions with societal legitimation.

The Nordic countries came to be small open economies that were – each country in its specific way – highly dependent on export and exposed to the cycles and crises of the world economy. This international dependence provided prerequisites for strong notions of the national economy and national society. In the 1930s, these notions acquired wider meanings. The relationships between the three normative aspects of ‘society’ – the interest of national economy, the social limits of

3 Kettunen, Pauli (2000) ‘Yhteiskunta – ‘Society’ in Finnish’, Finnish Yearbook of Political Thought 2000, Vol 4. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 159–197.

economic action, and the state and public power – and between them and the empirical society were reshaped in a way that was crucial for the development of the Nordic welfare states.

Drawing from the experiences of the Great Depression and the rise of Fascism in Europe, as well as reflecting class structures, the so-called Scandinavian class compromises included the political coalitions of “workers and farmers”, i.e. the Social Democrats and the Agrarian Parties, and the national consolidation of the practice of collective negotiations and agreements in industrial labour markets. A virtuous circle was supposed to connect the interests of worker-consumers and farmer-producers on the one hand, and of workers and employers on the other. The class compromises manifesting this mode of thought contributed to the shaping of a “dualist economy”⁴: a considerable openness to, and thus dependence on, world markets were combined with the protection of some nationally highly valued sectors, above all agriculture, and with internal egalitarian and consensual negotiated regulations concerning, in particular, the relationships between labour and capital. These arrangements proved to be not only a means for protecting the national society from external economic risks but also a source of international economic competitiveness.

The practical significance of the new Keynesian-type employment and economic policies before World War II has been debated, notably concerning the case of Sweden. Researchers have questioned the role of conscious contra-cycle measures for the overcoming of the economic crisis or pointed out that, after the Depression, unemployment

4 Cf. Palan & Abbot 1999, 103–120.

still remained high.⁵ On the level of political discourse, however, the ideas of a virtuous circle indicated important changes in the 1930s. The virtuous circle included something more than just *organised economic interests* in a positive-sum game. It was also a virtuous circle between *equality, efficiency and solidarity*, which, in a sense, can be seen to be based on three different ideological strains of Nordic modernisation processes: *the idealised heritage of the free, independent peasant, the spirit of capitalism, and the utopia of socialism*. The virtuous circle was supposed to be achieved through compromises between different collective interests and with the support of social planning within a national society.

A crucial part of Scandinavian class compromises in the 1930s was the reinforced idea of *parity* between labour market parties organised symmetrically at various levels of national society. The principle of collective agreements had much earlier already achieved a recognised status and practical significance in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. In this respect the September Agreement of 1899 between the Danish central organisations of workers and employers provided a model. In the 1930s, trade unions and employer organisations, urged on by experiences of widespread and harsh industrial conflicts, were ready to further specify the rules of the game and to consolidate the system of negotiations and agreements. This transformation, as expressed in the Norwegian *hovedavtal* in 1935 and the Swedish *Saltsjöbaden* Argeement in 1938 between the peak organisations of workers and employ-

5 Gustafsson, Bo (1993) 'Unemployment and fiscal policy in Sweden during the 1930s: myths and reality', in W. R. Garside (ed.) *Capitalism in Crisis. International Responses to the Great Depression*. London: Pinter Publishers, New York: St. Martin Press, 60–61; Unga, Nils (1976) *Socialdemokratin och arbetslöshetsfrågan. Framväxten av den 'nya' arbetslöshetspolitiken*. Arkiv avhandlingsserie 4, Stockholm.

ers, can be seen as a redefining of universal and particular interests. Labour market parties reciprocally recognised the particular, and not the universal, and therefore legitimate nature of their interests. They committed themselves to taking into account through their mutual compromises the universal interest that was assigned to ‘society’ and included objectives such as the prevention of damaging conflicts, the promotion of rationalisation, and the increase of purchase power.⁶

No doubt, defining the universal interest of society remained a contested question and dependent on the changing relations of power. The Nordic Social Democrats, especially the Social Democratic trade union leaders, included the collective agreements of labour market parties into the concept of “Nordic democracy”. In *Norden*, probably in Sweden the most successfully and in Finland the least successfully, the Social Democratic movement was able to establish the parity of labour market parties as a normative standard of the ‘society’ itself, which could then be turned against the prevailing asymmetries. The strong trade unions were supposed to extend democracy in two senses, both as a “popular movement” and as one of the two “parties” making parity-based agreements in the labour market.⁷

Virtuous circles and party symmetries did not simply refer to the existing state of affairs. They were conceived as normative standards of the society, containing the code for its future change and reform. This

6 This mode of thought was formulated, e.g. in a Swedish governmental committee report that paved the way for the Saltsjöbaden Agreement of 1938, by proposing that the labour market parties should “depoliticise” their mutual relationships in order to be able to realise, through their compromises, the interest of “society”. SOU 1935:65. Betänkande om folkförsörjning och arbetsfred, Del I. Förslag. Statens Offentliga Utredningar 1935:65, Stockholm, 129.

7 Kettunen, Pauli (2010) ‘The Sellers of Labour Power as Social Citizens – A Utopian wage-work society in Nordic visions of welfare’, in Helena Blomberg & Nanna Kildal (eds.) *Workfare and welfare state legitimacy*, NordWel Studies in Historical Welfare State Research 1. Helsinki: NordWel.

understanding of society included the idea of immanent critique according to which the normative standards of society were assumed to serve as criteria through which society was able to criticise and revise itself.

Not only the contents of what was conceived of as the normative standards of society but also the possibilities of applying them as criteria of social criticism were a matter of hegemonic struggle. In the 1930s, Nordic Social Democrats were successful in defining the national community with critical criteria associated with an inclusive concept of 'people' (*folk*).⁸ Among such critical definitions, the Swedish People's Home (*folkhem*) became the best known. The Social Democrats captured the metaphor of home that had been popular among the right-wing nationalists and proved that the social circumstances did not fulfil this criterion. They consequently attached new political meanings to this metaphor.⁹ Under conditions of increased political power of Social Democracy, the gap between normative standards and social reality was then to be filled by the action of the labour movement and by public planning – social engineering¹⁰ – relying on scientific knowledge. In this way, in turn, the Social Democrats reshaped

8 Christiansen, Niels Finn (1992) 'Socialismen og fædrelandet. Arbejderbevægelsen mellem internationale og national stolthed 1871–1940', in Ole Feldbæk (ed.) *Dansk identitetshistorie 3. Folkets Danmark, 1848–1940*. København: Reitzel; Götz, Norbert (2001) *Ungleiche Geschwister: Die Konstruktion von nationalsozialistischer Volksgemeinschaft und schwedischem Volksheim. Die kulturelle Konstruktion von Gemeinschaften*. 4. Diss. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

9 Götz 2001; Larsson, Jan (1994) *Hemmet vi ärvde. Om folkhemmet, identiteten och den gemensamma framtiden*. Stockholm: Arena.

10 Hirdman, Yvonne (1997) "Social Planning under Rational Control". *Social Engineering in Sweden in the 1930s and 1940s*, in Pauli Kettunen & Hanna Eskola (eds.) *Models, Modernity and the Myrdals*. Renvall Institute Publications 8. Helsinki: The Renvall Institute for Area and Cultural Studies, University of Helsinki, 55–80; Marklund, Carl (2008) *Bridging Politics and Science. The concept of Social Engineering in Sweden and the USA, 1890–1950*. Doctoral Dissertation. Florence: European University Institute.

the values and norms which could be conceived of as normative standards of the society and, thus, as criteria of immanent critique and the basis for political action and planning. In the very same process, Social Democracy became the central factor of national integration.

The welfare state and the welfare world

In 1934 the Swedish social scientists and policy planners Alva and Gunnar Myrdal published the book *Kris i befolkningsfrågan* (Crisis in Population Question). This book is often referred to as a document of how the ideologies of rationalisation and nationalism became united in the welfare-state project. The vitality of the population of a nation had been a major concern of conservative nationalists, yet in the 1930s the Social Democratic reformers seized on the population question. This question was included in the Social Democratic agenda of social reform which the Social Democrats were now in a more powerful position than before to define as the national agenda.

The Myrdals argued for “prophylactic social policies” aiming to raise “the quality of human material” in Sweden. One of their major objectives was to improve social environments for children’s upbringing and education. In some cases, the interest of society would make sterilisation necessary, although “even in the future society must in many cases be content with separating children from their unsuitable parents and thus from damaging environmental impacts”.¹¹ No doubt, the question of the improvement of social environments was for the Myrdals much wider, and “society” had to use many other rational methods of prophylactic social policies. In any case, at the same time as the Myrdals’ book

11 Myrdal, Alva & Gunnar (1934) *Kris i befolkningsfrågan*. Stockholm: Bonniers, 260.

demonstrated the transformation bringing the Social Democracy into the centre of national integration, it was also a manifestation of the responsibilities, duties and rights of “society” to intervene in the sphere of private interests and in the lives of individuals and families.

After World War II, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal became famous as advocates not only for the international role of Sweden but also for solutions to worldwide problems of peace and development. Associated with this global orientation was a critique of the nationalism and state-centredness of the welfare state. *Beyond the Welfare State* (1960), based on Gunnar Myrdal’s lectures at Yale University in 1958, was an attempt to solve two problems of the welfare state: detailed bureaucratic control and nationalism.

The solution was not liberalistic deregulation but the perfection of planning or “created harmony”. It had long been clear to Myrdal that no natural harmony or equilibrium of private interests existed. However, the “created harmony” was neither a world of widespread state intervention. Myrdal presented in *Beyond the Welfare State* a three-phase history of planning. The phase of prehistory included uncoordinated public interventions as attempts to solve the problems caused by “the quasi-liberal state of mass-poverty, much social rigidity, and gross inequality of opportunity”. Then attempts at the coordination of these interventions by planning were initiated and increasingly expanded. This meant more direct state intervention. However, this second phase would prove to be a transitional one:

In this transitional phase of the development towards the more perfect democratic Welfare State, while coordination and planning are becoming gradually more thorough, under the pressure of continually growing volume of intervention, both by the state and by collective

authorities and power groups beneath the state level, it often happens that people confuse planning with direct and detailed state regulations. The opposite, however, is true; there is still a such large volume of intervention because the measures are not ideally coordinated and planned.

From the transitional second phase, however, the third phase would emerge. The perfection of planning could mean an actual decrease of state intervention:

The assumption is a continued strengthening of provincial and municipal self-government, and a balanced growth of the infra-structure of effective interest organizations. This would, in its turn, presume an intensified citizens' participation and control, exerted in both these fields.¹²

In the “created harmony” all relevant interests were institutionally articulated and nobody, especially not the economically powerful, had any right to claim their particular interests were universal. The inseparable connection of planning and education was essential for Myrdal: everybody would be able to reflect his or her interests in a wider social framework. Indeed, while in *Crisis in Population Question* a key notion had been “the improvement of the quality of human material”, in *Beyond the Welfare State* it was “a more enlightened citizenry”.

Most importantly, “created harmony” should and would be realised not only within a national framework but also on a global scale. In the late 1950s, Myrdal was critically aware that the “welfare state is nationalistic” and that there was a discrepancy between “National Integration

12 Myrdal, Gunnar (1960) *Beyond the Welfare State. Economic Planning in the Welfare State and its International Implications*. London: Duckworth, 67–68.

versus International Integration". He found nationalism in the under-developed countries vital for modernisation: in these countries there were "rational grounds for more nationalistic economic policies" and the "political need for nationalism". Promoting modernisation and rationalisation in the world presupposed, however, that the developed countries would overcome their welfare-state nationalism.¹³ The integration projects aimed at closed regional arrangements – such as those that had appeared in Europe – were not suited to the goal that Myrdal called a "Welfare World".

At the national level, the creation of harmony meant "to recondition the national community in such way that for the most part it can be left to the cooperation and collective bargaining of the people themselves, in all sorts of communities and organisations beneath the formal state level, to settle the norms for their living together". Internationally, created harmony meant that "economic balance in the world, and at the same time national stability and progress in all countries, should be secured by inter-governmental planning and concerted action, directed towards a coordination of national policies in the common interest".¹⁴ The vision of a *national* "created harmony" can be seen as an attempt to contrast Western welfare states with the unregulated liberalist economy, on the one hand, and the Soviet model of direct intervention of the totalitarian state, on the other hand. Myrdal's vision of *international* "created harmony", or a Welfare World, in turn, was an attempt to overcome both East-West and the North-South confrontations. Myrdal's trust in the possibility of a virtuous circle between national integration and welfare, and international integration and balance was crucial.

13 Myrdal 1960, 111–117, 151–155.

14 Myrdal 1960, 74, 213.

A critical reader might find here a problem concerning the framework of agency. One may say that the move from the welfare state to a welfare world presupposed and included a widening of the meanings of 'us'. Obviously, 'we' defined through the national solidarity associated with the welfare state and 'we' defined through international solidarity were not identical. In order to overcome the discrepancy of "National Integration versus International Integration" and create a virtuous circle between these two processes of integration, Myrdal put his confidence in "the international idealism of all people, which I believe is a reality".¹⁵ Here Myrdal was actually applying his general principle that social research and political reforms should start from an empirical identification of prevailing values and a choice of some of them as value premises for research and reform. Inherent in Myrdal's thought was the idea of a rational choice of value premises: those really existing values should be chosen that corresponded to the processes of rationalisation and, thus, the triumph of Enlightenment principles.¹⁶

As an empirical fact that Myrdal believed to be true, "the international idealism of all people" provided value premises for extending the welfare state into a welfare world. One may detect here an element of spontaneity included in the Myrdalian "created harmony", yet it would be consciously constructed on knowledge-based self-government and the organisation of interests as well as on international agreements. The vision combined planning, divergent interests and democracy in a

15 Myrdal 1960, 214.

16 Kettunen, Pauli (1997) 'The Society of Virtuous Circles', in Kettunen Pauli & Eskola, Hanna (eds.) *Models, Modernity and the Myrdals*. Renvall Institute Publications 8. Helsinki: The Renvall Institute for Area and Cultural Studies, University of Helsinki, 153–173; Strang, Johan (2007) 'Overcoming the rift between 'is' and 'ought' – Gunnar Myrdal and the philosophy of social engineering', *Ideas in History*, Nr. 2.

way that can be seen as a critical elaboration of the Nordic confidence in the possibility of virtuous circles and symmetrical social relationships within a nation-state society.

Corporate citizenship

In the discussion on globalisation and transnational integration since the 1980s strong emphases have been placed on harmony. In part, they have appeared in the form of neo-liberalist assumptions on the self-regulating market that, however, were severely questioned by the crisis that began in 2008. Constructions of harmony have also been included in other ways in the mainstream of globalisation rhetoric. In the search for “our” competitiveness it is still mostly the national entities that this “we” refers to. The reproducing of local, regional and, especially, national “imagined communities”¹⁷ seems to be an integral part of globalisation. The emphases on self-regulation and community bear some resemblances from Myrdal’s “created harmony”. In the context of self-regulation and community we can also find the theme of citizenship discussed in a way that might remind one of Myrdal’s reliance on “a more enlightened citizenry”. I will focus on a recent specific extension of the concept of citizen: the idea that not just human beings but also large transnational business companies are citizens.¹⁸

The idea of being “a good corporate citizen” in all their different environments of action emerged in the first years of the 21st century into the value manifestos of numerous large business companies. The

17 Anderson, Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso.

18 I have examined this topic in more detail in Kettunen, Pauli (2005) ‘Corporate citizenship and social partnership’, in Lars-Folke Landgrén & Pirkko Hautamäki (eds.) *People, Citizen, Nation*. Renvall Institute, Helsinki 2005, 28–49.

expression may have appeared occasionally in American management texts as early as in the 1980s, yet it only gained popularity since the late 1990s. Corporate citizenship was then rapidly adopted even in academic milieus. The *Journal of Corporate Citizenship* was first published in 2001 and several research institutes were founded in the field of corporate citizenship during the first years of the 21st century, e.g. in the United States, Britain, Australia and Germany. A growing number of government units, consultancies and think-tanks dedicated to “corporate social responsibility” and “corporate citizenship” have been launched.¹⁹

“Corporate citizenship” was raised as an affirmative response to demands for “social responsibility” in enterprises and demands to adopt a “stakeholder” instead of a narrow “shareholder” perspective. The wider introduction of the concept coincided with the rise of movements criticising the neo-liberalist direction of globalisation. “Corporate citizenship” indicates a need and will to respond to the critique of the impacts of globalisation on the poor majority of the world and to the critique of the policies of transnational companies in countries with low wages and few socio-political norms. It is a concept aimed to reorientate the discussion on the needs, possibilities and forms of global governance and global democracy.

At the World Economic Forum in Davos in 1999, the General Secretary of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, urged business leaders to respond to the emerging critique of globalisation by means of col-

19 Matten, Dirk & Crane, Andrew (2003) Corporate Citizenship: Towards an extended theoretical conceptualization. ICCSR Research Paper Series No. 04-2003. Nottingham: International Centre for Corporate Social Responsibility, Nottingham University Business School. (www.nottingham.ac.uk/business/ICCSR/pdf/ResearchPdfs/04-2003.pdf)

laborating for “good corporate citizenship”. This initiative led to the foundation of the programme and network called Global Compact in 2000 with UN support.²⁰ The vigilant role of intergovernmental organisations in adopting and diffusing novel concepts is also worth noting. “Corporate citizenship” was included in the agendas of the EU, ILO and OECD. For example, the ILO carried out “The Management and Corporate Citizenship Programme”. The programme was aimed to help to “build the supportive systems and the managerial competencies that enable enterprises to be productive, competitive and viable and at the same time meet the increasing social expectations on business”.²¹ Corporate citizenship clearly belongs to the field of issues in which the intergovernmental organisations such as the ILO and, still more influentially, OECD primarily produce comparative knowledge and, thus, promote “bench-marking” and the diffusion of “best practices” instead of aiming at legally binding conventions.

The World Economic Forum has held its position as a leading arena for advocating corporate citizenship. A landmark in the triumph of this concept was the joint statement on “Global Corporate Citizenship – The Leadership Challenge for CEOs and Boards” that was signed by the CEOs of 34 large multinational corporations at the World Economic Forum 2002 in New York. The leaders and boards were advised to “define the issues”, “agree on company’s spheres of influence”, and “identify key stakeholders”. The issues to be defined included “good corporate governance and ethics”, “responsibility for people”, “responsibility for environmental impacts”, and “broader contribution to de-

20 Rowe, James K. (2005) ‘Corporate social responsibility as business strategy’, in Ronnie D. Lipschutz with James K. Rowe, *Globalization, Governmentality and Global Politics. Regulation for the rest of us?* London / New York: Routledge, 130–131.

21 <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/empent/> (September 2009).

velopment”. The categories of company’s spheres of influence, in turn, were divided into “core business operations”, “host communities”, “industry associations”, and “public policy realm”. The stakeholders to be identified were included in two main categories. The first category comprised “investors, customers and employees”, while the second was a mixed collection of “other stakeholders” such as “business partners, industry associations, local communities, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, research and academic institutions, the media and government bodies – from local municipalities to regional, state and national governments and international bodies such as those in the United Nations system”.²²

“Corporate citizenship” implicates a structure of global governance different from the Myrdalian late 1950s vision of a Welfare World based on the bridging of national and international integration. It is paradoxical that at the time of loosened spatial ties of capital, the humble community-oriented concept of “corporate citizenship” was introduced. Yet, this paradox reflects the fact that territorial communities, most notably national communities, are reproduced as a part of globalised economic competition.²³ “Corporate citizenship” is a concept referring to a membership in a community, but it is not a concept for discussing rights and duties as the concept of citizenship conventionally was. It is not primarily associated with one’s relationship to the

22 World Economic Forum 2002. Global Corporate Citizenship – The Leadership Challenge for CEOs and Boards. www.weforum.org/pdf/GCCI/GCC_CEOstatement.pdf.

23 Cf. Sassen, Saskia (2000) ‘Territory and Territoriality in the Global Economy’, *International Sociology*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 372–393; Sassen, Saskia (2006) *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Rosamond, Ben (2002) ‘Imagining the European Economy: ‘Competitiveness’ and the Social Construction of Europe as an Economic Space’, *New Political Economy*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 157–177.

state, but with the sphere of voluntary activities to which the concept of “civil society” has been, since the 1980s, frequently applied.

In the rhetoric on corporate citizenship, the key word is “responsibility”, and the basic idea is governance through responsible self-regulating companies. This “neo-voluntarism”²⁴ does not mean any essential hostility towards official norms set by legislation or collective agreements. Thus, for example, “human and labour rights” are mentioned in several parts of the description of issues in the 2002 declaration. Varying forms of trade union participation may be associated with the schemes of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of different companies. Several transnational companies have made international framework agreements with international trade union federations concerning some general principles in their CSR programmes, including the right of unionisation and sometimes even a role for national and local trade unions in implementing and monitoring the programmes.²⁵ However, the very idea of stakeholders, and also the way in which it was expressed in the 2002 declaration on Global Corporate Citizenship, means a redefining of the relationship between public and private, and a redefining of the role of collective labour market agreements.

The manifestos on corporate citizenship remind us of previous company paternalism that especially in the early 20th century was characteristic of many large industrial enterprises regarding their internal social relationships as well as their relationships to the host communi-

24 Cf. Streeck 1998, 408.

25 Croucher, Richard & Cotton, Elizabeth (2009) *Global Unions, Global Business. Global Union Federations and International Business*. London: Middlesex University Press, 57–68.

ties. However, it is important to pay attention to a profound change concerning the role of spatial ties.

A market relationship has developed between business environments and business companies. One aspect of this change is a turnaround of the positions of public and private. National and local public authorities are behaving as market actors as they try to produce attractive business environments and sell them to enterprises and investors, pointing out, for example, their high levels of “human capital” and “social capital”. Private enterprises, in turn, are active in creating self-regulating norms and sanctions, e.g. in the form of various certificates in social and environmental issues, as an alternative to legal constraints. “Corporate citizenship” is an expression for this turnaround of the positions of public and private. At the same time it indicates that not only the constructors and sellers of business environments but also the leaders of business companies have to take into account the needs of the popular legitimacy of their policies. For companies this means, most obviously, a sensitivity to consumer attitudes.

However, the influence that transnationally operating enterprises exert on their actual or potential business environments is Janus-faced. This can be illuminated with support from the American economist Albert O. Hirschman, who has distinguished between the alternative ways actors respond to the changes in the milieu of their activities: exit, voice and loyalty. Freely interpreting Hirschman’s distinction, *exit* means leaving an unsatisfactory milieu, while *voice* refers to attempts to exert influence on the environment and *loyalty* to the commitment in its modes of functioning.²⁶ The processes called globalisation, nota-

26 Hirschman, Albert O. (1970) *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty. Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press.

bly the deregulation and globalisation of financial markets, have greatly increased the differences between various economic actors concerning their opportunities to choose between these alternatives. The exit option is present in a new way to transnational economic actors, i.e. transnational enterprises and ever more so to transnational investors. Most importantly, the exit option is a powerful silent means to use an influential voice.

The exit option is one side of the Janus face, while the other side is “corporate citizenship”. These two faces can be met in the debates in which globalisation is defined and dealt with as a national challenge. Adopting such a national horizon of action, politics is oriented to reshaping the nation state as a “competition state”. In the competition state, the relationship between politics and economies appears to have two sides. On one hand, politics is shaped as the reactive fulfilling of economic necessities, which, in turn, are associated with the exit option of companies and investors. On the other hand, politics is aimed at the active creation of an innovative context for competitive companies. In the spirit of “corporate citizenship”, varying forms of “Public Private Partnership” emerge in the projects for creating and exploiting competitive business environments, engaging national and local public authorities, universities and other institutes of research, education and training, large and small enterprises, and various kinds of voluntary organisations.

Obviously, “corporate citizenship” refers to citizenship that is profoundly different from the Myrdalian idea of “enlightened citizenry”, which consists of human beings capable of self-government, the mutual recognising of their particular interests, and the overcoming of the nationalism of the welfare state. Firstly, this is not an “enlightened

citizenry” of human beings but business companies. Secondly, the rhetoric on “corporate citizenship” and “stakeholders” pushes aside a crucial idea implicit in Myrdal’s emphasis on the recognition of all relevant interests²⁷ and explicit in the Nordic ideals of symmetrical labour market relations.

The idea was that the interests of business companies as employers are no more than a category of particular interests and that this will be ensured through collective and public regulation of labour relations, empowering the weaker party (workers) to take care of their interests and constraining the stronger party (employers) from presenting their interests as universal. This idea appeared at the “macro” level of the national economy and society, but also at the “micro” level of the business economy and enterprise. One can find a more or less explicit distinction between “enterprise” and “employer” in which the general interest of the enterprise was not just identified with the action of management but rather conceived as an outcome of the parity-based agreements and negotiations between employees and employer with their particular interests.

In this way, “industrial democracy” in the Nordic countries was strongly associated with the widening and deepening of the system of collective agreements instead of referring to a separate parallel institu-

27 It is worth noting that for Myrdal the balance of interests concerned not only different interests of different groups but also different interests in connection to different roles of individuals. He was concerned that collective bargaining was exclusively organised according to the role of the income earner. The absence of proper articulation of consumer interests resulted in inflationary tendencies and made direct state interventions necessary to correct the bias. Myrdal 1960, 78–86.

tion of personnel participation.²⁸ This meant that trade unions, with their considerable power to set the agenda on working life issues, began to draw management issues into the sphere of collective industrial relations. However, in the 1980s a change occurred and the direction altered. In defining questions and solutions concerning work and employment, the perspective of management, and in particular, of human resource management, became predominant. Trade unions, adopting a defensive position, were reoriented to promote the notion that the institutions of collective industrial relations were beneficial for the effective management of competitive business.

Corresponding to the hegemonic primacy of the management perspective over the industrial relations perspective, the transnational rhetoric of national business interest organisations tends to send the message that they represent the *universal* interest of “economy” in relation to the *particular* and biased interests of trade unions and public authorities. In fact, in many European countries, e.g. in all Nordic countries, separate employer organisations have been abolished. The representation of enterprises as employers has been included as just one part in the business interest organisations that represent the interest of the “economy” in relation to many different “stakeholders”, competitiveness appearing as the core of this universalised interest.

On the other hand, for “global corporate citizens”, national business interest organisations are but one category of “stakeholders”. What

28 Knudsen, Herman (1995) *Employee Participation in Europe*. London: Sage Publications; Kettunen, Pauli (1998) 'Globalisation and the Criteria of 'Us' – A Historical Perspective on the Discussion of the Nordic Model and New Challenges', in Daniel Fleming, Pauli Kettunen, Henrik Søborg & Christer Thörnqvist (eds.) *Global Redefining of Working Life – A New Nordic Agenda for Competence and Participation?* Nord 1998:12. Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers, 33–80.

kinds of motives can tie a transnational company to a national business or employer interest organisations? This is at least as fundamental a question as are the problems of trade union membership that used to dominate the research on industrial relations. There are plausible motives, and an obvious one is the logic of buying services, i.e. services of interest representation. We might assume that the need, availability and quality of such services are among the variables according to which the leaders of transnational corporations assess different potential national environments of business. In turn, the nation-states in their hard market competition as sellers of business environments for competitive economic performance may include the good-working systems of collective conflict regulation and consensus making as competitive advantages into brands of their own.²⁹ Arguably, this is just one of the divergent ways in which “competition states” and competitive national communities may be shaped through the encounters of transnational economic actors and national institutions, yet it can also be seen as a crucial aspect in how the Nordic welfare states and collective agreement systems are motivated and modified to serve competition-state functions.³⁰ We can also find this kind of argumentation in the discussion on the “European social model”, and it is inherent in the vocabulary concerning the social dimension of the European Union in

29 In Finland, a commission for developing the country brand of Finland was nominated in 2008 by Foreign Minister Alexander Stubb. It was chaired by Jorma Ollila, the president of the boards of Shell and Nokia, who has on several occasions – also when active as the CEO of Nokia in 1992–2006 – expressed his views on the economic benefits of the “Nordic model”. The report of the brand commission was published in 2010.

30 Andersen, Torben M., Holmström, Bengt, Honkapohja, Seppo, Korkman, Sixten, Söderström, Hans Tson & Vartiainen, Juhana (2007) *The Nordic Model – Embracing Globalization and Sharing Risks*. Helsinki: The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy ETLA.

which “social partners” and “social dialogue” are among the key concepts.

Social partnership

In discussion on the societal role of business companies, “corporate citizenship” is not the only community-oriented expression. At the time of increasing asymmetries between capital and labour, especially concerning their spatial ties, the positive symmetrical expressions of “social partners” and “social dialogue” have been widely adopted. Thus, according to the language of the European Union, “social dialogue” between “social partners” is a crucial mode of action on the “social dimension” of European integration. “Social partners” is the term for trade unions and employer organisations. Indeed, one connotation of being a citizen is thereby attached to large transnational companies. In EU texts, social partners are characterised as actors of civil society and, consequently, the European social dialogue is presented as a way of creating a European civil society. Since “civil society” in this usage means the sphere of citizens’ voluntary association, enterprises, associated in their employer organisations, thus qualify as citizens.

In the mid-1980s “social dialogue” between “social partners” was officially introduced in the procedures of European integration. The status of social dialogue has been confirmed in the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties of the European Union as well as in the constitutional Lisbon Treaty. Numerous joint opinions and declarations have been given as results from branch-level, or “sectoral”, as well as peak-level, or “cross-industry”, social dialogue, the issues of training and education being among the easiest ones for achieving a common stance. Yet

rather few examples exist on agreements resulting in binding norms, and no signs appear of a rapid emergence of a European-level system of collective labour-market agreements proper. The social dialogue is a procedure in the “social dimension” of the EU, and in the field of social policies the EU-level arrangements are supposed to play merely a complementary role in relation to national practices. However, the very notions of “social partners” and “social dialogue” are compatible with ideas of soft governance, including non-binding coordination or, as is the case with the current EU principle of Open Method of Coordination, general frameworks for varying national arrangements. Furthermore, European social dialogue has played and still does play a role through its discursive power.³¹

Reading EU documents that deal with or are produced by social dialogue, one can make two observations. Firstly, in the talk about social partners, very little is usually said about the diverging compositions of various social partners. The increased global asymmetries between capital and labour disappear behind the symmetrical figures of social partners and social dialogue. Secondly, there are rarely any hints about confronting interests or compromises between the interests. European social dialogue is described as “force for innovation and change”, “a key to better governance”, or “a force for economic and social moderniza-

31 Concerning OPM see e.g. Zeitlin, Jonathan & Pochet, Philippe, with Lars Magnusson (eds.) (2005) *The Open Method of Coordination in Action: The European Employment and Social Inclusion Strategies*. Brussels: PIE-Peter Lang. – On the adoption of the idea of framework agreements in the EU social dialogue, e.g. Larsen, Trine P. & Andersen, Søren Kaj (2006) ‘Autonomous Framework Agreements – A New Way of Promoting the European Social Model? An Empirical Study of Implementing the Telework Agreement in Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Hungary and the UK’, in Miroslav Stanojevic & Jana Nadoh Bergoc (eds.) *The Future of Social Models. Industrial Relations in Europe Conference (IREC)*. Ljubljana, Slovenia 31 August – 2 September 2006. Conference Proceedings. Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana (CD Publication).

tion”. In these contexts, industrial relations and labour legislation are typically assessed by the criteria of “quality”, reflecting the lessons of total quality management.³² In both respects, the EU rhetoric on social partners and social dialogue excludes modes of thought and action that used to be crucial in Nordic traditions.

In the Marxian tradition of critical theory, the *symmetrical appearance of labour market relationships* is seen as an ideological disguise hiding the basic asymmetry of capital and labour. On the individual level, the relationship between worker and capitalist appears as a free market relationship, yet it is essentially – as Karl Marx concluded – a relationship of subordination and exploitation. Social liberal reformers, when defining the “labour question” and its solutions in the late 19th century, shared the view that a basic asymmetry prevailed in individual employment relationships. They concluded that the weaker party, workers, were in need of protection provided by social legislation and collective agreements, yet at the collective level, in the form of collective agreements, parity would be achieved. This “ideology of parity”³³ directed the development of labour law in Western countries in the 20th century. For critical theory, however, the symmetry at collective level is also a mere formal appearance that conceals the fundamentally different compositions of the two labour market parties. One of the most influential contributions in this critique of ideology is the analysis on “two logics of collective action” by Claus Offe and Helmut Wiesenthal, who focus on the basic differences beyond the symmetri-

32 See e.g. the Industrial Relations in Europe reports that the European Commission has published every second year since 2000.

33 Bruun, Niklas (1979) Kollektivavtal och rättsideologi. En rättsvetenskaplig studie av de rättsideologiska premisserna för inlemmandet av kollektivavtalet och kollektiva kampåtgärder i finsk rättsordning efter år 1924. Vammala: Juridica.

cal outlook of trade unions and employer organisations concerning the actors they represent as well as their modes of creating and articulating collective interests.³⁴

However, in the Nordic traditions of industrial relations, which were shaped by influential trade unions associated with reformist Socialist movements, the symmetry of labour market parties came to mean something more than just a juridical form of regulating labour market conflicts or an ideological disguise of the basic asymmetry of capital and labour. The symmetry of collective labour market agreements became a criteria for an immanent critique, i.e. the mode of critique in which society is criticised by means of the normative standards that appear as the standards of society itself. Since the 1930s and especially after World War II the widening of the field of issues regulated through collective negotiations and agreements was conceived of as a process of democratisation. The vision included also the levelling of the asymmetry of individual employment relationship through collective action or “movement”, which served to counteract and restrict individual competition in the market place. Especially in Swedish debates on working life reform, we can recognise a politically effective Utopian idea according to which the collective-level parity between the labour market parties has to be extended and woven into individual employment relationships, a vision of a kind of social citizenship within wage-work relationships.³⁵

34 Offe, Claus & Wiesenthal, Helmut (1980) ‘Two Logics of Collective Action: Theoretical Notes on Social Class and Organizational Form’, *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol 1, 67–115.

35 Cf. Winner, Langdon (1995) ‘Citizen Virtues in a Technological Order’, in Andrew Feenberg & Alastair Hannay (eds.) *Technology and the Politics of Knowledge*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Since the 1980s, the premises for the Nordic image of symmetry between labour market parties was weakened by a variety of developments: the multinational and transnational character of companies in the global economy; their restructuring in accordance with the network principle; the increase in so-called “atypical” employment relationships; and the growing fluidity of the boundary between wage work and entrepreneurship. It became more difficult to identify, organise, bring together and centralise the different labour market parties within a national society. The idea of the worker as the weaker part of the wage-work relationship tended to be marginalised through the ethos of entrepreneurship at the same time as, on the other hand, the asymmetry between capital and labour increased due to the dramatic growth of the mobility of financial capital.

“Social partners” and “social dialogue” are concepts in a discourse in which the ideas and practices of collective negotiations and agreements are discussed from the point of view of their compatibility with the new needs of European or national competitiveness. By means of these concepts such ideas and practices are defended in a way that focuses on proving them compatible with and beneficial to economic competitiveness. The concepts are very much part of the rhetoric of international organisations, not only the EU but also the ILO. In the 1990s the ILO adopted “social dialogue” into its vocabulary in which “tripartism” (government-employers-workers) remained the old and

still lively core concept.³⁶ While “corporate citizenship” emerged as a management concept for responding to the critique of neo-liberalist globalisation, “social dialogue” has reflected an attempt of the EU Commission to engage business companies in a strategy which aims at European competitiveness based on knowledge, innovation, relatively high social norms, and trade union participation.

At the same time as social partners are presented as a natural element of any society, they are, on the other hand, described as voluntary organisations of civil society structured on the lines of democratic representation.³⁷ Thus, large transnational enterprises are provided with the qualities of active citizenship, which, no doubt, they themselves also wish to adopt, as the expression “corporate citizenship” indicates. “Social partners” as actors of “civil society” could be discussed by a conceptual historical contextualising of this particular usage of the concept of “civil society”. Another line of interpretation could take its point of departure in the Gramscian analysis of hegemony. For Antonio Gramsci, the “integral state” referred to the complex of state machinery and the modes of organising economic interests in “civil society” –

36 On its website, the ILO explains social dialogue as follows: “The main goal of social dialogue itself is to promote consensus building and democratic involvement among the main stakeholders in the world of work. Successful social dialogue structures and processes have the potential to resolve important economic and social issues, encourage good governance, advance social and industrial peace and stability and boost economic progress.” http://www.ilo.org/global/About_the_ILO/Mainpillars/Socialdialogue/lang-en/index.htm (September 2009).

37 For example, in his opening address in the seminar on “European social dialogue and civil dialogue” in 2003, Roger Briesch, President of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), stated that the EESC has aimed to “strengthen the role and the position of organised civil society and its various components, in particular the social partners, both within and outside the EU”. www.esc.eu.int/president/speeches/docs/Briesch_dialogue_social_100603_en.pdf. – The idea of employer organisations as a part of civil society is also included in the Lisbon Treaty. It maintains that “The Economic and Social Committee shall consist of representatives of organisations of employers, of the employed, and of other parties representative of civil society, notably in socio-economic, civic, professional and cultural areas.”

the complex within and through which hegemony is established.³⁸ The Gramscian concept of hegemony can be applied to a specific type of power that is evident in the discussion on social partnership and social dialogue. It is the power of agenda setting – the power of making the questions that are seen as relevant and legitimate. Struggles between rivalling responses tend to conceal this power. Thus, the controversies concerning the answers to “how to make Europe or a country competitive in the globalised economy” seem to reinforce the “self-evident” and, hence, legitimate role of competitiveness as the primary goal.

For trade unions and defenders of the welfare state, not least in the Nordic countries, it has been easy to support a competitiveness strategy recognising the need of social protection and the role of negotiations and agreements on issues to do with social policy, the labour market and working life. It has not been so easy to recognise that the notion of symmetry in “social partners” and “social dialogue” is different from the ideal of symmetry that used to be influential in the development of Nordic industrial relations. Nor has it been easy to recognise the changes in agenda setting through the new meanings and imperatives of competitiveness.

In the Nordic countries, trade unions and employer organisations have not been “social partners”, but “labour market parties”. A particular Nordic feature has been the stress on the logic of the labour market rather than more communitarian concepts of labour relations. This is reflected, e.g. by the aforementioned fact that separate arrangements of employee participation (cf. *Betriebsräte* in Germany) have been ei-

38 Gramsci, Antonio (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Edited and introduced by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

ther relatively unimportant or integrated with the system of collective agreements and the accompanying system of shop stewards.

The promoting of the functioning of the labour market has played a crucial role in the making of the Nordic systems of social security, public social services and industrial relations. This does not easily fit with the famous thesis of Gøsta Esping-Andersen on “decommodification”. With this concept, Esping-Andersen refers to policies that liberate people from their dependencies on markets, notably from the uncertainties associated with the character of labour as commodity.³⁹ In fact, the Nordic patterns of the welfare state and industrial relations have not rested on a denial of the fact that labour is a commodity and not even on an attempt to abolish such a state of affairs. The Nordic model has been associated with the construction of a modern society, in which wage work is the overwhelming social form of work and institutions are based on the normalcy and support of wage work, including the work of women outside the home. Two principles have been parallelly reinforced and mutually related: universalist social citizenship and the normalcy of wage work.

“Social partnership” has its roots in ideas which differ from an orientation to conflicts and compromises between particular collective interests as has been characterised the Nordic countries. The term itself (*Sozialpartnerschaft*) seems to have emerged in Austria after World War II, and referred to common efforts for national economic and po-

39 Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1985) *Politics against Markets. The Social Democratic Road to Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

litical recovery and to overcoming previous cleavages.⁴⁰ Its major features can be found in Social Catholicism, which took shape in the late 19th century. In the post-World War II decades, especially in Austria and West Germany, the notion of “social partnership” seems to have had a potential to combine the traditions of Social Catholicism and Social Democracy. The (Social Democratic) “dualism of labour and capital”⁴¹ could be interpreted within the framework of the (Catholic) organicist idea of a community in which every member is committed to fulfil his own function for common good. This idea implies a norm which reduces societal relationships to personal relationship – a crucial aspect of the Catholic understanding of the principle of subsidiarity in the “social dimension” of the EU.⁴²

Compromise and consensus

The discursive power of the notion of “social partnership” not only stems from the anchorage of this concept in long traditions of European social thought, but also from its resonance with current tendencies

40 In 2000, Richard Hyman sent a query on the history of this concept to the labour historians' discussion list Labnet, moderated by International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam. On the basis of the answers he received, he then concluded that the term seems to have first been used in Austria. <http://www2.iisg.nl/lists/archives/lab06.00.4.asp?sort=thread>. – For the historical context of Austrian “social partnership” see Rainio-Niemi, Johanna (2008) *Small State Cultures of Consensus. State Traditions and Consensus-Seeking in the Neo-Corporatist and Neutrality Policies in Post-1945 Austria and Finland*. Doctoral Dissertation. Helsinki: Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki.

41 Brüggemann, Ernst (1994) *Die menschliche Person als Subjekt der Arbeit. Das ‚Prinzip des Vorrangs der Arbeit vor dem Kapital‘ und seine Umsetzung in der heutigen Gesellschaft*. Abhandlungen zur Sozialethik. Herausgegeben von Anton Rauscher und Lothar Roos. Band 33. Padenborn/München/Wien/Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 254.

42 Cf. van Kersbergen, Kees (1995) *Social Capitalism – A study of Christian democracy and the welfare state*. London: Routledge, 187–197; van Kersbergen, Kees & Verbeek, Bertjan (2004) ‘Subsidiarity as a Principle of Governance in the European Union’, *Comparative European Politics*, 2, 142–162.

in social political agenda setting. A crucial change can be described as a shift from the principle of *compromise* to the principle of *consensus*. I apply here the distinction elaborated by Frank Ankersmit between compromise and consensus. Compromise is based on the mutual recognition of the particular instead of the universal nature of the interests in question, and the political process does not aim to remove this state of affairs. Consensus, in turn, presupposes a commitment to a common interest defined beforehand, and in the political process only those aspects of the particular interests of the participants are recognised which bear elements of the given common interest.⁴³

Consensus as an ideal may easily exclude the interests and ideas of the actors who do not wish to commit themselves to the common interest. But even as a shared ideal, consensus does not mean the absence of conflicts. At least two types of conflicts might occur. Firstly, a deep disagreement may prevail concerning the appropriate definition of the common interest and/or the right to represent the common interest. The conflicts in which both parties strongly appeal to a universal interest may grow bitter and fatal, as means for regulating them hardly exist. Secondly, within the limits of a shared definition of the common interest, a varying space may be open for the articulation of conflicting particular interests. However, compromises are, in this case, just a necessary way of rescuing the previously defined common interest rather than being a way of defining it.

In nation-state societies, the decisions that are not just made by the coercive power of the strongest forces often include elements of both consensus and compromise, and in conflicts, both these ideals may be

43 Ankersmit, F. R. (2002) *Political Representation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 193–213.

recognised. The relationship between these two principles, however, varies and changes. The making of the Nordic welfare states and industrial relations systems included the strengthening and institutionalisation of compromises between different particular interests, and this was legitimised by the confidence in the virtuous circle of social equality, economic growth and widening democracy. The nationalism associated with globalised economic competition, notably with the making of competitive communities in the competition between business environments, reinforces consensus and weakens compromise.

In their discussion on the competition state, Palan and Abbot strongly stress the diversity of the particular modes in which the competition state can be embedded in different nation-states and realised through different “state strategies”.⁴⁴ Indeed, the change may take place within a remarkable institutional continuity, through an “institutional conversion”⁴⁵. Old institutions of the welfare state and industrial relations can be and have been modified to serve new functions of the competitive community. Concerning working life, collective interest representation and even high social norms are considered not only as “rigidities”, but rather widely, as competitive advantages, as factors promoting the commitment of workers and the innovativeness of firms and their managements. Much of the ideological power of knowledge, training and innovation in the Nordic countries stems from the promise that competitiveness and its preconditions in the global economy can – or even must – be seen from a wider perspective than that of neo-liberalist deregulation. The concept of “social capital” has gained

44 Palan & Abbot 1999, 36–39.

45 Thelen, Kathleen (2003) ‘How Institutions Evolve – Insights from Comparative Historical Analysis’, in James Mahoney & Dietrich Rueschemeyer (eds.) *Comparative Historical Analysis in Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 228–230.

popularity while it has opened up new possibilities to revitalise ideas of the virtuous circle between social cohesion and economic success in the context of the competition state.

It makes a difference whether or not an individual's opportunities to make her or himself competitive are shaped by more or less egalitarian systems of education and training, and it also makes a difference whether or not the encouragement of knowledge-based competition in working life is connected with collective institutions of social regulation. Nevertheless, a tension appears in Nordic discussions between what are presented as institutional *preconditions* of competitiveness and how the *contents* of competitiveness are conceived. At the same time as egalitarian institutions and participatory practices can be defended as preconditions for knowledge-based competitiveness, true membership in a competitive community is a matter of individual competitiveness. This consists of communicative and innovative skills and talents and reflexive capabilities of monitoring oneself from the point of view of competitiveness. From this sphere, the principles of social equality and collective interests have been pushed aside.

Conclusion: the nationalism of models

In conclusion, the concept of "model" deserves some attention. The current discussion on models is inspired by the encounters between globalised capital and national institutions, and it indicates increasing reflexivity as an aspect of globalisation. The popularity of the concept of "the Nordic model" since the 1980s implies such a shift of perspective. Reflexivity is nourished by the imperatives of competitiveness, which include the need for continuous comparisons in order to learn

the universal “best practice” or to find the “difference”, i.e. an edge, one’s own particular competitive advantage. European integration has provided an important context for the discussion on models.

An interesting ambiguity appears in the current usage of the concept of model. It may refer to a structure that has become threatened through globalisation, or it may refer to a way of responding to the challenge. The former meaning is obvious in the discussion on the threats against the “Nordic welfare-state model”. The latter, in turn, is manifested in the praising of “the Danish model” of “flexicurity”⁴⁶, or “the Finnish model” as a paragon of consensual competitiveness in a new knowledge-based society⁴⁷, or “the Nordic model” in general, assessed to be capable of embracing globalisation by means of risk sharing⁴⁸. In both cases – the model as a target of threats or the model as a response – globalisation is dealt with as a national challenge. Yet the ambiguity of the concept of model indicates the changing role of the nation state, which can be characterised by the concepts of welfare state and competition state. Instead of a shift from the welfare state to a competition state, the change reflected by the two sides of the concept of the “Nordic model” can be interpreted as a conversion in which welfare-state institutions are modified to serve competition-state functions.

The defence of the welfare state seems to contribute to this change. For those defending the welfare state, it appears to be natural to argue that the welfare state also provides crucial means for responding to

46 Madsen, Per Kongshøj (2004) ‘The Danish model of ‘flexicurity’: experiences and lessons’, *TRANSFER. European Review of Labour and Research*, Volume 10 (2), 187–207.

47 Castells, Manuel & Himanen, Pekka (2002) *The information society and the welfare state. The Finnish model*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

48 Andersen et al. 2007.

the competitive challenges: that the high levels of social security and social services are not only compatible with economic competitiveness but also themselves provide competitive advantages. This kind of argumentation was also reflected and encouraged in the Lisbon Strategy of the EU, 2000, with its vision of a virtuous circle between social policy, economic policy and employment policy. The guiding principle of the Social Policy Agenda 2000–2005, implementing the Lisbon Strategy, was “to reinforce social policy as a productive factor”.⁴⁹ As the revised Lisbon Strategy, 2005, was focused on economic growth and job creation, the need of legitimating social protection as “a productive factor” was actually reinforced. This argument may express an “economisation” of social policy in two different senses: as an argument for the recognition of the economic importance of social protection, but also as an argument for reforming social policy in a way that it could meet the demand of being a productive factor in global competition.

Focusing on globalisation as a *national* challenge or as a *European* challenge implies, respectively, nationalist or Euro-nationalist agenda-settings. Within this framework, different and conflicting political alternatives can be identified, including nostalgic welfare nationalism or xenophobic and racist right-wing nationalism. These modes of nationalism are, respectively, either powerless or destructive alternatives for the different projects concerning national competitiveness. Any effective politics focusing on globalisation as just a *national* challenge or as just a *European* challenge – including those oriented to defend the national welfare state or the so-called European social model – seems

49 COM(2000) 379 final. Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Social policy agenda. Brussels: European Commission.

to be bound to reinforce the role of economic competitiveness in the defining of a political agenda. A crucial question is whether the conclusions from the current global economic crisis will reinforce the logic of national competition state, perhaps associated with a reinvention of some protectionist elements, or whether these conclusions will open a space for inter- and transnational economic and social regulation.

Part II

Welfare State Nationalism: Comparative perspective

Nationalism and Welfare State Politics in Belgium, Canada, and the United Kingdom¹

Daniel Béland and André Lecours

Despite the recent proliferation of literature on nationalism and on the welfare state, little has been written to explore the possible interaction between these two crucial political constructions.² For instance, students of social citizenship have pointed to the link between national identity and welfare provisions, but they have seldom analyzed this connection in reference to substate nationalism.³ As for specialists of

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- 1 This chapter is a revised and updated version of Béland, Daniel and Lecours, André (2005) *The Politics of Territorial Solidarity: Nationalism and Social Policy Reform in Canada, the United Kingdom, and Belgium*, *Comparative Political Studies*, 38 (6) August, 676–703. Readers interested to know more about this topic can read our 2008 Oxford University Press book devoted to it: Béland, Daniel and Lecours, André (2008) *Nationalism and Social Policy: The Politics of Territorial Solidarity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. The authors wish to thank Fred Block, Angela Kempf, Guy Lecavalier, Nicola McEwen, Bruno Palier, Philip Resnick, and Charles Tilly for their comments on previous drafts of this chapter. The authors also acknowledge the support of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The authors are responsible for all the translations in this paper.
 - 2 A significant exception here is the work of McEwen, Nicola (2006) *Nationalism and the State: Welfare and Identity in Scotland and Quebec* Brussels, Peter Lang. On the relationship between nationalism and public policy, see Erk, Jan (2003) ‘Wat We Zelf Doen, Doen We Beter’: Belgian substate nationalisms, congruence and public policy’, *Journal of Public Policy*, 23 (2), 201–224.
 - 3 For example: Marshall, T.H. (1964) ‘Citizenship and social class’ in *Class, citizenship and development*, Garden City: Doubleday, 65–122.

nationalism, they seldom analyze the welfare state, focusing instead on the state, language, culture, ethnicity, and religion.⁴

This chapter examines the relationship between substate nationalism and the welfare state in Canada, the United Kingdom, and Belgium. It formulates two broad arguments. First, it explains how, in these countries, identity construction and territorial mobilisation inherent to substate nationalism typically involve a social policy dimension. Second, the chapter shows that substate nationalism affects welfare-state development by reshaping social policy agendas while, in some contexts, strengthening the policy autonomy of regional entities. In conducting our analysis of the changing relationship between substate nationalism and welfare-state politics, we pay close attention to the mediating effect of institutions, ideological forces, and socio-economic cleavages.

The Politics of Nationalism and Social Policy

Nationalism is a complex phenomenon that takes different forms in different societies and whose specific nature is still the subject of debate.⁵ Despite the lack of agreement on the origins and dynamics of nationalism, most scholars believe that it involves two main elements. The first is an identity most frequently derived from the sharing of common markers such as language, religion, or ethnic origins (real or imagined). The second is the existence of concrete processes of ter-

4 For example: Guibernau, Montserrat and Hutchinson, John (eds.) (2001) *Understanding nationalism*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

5 Smith, Anthony D. (1998) *Nationalism and modernism*, London: Routledge
This chapter focuses on substate nationalism, that is, nationalist movements that emerge within multinational states and seek increased political autonomy for the community they claim to represent, or simply an independent state.

ritorial mobilisation;⁶ it seeks to gain or maintain for a group—the nation—a measure of self-government most often in the form of autonomy or independence. Nationalism features identity prominently but it is first and foremost a form of politics. Therefore, nationalism is inseparable from the power struggles in which its claims are grounded. The identity dimension of nationalism usually features a distinct culture and/or history. Cultural distinctiveness, especially in language, can serve as a criterion for defining the national community (i.e. for specifying who should be included and excluded from it). Moreover, once the contours of the nation have been shaped, culture becomes a powerful reference for national identity. For example, nationalist leaders can trace the history (real, reinvented, or imagined) of a cultural or linguistic group in such a way as to emphasise its continuity, resilience, and dynamism.⁷

Social programs can be depicted by nationalist leaders as symbols of a wider set of values, societal priorities, and political culture. But the incorporation of social policy into identity may also have a ‘bottom-up’ dynamic because social programs are a concrete manifestation of the existence of a political community. As much as culture and language, health and social services as well as income-maintenance programs are present in the everyday life of citizens, where they can both reinforce and illustrate collective solidarity. For instance, in multilingual societies, health and social services involving person-to-person contacts can directly participate in the development of substate identities. Language issues and the debates over the delivery of health and

6 Brass, Paul R. (1991) *Nationalism and ethnicity: Theory and comparison*, London: Sage.

7 Hobsbawm, Eric (1992) *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

social services intersect because such services necessitate verbal communication. As for income-maintenance programs, they can also constitute identity-building tools because the program's eligibility criteria and benefit structure can reflect specific values. Moreover, nationalist mobilisation is frequently centred on cultural distinctiveness. In re-tracing or reinventing the history of their groups, nationalist leaders often define an enemy that is said to threaten the cultural integrity of their group.⁸ If the enemy tag is applied to a central government rather than, or in addition to, another group, jurisdictional battles stemming from the federal or decentralised nature of political systems can trigger nationalist mobilisation at the substate level. In such a context, social protection becomes the focus of a political competition. The nature of this competition is quite different from the one that may occur in other policy areas, because most social programs are openly redistributive and because they directly raise the question of the boundaries of territorial solidarity. Social policy is frequently at the heart of the idea of a community and is, therefore, connected with sets of collective values. In this context, social policy becomes part of a broader mobilisation discourse by nationalist leaders who argue that social programs are threatened by the selfish and irresponsible actions of the other government(s) and that increased political autonomy, or even independence, represents the only way to preserve the quality of social protection for the community.

Beyond their instrumental uses of social policy for mobilisation, nationalist movements have a tendency to create social programs within the institutions they control. After all, both nationalism and the wel-

8 Brown, David (1999) 'Are there good and bad nationalisms?', *Nations and Nationalism*, 5, 299-301.

fare state are framed in reference to the idea of solidarity.⁹ Nationalism depicts itself as the political expression of a special sense of solidarity among human beings.¹⁰ Although social insurance fragmentation can weaken this logic, the welfare state has the potential to strengthen social and economic solidarity between citizens. In this setting, broad ideas about solidarity can lead to the creation of formal relationships involving rights and responsibilities.¹¹ National solidarity is an ideological construction that owes much to nationalism as a political force and, in advanced industrial societies, to the welfare state. In multinational states, the formal solidarity of citizenship, as expressed by the welfare state, is often not congruent with the cultural and linguistic solidarity of substate nationalism. Thus, members of a community that considers itself a nation distinct from the one projected by the central state usually give priority to this substate national bond. In this context, nationalist movements will promote the congruence between social citizenship and their nation's perceived boundaries. The push for independence is sometimes understood as an attempt to bring about this congruence. But independence is generally perceived as a radical option that is politically difficult to achieve for several reasons, most notably, because garnering popular support for secession is not an easy task. Considering this, nationalist movements are more likely to seek the partial congruence between their national community and social

9 The concept of solidarity refers to a sense of interdependence that brings individuals together. Social programs are frequently seen as a concrete expression of solidarity, see Béland, Daniel and Hansen, Randall Hansen (2000) 'Reforming the French welfare state: Solidarity, social exclusion and the three crises of citizenship', *West European Politics*, 23 (1), 47–64.

10 Derriennic, Jean-Pierre (1995) *Nationalisme et démocratie: Réflexion sur les illusions des indépendantistes québécois*, Québec, Canada: Boréal.

11 Miller, David (1995) *On nationality*, Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 67–68.

programs, or at least to move gradually toward their full coincidence by promoting the decentralisation of such programs.

What Impact on Welfare State Development?

During the post-war era, the expansion of modern welfare states typically concentrated power in the hands of the central state while reinforcing existing nation-building efforts related to political centralisation. In countries like Canada and the United Kingdom, the emergence of modern social citizenship has been a tool of economic and social integration. As Nicola McEwen argues, 'In multinational states, where there exists a nation or nations within the state, the recognition of social and other citizenship rights may serve an important integrative function, reinforcing an attachment to the national state that can complement an identification with an historical-cultural nation within state's boundaries.'¹² For this reason, nationalist leaders are likely to criticize or even oppose the centralisation frequently associated with welfare-state development.

Since the shift during the late 1970s and early 1980s from welfare-state expansion to the politics of retrenchment and restructuring,¹³ nationalist movements have mobilised to fight perceived fiscal inequities and to expand territorial autonomy in social policy. Because major change remains possible despite the weight of existing institutional

12 McEwen, Nicola (2001) The nation-building role of state welfare in the United Kingdom and Canada, in Salmon, T. C. and Keating, M. (eds.) *The dynamics of decentralization: Canadian federalism and British devolution*, Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 85–105 (87).

13 Pierson, Paul (1994) *Dismantling the welfare state? Reagan, Thatcher and the politics of retrenchment*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

frameworks and policy legacies,¹⁴ nationalist mobilisations can have a strong impact on the development of social programs.

Substate nationalism can affect welfare state development in at least two related ways. First, nationalist actors can reshape the social policy agenda while promoting new policy alternatives.¹⁵ For example, nationalist forces have pushed for welfare state decentralisation as well as 'fairer' fiscal redistribution among regions. When nationalist actors take power in a region, they generally reshape the social policy agenda of their region and, sometimes, of the country as a whole. Although nationalist movements, like other political actors, cannot have total control over the policy agenda, they can successfully pressure regional and national policymakers to deal with the issues they deem important. Because issues raised by nationalist movements can have broad social and political implications for the country as a whole, they can impact social policy development at the state level. For instance, in Canada and the United Kingdom, policies enacted in Québec and Scotland in the name of 'national distinctiveness' have impacted state-level policy debates on issues like child care and long-term care for the elderly, respectively. More dramatically, in Belgium, nationalist mobilisation in Flanders has transformed welfare-state decentralisation into an unavoidable political issue across the country.

Second, nationalist mobilization can reinforce institutional autonomy of their region in the field of social policy governance. The re-

14 Cox, Robert H. (2001) 'The social construction of an imperative: Why welfare reform happened in Denmark and the Netherlands but not in Germany', *World Politics*, 53, 463–498.

15 The concept of agenda points to 'the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside of government closely associated with those officials, are paying some serious attention to at any given time', see Kingdon, John W. (1995) *Agendas, alternatives and public policy* (2nd ed.), New York: HarperCollins, 3.

relationship between substate nationalism and institutional autonomy is twofold. On one hand, substate nationalism can help preserve or increase the institutional autonomy of the regional entities in which they operate. In this context, such entities tend to push for more social policy autonomy in the name of national solidarity. On the other hand, the institutions shape the capacity of nationalist movements to impact social policy outcomes. This is true largely because autonomous substate institutions increase the capacity of a nationalist movement to develop specific programs and, in some contexts, oppose policy centralisation. Even if nationalist mobilisation can alter them, pre-existing institutions carry much weight. For example, while Canadian federalism has long granted Québec much autonomy in the field of social policy, Flanders and Scotland were, until recently, part of more centralised political systems, a situation that limited their ability to enact their own social programs.

The Three Cases

This comparative analysis focuses on three cases: Canada and Québec, the United Kingdom and Scotland, and Belgium and Flanders. The rationale for this selection is straightforward largely because Canada, the United Kingdom, and Belgium are, along with Spain,¹⁶ the only countries with extensive welfare states and strong nationalist movements. They are ‘comparable cases’ insofar as they are liberal-democratic states with advanced economies. Simultaneously, they feature politi-

¹⁶ We chose to limit ourselves to three countries to offer a more in-depth discussion of each case. Canada, the United Kingdom, and Belgium were each preferred to Spain for a practical reason: These countries feature only one prominent nationalist movement whereas Spain presents two, Catalonia and the Basque Country. In this context, including Spain with two other cases in our research design would have taken us beyond the scope of a short book chapter.

cal, institutional, and ideological differences that should help us tackle multiple aspects of the relationship between substate nationalism and social policy. In order to understand the variations in the configuration of this important relationship, we must analyze institutional, socioeconomic, and ideological differences between our three cases. The following analysis stresses these three types of factors, which are often interconnected.

First, at the institutional level, this analysis shows that existing territorial decentralisation facilitates nationalist mobilisation while increasing the profile of nationalist parties and substate governments that impact agenda-setting processes. Second, at the socioeconomic level, regional inequalities affect the way nationalist movements mobilise while impacting the content of the policy alternatives they promote. Less prosperous regions such as Québec and Scotland tend to promote redistribution within and beyond regional borders (because they gain from it), whereas richer regions like Flanders tend to depict economic interregional transfers as unfair (because they lose from it). Third, at the ideological level, factors like religious values, in conjunction with changing patterns of inequality, can affect the identity, as well as the dominant ideological orientation, of a nationalist movement. For instance, in regions where traditional religious values prevail, nationalism is more likely to promote conservative social and family policies than in more secular ones. Alliances between nationalists and left-wing actors like the labour and the feminist movements are likely to have the opposite ideological effect.

Canada

Institutional factors are important for understanding why Québécois nationalism has become so involved in the politics of social policy. Canada is a federal state, and the constitution assigns separate jurisdictions to the federal government and to the 10 provinces. In theory, each level of government has full power within its own legislative domain. Provincial governments have exclusive authority to enact legislation in policy areas like education, health care, and social assistance. But since the 1940s the federal government has used constitutional reforms as well as its spending power to enter domains of provincial jurisdiction such as family policy, old-age pensions, and unemployment benefits. In the immediate post-war era, the Québec government of conservative Prime Minister Maurice Duplessis opposed this centralist tendency, and nationalism became mostly a reactive force in the field of social policy.¹⁷

Beginning in the 1960s, however, nationalism in Québec assumed a positive social policy dimension. At the ideological level, the shift of Québécois nationalism toward a more progressive vision of the role of the state in society coincided with the institutional and political decline of the Catholic Church, as well as with the rise of a new elite seeking the political, social, and economic modernisation of the province, which had been dominated by conservative leaders for more than a century. Overall, this statist shift paralleled the transition from a nationalism centred on religion to one based on language.

17 Angers, François-Albert (1997) 'Les relations fédérales-provinciales sous le régime Duplessis', in Gagnon, A.-G. and Sarra-Bournet, M. (eds.) *Duplessis: Entre la grande noirceur et la société libérale*, Montreal, Canada: Éditions Québec-Amériques, 231–281; Marshall, Dominique (1997) *Nationalisme et politiques sociales au Québec depuis 1867*, *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 9 (2), 301–347.

From a socioeconomic standpoint, Québec remained a poorer province where the English-speaking minority controlled most of the economy, and the nationalist elite successfully used the provincial state to modernize the economy of the province while reducing social inequality between the two main linguistic groups. In the context of their struggle, this modernising elite, acting through the *Parti Libéral du Québec* (PLQ), gradually took over responsibilities previously assumed by the Catholic Church, notably education and health care. Because of these ideological and socioeconomic factors, as well as the above-mentioned institutional autonomy of the province within the Canadian federal system, social policy and Québécois nationalism were connected very early on. The election of the *Parti Québécois* (PQ) in 1976 was essential in building this connection between Québécois identity and the province's social programs because the PQ presented itself as a social-democratic party and enacted a number of progressive social policies immediately after it took power.¹⁸ With the 1980 referendum on independence, the social policy dimension of Québécois nationalism became an integral part of the PQ's mobilisation strategy as it played up the dual themes of language and progressive politics. As the PQ enjoyed strong connections with labour unions and the feminist movement, independence was depicted both as an emancipation project for Francophones living in the province and as a chance to create a truly social-democratic society.¹⁹

18 McRoberts, Kenneth (1993) *Quebec: Social change and political crisis*, Toronto, Canada: McClelland and Stewart, 267.

19 But according to Keith Banting, attachment to federal social policies may have contributed to the defeat of the separatist camp in 1980. See Banting, Keith G. (1999) 'Social citizenship and the multicultural welfare state', in Cairns, A. C. et al. (eds.) *Citizenship, diversity, and pluralism: Canadian and comparative perspectives*, Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 108–136.

Although the strong ties between the PQ and the social democratic ideology somewhat declined during the 1980s and 1990s in a context of fiscal austerity²⁰, the connection between the Québécois identity and progressive social policy remains strong to this day. The emphasis on language to articulate the Québécois identity exposes Québec nationalist politicians to charges of ethnic nationalism, to which they are typically sensitive. In this context, strengthening the relationship between nationalism and progressive social programs allows the PQ to project a more inclusive vision of nationalism. Although the French language remains central to the expression of the Québécois identity²¹ but it coexists with a social policy dimension. To an extent, these are inseparable issues in Québec, as in other regions of multilingual states like Belgium, as education, health, and social services tend to become the focus of claims about language rights.

The core argument of the PQ, as well as the PLQ, is that Québec has a different political culture from the rest of Canada, that it is more collectivist, egalitarian, and compassionate. As proof of this national character, the PQ suggests that Québec resisted the neoliberal turn taken elsewhere in Canada and in much of the developed world. This claim is debatable because, in the late 1990s, Québec's PQ government struggled to eliminate the deficit much like many other jurisdictions. But during this same period, the PQ also instituted a publicly funded child-care system (the so-called 5-dollars-a-day day-care program) and a publicly funded universal drug plan. It kept university tuition fees the lowest in North America. The PQ government also adopted an

20 Béland and Lecours (2008).

21 Rocher, François (2002) 'The evolving parameters of Quebec nationalism', *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 4. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.unesco.org/most/v14n1rocher.pdf/>.

'anti-poverty law', which forces the province to guarantee income support for low-income Québécois.²² Commenting on this policy, then-Premier Bernard Landry said that the 'Québec model'²³ was not only about economic regulation but also about wealth redistribution. Social policy was also at the centre of the PQ's nationalist mobilisation strategy during its tenure (1994–2003). This connection is the combined product of an ideological and an institutional component. The PQ accused the federal government, described as centralising and domineering, of threatening Québec's distinctively progressive social policies and, therefore, the very foundations of the nation. The PQ's program argues that 'unitary Canada is developing following a vision different than ours, and its decisions stand in the way of our [social] projects' (Parti Québécois, 2000, p. 160). In this context, the PQ suggests that independence is the only sure way of preserving these policies. As we mentioned above, the definition of the Québec nation along social policy lines transcends partisan politics. The other major party in Québec, the PLQ, has historically espoused similar positions on social policy issues. As for the *Action Démocratique du Québec* (ADQ), a nationalist party that supports neoliberal ideas like partial health care privatisation, it gained much political ground in the aftermath of the 2008 provincial election but now faces a rapid decline that calls into question the long-term viability of right-wing social politics in Québec.

Considering the high level of decentralisation inherent to the Canadian federal system and the enduring left-wing orientation of politics in Québec, Québécois nationalism has long played an agenda-setting

22 Lessard, Denis (2002) Québec dépose un projet de loi antipauvreté, La Presse, June 8, A1–A2.

23 The 'Québec model' typically refers to a model of socioeconomic organisation that stresses state interventionism and corporatism.

role within and beyond the province's borders. This happened first in the 1960s by supporting social policy expansion yet at the same time seeking to adapt to its decentralist vision of federalism. In 1965, for example, legislation to introduce a second tier of earnings-related pensions—the Canada and Québec Pension Plans—was adopted after a long bargaining process between the federal government and the 10 provinces. As a result of Québec's campaign for greater provincial autonomy and nationalist socioeconomic policies, two separate but highly coordinated earnings related schemes were created.²⁴ Since then, surpluses accumulated in the Québec Pension Plans have been invested in the province's economy to stimulate French Canadian entrepreneurship.

In the mid-late 1990s, Québécois nationalists reacted against federal retrenchment initiatives while rejecting an intergovernmental agreement aimed at improving the regulation of Canadian social policy. Indeed, the Social Union Framework Agreement (SUFA) of 1998 emerged as a provincial response to unilateral decision making in the aftermath of significant retrenchment measures.²⁵ After two decades of fiscal austerity that led to significant cuts in federal transfers to the provinces, SUFA represented an attempt to stimulate 'collaboration' between Ottawa and the 10 Canadian provinces.²⁶ During the second half of the 1990s, the provinces fought back to force the federal government to adopt a more collaborative approach and stop discretion-

24 Bryden, Kenneth (1974) *Old age pensions and policy-making in Canada*, Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

25 Bashevkin, Sylvia (2000) 'Rethinking retrenchment: North American social policy during the early Clinton and Chrétien years', *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 33, 7–36; see also Rice, James J. and Prince, Michael J. (2000) *Changing Politics of Canadian Social Policy*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

26 Théret, Bruno (2001) 'La protection sociale dans le pacte fédéral canadien: Histoire d'une crise et de son dénouement', *Critique Internationale*, 11, 145–160.

ary retrenchment that was detrimental to them. In August 1998, even Québec's PQ government had joined the interprovincial coalition on this issue.²⁷ The final version of SUFA was quite different from the initial interprovincial plan, which included the right for any province to opt out of any Canada-wide welfare measure falling within provincial jurisdiction—with full compensation. If the final agreement maintained the option for self-exclusion, it was limited to provinces that had already introduced a similar program.²⁸ According to a political scientist²⁹, this final agreement simply exacerbated the recent concentration of power in Canadian intergovernmental relations. But SUFA has had limited impact on Canadian politics precisely because the Québec government refused to sign it.

A striking and more recent example of agenda setting by Québécois nationalism in the Canadian federal system is the theme of 'fiscal imbalance' developed by the Québec parties. Fiscal imbalance refers to the fact that provinces have power over policy areas that are expensive to fund (primarily health and education) while the greater taxation power is with Ottawa. In 2001, the PQ government organized a *Commission sur le Déséquilibre Fiscal* (Commission on Fiscal Unbalance), and Québec Premier Jean Charest referred to this issue regularly as one critical to Canadian federalism. At first, the federal government denied that such an imbalance exists, but most other provinces rallied around the idea to pressure Ottawa into increasing funding for health

27 Noël, Alain (2000), Without Quebec: Collaborative federalism with a footnote, Institute for Research on Public Policy Working Paper, Vol. 1.

28 McEwen, Nicola (2001) 'The nation-building role of state welfare in the United Kingdom and Canada', in Salmon, T. C. and Keating, M. (eds.) *The dynamics of decentralization: Canadian federalism and British devolution*, Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 85–105 (99).

29 Noël, Alain (2000) Without Quebec..., 11.

care. Facing these provincial pressures, in 2004, after years of provincial mobilization, Paul Martin's Liberal government finally agreed to notably increase federal health-care spending. Two years later, the new Prime Minister, Conservative Stephen Harper, pledged to fix the fiscal imbalance and, later, transferred billions of dollars to Québec through a major reform of the federal equalisation program, which aims at helping poorer-than average provinces offer the same public services as wealthier provinces.

The United Kingdom

Much like in Canada, the post-war development of the welfare state in Britain became a focal point for national integration. But different from the situation prevailing in Canada's federal system, concentration of state sovereignty in Westminster facilitated the advent of a more centralised welfare state in the United Kingdom. Immediately after the Second World War, the Labour government enacted crucial pieces of social policy legislation such as the 1946 National Health Service Act.³⁰ In the following decades, other legislation reinforced the path toward political centralization in the British welfare state. Although local and regional powers enjoyed significant levels of administrative autonomy, political decisions were made in Westminster and many social benefits were distributed directly by the British state. In this context, the role of the Scottish office (a regional department of the British government) remained essentially administrative. Involved in the implementation and administration of social policy measures such as health care, housing policy, and public education, this department had no legislative

30 Glennerster, Howard (2000) *British social policy since 1945* (2nd ed), London: Blackwell Publishing.

autonomy and acted as a mere lobby within the British state defending and promoting Scotland's interests to the British Cabinet.³¹ As opposed to the provinces within the Canadian federation, Scotland had limited political autonomy when facing the central government. For example, most cash benefits originated from a British welfare state designed in London. From a regional standpoint, the fact that the British welfare state was ever present in the daily life of Scots reinforced their political and social integration with the United Kingdom. In this context, Scots (especially members of the working class) could identify with popular British social programs related to the idea of shared social citizenship.³² A product and symbol of political centralisation, the British welfare state as strong an agent of national cohesion as the empire had once been.³³

Despite this, in the 1980s and 1990s, a Scottish national identity associated with progressive politics blossomed. Several factors explain this important development. First, the interventionist politics and regional planning of the 1950s and 1960s represented an important contextual element for the evolution of the Scottish identity³⁴, as did the fall of the colonial empire. Second, the transformation over the last 30 years or so of the Scottish National Party (SNP) into a left-wing organisation bringing issues like nuclear disarmament to the forefront of Scottish politics set up a wider association between nationalism and left-leaning politics. However, the decisive force behind the increasing

31 Keating, Michael and Midwinter, Arthur (1983) *The government of Scotland*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 24.

32 McEwen, Nicola (2002) 'State welfare and the impact of welfare retrenchment on the conational debate in Scotland', *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 66–90.

33 Bennie, Lynn/Brand, Jack and Mitchell, James (1997) *How Scotland votes*, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

34 Harvie, Christopher (1998) *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish society and politics 1707 to the present* (3rd edition), London: Routledge, 125–130.

importance of social policy preferences for Scottish nationalism was the combined product of ideological and institutional factors. On one hand, the neoliberal discourse and policies of the Thatcher and Major Conservative governments (1979–1997) in power at Westminster alienated many citizens in Scotland, as their government appeared to attack institutions (nationalised industries, the education system, local government, social welfare) that embodied the Scottish identity.³⁵

On the other hand, Thatcherite unilateral policies like the Poll Tax showed that Scotland was politically powerless to effectively counter decisions made in Westminster.³⁶ The result is a Scottish national identity that, ideologically, closely mirrors the Québécois identity and is now tied to notions of egalitarianism and social justice as well as to progressive social policy preferences. Although this image might be exaggerated in the political discourse, it seems to have a sociological basis, at least when it comes to economic and fiscal redistribution. For example, Scots are more likely than the English to *strongly agree* or *agree* with redistribution (50%–38%).³⁷ They are also more likely to support the elimination of up-front tuition fees in universities (38%–30%), and to agree that insuring a decent standard of living for the elderly is the government's responsibility (85%–80%).³⁸ Overall, social

35 McCrone, David (2001) *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a nation*, London: Routledge.

36 Jones, Barry and Keating, Michael (1988) *Beyond the doomsday scenario: Governing Scotland and Wales in the 1980s*. Strathclyde Papers on Government and Politics No. 58, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, United Kingdom.

37 Paterson, Lindsay (2002) 'Governing from the centre: Ideology and public policy', in Curtice, J./McCrone, D./ Park, A. and Paterson, L. (eds.) *New Scotland, new society?*, Edinburgh, UK: Polygon, 196–218 (200).

38 Paterson, Lindsay (2002) *Governing from the centre...* 204 and 207. On social issues such as abortion or homosexuality, there are usually no significant differences between Scotland and England. See Paterson, Lindsay (2002) *Governing from the centre...* and Park, Alison (2002) 'Scotland's morals', in Curtice, J./McCrone, D./ Park, A. and Paterson, L. (eds.) *New Scotland, new society?*, 92–122.

policy preference is even more central to Scottish nationalism than to Québécois nationalism because the former is not grounded in ‘hard’ cultural markers like language. This remark should not hide the fact that the articulation of Scottish nationhood in terms of social policy preference is a relatively recent phenomenon.

At the centre of the historical reproduction of the Scottish identity are the survival and development of distinct civil-society institutions (the Church, the legal system, the currency) after the Union. But toward the end of the 20th century, being Scottish became synonymous with espousing progressive values and policies. This was a clear departure from the Unionist conservatism associated with the empire that reigned in Scotland during the first half of the 20th century.³⁹ The change in Scottish identity is perhaps most strikingly revealed by the steady loss of electoral support for the Conservative Party in Scotland since the mid-1970s in favour of Labor and, to a lesser extent, the SNP. Indeed, whereas the Conservative vote was the same in Scotland as in England through the 1940s and 1950s, by the 1980s, support for this party in Scotland was reduced to almost half of what it was in England.⁴⁰

In Scotland as elsewhere, transformations in political institutions are likely to affect sub-state identity formation. The 1998 Scotland Act created a Scottish parliament and a Scottish executive but without dividing sovereignty, which formally remains with Westminster. The Act specifies ‘reserved matters,’ that is, policy areas where the U.K. government retains exclusive responsibility. ‘Social security’ is one of these areas. The Scottish executive has the power to act in all the fields

39 McCrone, David (2001) *Understanding Scotland...*,110.

40 McCrone, David (2001) *Understanding Scotland...*,108.

not listed as reserved. These so-called devolved matters include health care, social work as well as education and training.⁴¹ In this context, the Scottish executive provides the statutory and financial framework for NHS Scotland while administrating schools and universities. It is also active in tackling issues such as housing, homelessness, social exclusion, and child poverty (in partnership with the British government). Over time, devolution is likely to sustain or even accentuate the link between Scottish identity and preferences for progressive social policy because the Scottish parliament now has the institutional autonomy to implement such policies. At the symbolic level at least, two initiatives enacted in the years following devolution proved important in further defining Scottish identity in terms of progressive politics: the elimination of up-front tuition fees for university students and the establishment of free personal care for the elderly.⁴²

The possibility of distinctiveness in the area of social policy is also a key element of nationalist mobilisation in Scotland. The idea that political autonomy would enable Scotland to enact progressive social legislation (i.e. legislation said to be in harmony with Scottish egalitarian values) was at the centre of the drive for home rule.⁴³ For example, when asked in 1997 if they thought the new parliament could improve education, 71% answered yes.⁴⁴ Overall, surveys conducted after the devolution referendum of 1997 showed that those supporting devolution thought that it could bring much-needed improvements in vari-

41 In theory, Westminster can still legislate on devolved matters but, through the so-called Sewell convention, will not do so against the wishes of the Scottish parliament.

42 McEwen, Nicola (2003, March–April) Welfare solidarity in a devolved Scotland. Paper presented to the European Consortium for Political Research, Workshop The Welfare-State and Territorial Politics, Edinburgh, UK.

43 McEwen, Nicola (2002) State welfare and the impact of welfare retrenchment..., 79.

44 Surridge, Paula (2002) 'Society and democracy: The new Scotland', in Curtice, J. et al. (eds.) *New Scotland, new society?*, Edinburgh, UK: Polygon, 123–141 (134).

ous social programs such as the NHS and social services.⁴⁵ Here again, the framing of the home-rule issue in terms of social policy during the 1980s and 1990s emerged in reaction to the discourse of Thatcher's Conservative government. This is partly why the Conservative Party opposed devolution in Scotland in the late 1990s. Since it has formed the Scottish Executive at Holyrood in 2007, the SNP has kept promoting independence. In November 2009, the SNP-formed Scottish Executive published a White Paper on Independence which makes the case that an independent Scotland would be 'fairer,' 'greener,' and 'healthier,' as well as 'wealthier,' 'smarter' and 'safer.' The SNP self-identifies as a left-leaning nationalist party, although the Scottish nationalist discourse is increasingly making the case that independence can not only serve to achieve greater social justice in Scotland but also to generate new wealth.

Recently gained institutional autonomy increased the agenda-setting potential of nationalism within Scotland. In fact, the achievement of devolution has increased the institutional autonomy of Scotland in social policy. The Scottish example thus illustrates the potential relationship between agenda setting and the quest for institutional autonomy. Furthermore, because the drive toward home rule was largely framed in terms of Scotland's necessity to be able to design and enact progressive social programs, nationalism has weighed heavily on the policy agenda of the Scottish executive. The above-mentioned elimination of up-front university tuition fees and the free personal-care program for the elderly represents policy choices falling squarely into the recent trajectory of Scottish nationalism.

45 McEwen, Nicola (2002) State welfare and the impact of welfare retrenchment...

Because of the increased institutional autonomy of the region, Scottish nationalism also presents agenda-setting potential within British politics at large. Much like what has happened in Canada with Québec, Scotland now has the autonomy that allows it to become a source of innovation in the social policy domain and, as a consequence, put pressure on the British government to implement similar programs. For instance, the Scottish home-care-for-the-elderly program caught the eye of progressive organisations in England. *Unison*, an English trade union, distributed a poster contrasting a happy (Scottish) senior, under the heading 'care free', alongside a sad and lonely looking (English) one, under the heading 'care fee'. Although the British government made the choice not to follow the Scottish executive's lead in this particular case, further policy divergence could eventually put the British government in uncomfortable situations.

Belgium

Like in Canada and the United Kingdom, evolving institutional structures are essential to understanding the nationalism-social policy nexus in Belgium. Until the late 1960s, Belgium was a highly centralised state, and it took decades of nationalist mobilisation to decentralise many of the country's institutions. This is a key difference between Flanders and Québec, an autonomous province located in a much older federal system that is engaged in a struggle to preserve and widen existing jurisdictions. In that regard, Flemish nationalism has more in common with its Scottish counterpart, which emerged in the context of a politically centralised order. But like Québécois nationalism, Flemish nationalism is linked more to culture and language than is

Scottish nationalism. Indeed, linguistic considerations were behind the emergence of Flemish nationalism in the 19th century, as the Flemish Movement struggled for the formal equality of Dutch and French in Belgium, and in the 20th century it strove for the creation of a monolingual Flanders. Today, linguistic disputes persist in Belgium, albeit in a less severe form than in the past. These disputes revolve around the fate of the approximately 100,000 Francophones living in Brussels' periphery as well as the future of the bilingual electoral district of Brussels/Bruxelles-Halle-Vilvoorde. At the ideological level, the Flemish Movement was originally spearheaded by a strongly Catholic Flemish petty bourgeoisie and then evolved in close connection with the Christian Democratic world in Belgium. This connection, which is still visible today, helps explain why Flemish nationalism has not associated itself with progressive social policy ideas in the same way as Scottish and Québécois nationalism. In fact, the Flemish identity is much less tied to distinct social policy, or policy preference, than the Québécois or Scottish identity. The definition of the Flemish nation is not yet infused with references to distinct social policy values and principles. Although the Flemish identity is not really grounded in specific policy preferences, socioeconomic factors and, more precisely, regional inequalities strongly impact the relationship between nationalism and social policy in Belgium. Flemish nationalism is infused with the economic discrepancies that have characterised Belgium over the past half century. Since the 1950s, Wallonia, once the economic stronghold of the country, because of its early and advanced industrialisation, has experienced a serious decline, while Flanders, historically more rural and less developed, has successfully adjusted its structures to the post-industrial economy. This cleavage, combined with the major de-

centralisation of power resulting from the federalisation process that mainly took place between the 1970s and the early 1990s, has led to policy divergence between Flanders and Wallonia.

Because the Flemish government has much more money to finance social programs than the Francophone institutions,⁴⁶ Flanders can push its social policies further than Wallonia can. For example, in 2001, the Flemish government established a care insurance scheme (*zorgverzekering*). The French Community did not, because it does not have the financial means to finance such a program. Yet Flemish nationalism is undeniably rooted in economic and social conservatism, and the acute knowledge of regional disparities largely frame the nationalist ideology, as Flemish nationalists articulate the discourse according to which Walloons are state dependent, whereas Flemings have an entrepreneurial spirit. And at the centre of the Flemish nationalist discourse is the belief that wealthy Flanders is implicitly subsidising poor Wallonia through a country-wide social insurance system. These transfers have become a source of political discord between the two communities, although their true extent and meaning is the object of much debate between Flemish and Francophone economists.

Flemish leaders, especially from the Christian Democratic and Liberal parties, have pushed for a federalisation (decentralisation) of the social insurance system.⁴⁷ So far, the institutional features of the

46 Social security is mostly a federal prerogative, but federated units have some room to maneuver within certain policy areas. For example, preventive medicine is a community prerogative.

47 Agalev, the Flemish ecologist party, opposes such decentralisation. The Flemish Socialists are less enthusiastic than the Liberals and the Christian Democrats about the idea, although this is largely because they fear that decentralisation could bring retrenchment; see Vaes, B (1998) 'Un divorce de la sécurité sociale?', in Martiniello, M. and Swyngedouw, M. (eds.) *Où va la Belgique? Les soubresauts d'une petite démocratie européenne*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 173–180 (175).

Belgian social insurance system have militated against radical social policy devolution. As compared with the post-war welfare states that emerged in Canada and the United Kingdom, this system is divided among various occupational groups. Such a Bismarckian fragmentation reduced the potential homogenising impact of social policy development in that country. Despite a gradual expansion of coverage that took place during the post-war and the fact that the social insurance system is placed under the general control of the central state, economic solidarity at the centre of professional schemes is distinct from the universalistic logic of Beveridgian social citizenship present in Canada and in the United Kingdom. Labour unions — including Flemish ones — that participate in the management of these schemes generally oppose decentralisation.⁴⁸ In addition, the consociational nature of politics means that Francophone parties would need to support the federalisation of Social Security for such an outcome to occur.

In spite of these institutional obstacles to social insurance decentralisation, social policy matters now feature as prominently in Flemish nationalist mobilization as language did up until the 1960s. Every Flemish family, the argument goes, pays for a new car for every Walloon family every year.⁴⁹ Walloons are also accused of ‘costing more’ to the social insurance as a result of their bad life habits and ‘excessive’ use of medical doctors, especially specialists. The rationale for the push for social policy decentralisation is similar to the one found in Québec: solidarity is situated within the framework of a national

48 Béland, Daniel and Hansen, Randall (2000) ‘Reforming the French welfare state: Solidarity, social exclusion and the three crises of citizenship, *West European Politics*, 23 (1), 47–64.

49 Vaes, B. (1998) ‘Un divorce de la sécurité sociale?’, 174.

community that is Flanders not Belgium.⁵⁰ The position of the radical Flemish nationalist party *Vlaams Belang* (formally *Vlaams Blok*) is particularly interesting for understanding the connection between substate nationalism and social policy in Belgium. The *Vlaams Belang* is a far-right nationalist party with, among other things, anti-immigration and anti-European positions. In the field of social policy, the *Vlaams Belang* favours a conservative family policy that, for example, rewards stay-at-home mothers. This type of policy preference reflects a major ideological factor mentioned above: the enduring influence of Catholicism in Flanders, a region that never experienced a profound wave of secularisation such as the one encountered during Québec's Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. From the *Vlaams Belang*'s perspective, the divergent policy preference is almost beside the point. Its literature makes it abundantly clear: Flemings and Francophones belong to two different nations.⁵¹ Therefore, the solidarity of Flemings should not extend to Francophones; rather, Flemings should treat Belgian Francophones with no more and no less generosity than they treat other peoples. The *Vlaams Belang*'s stance, which is rooted in conservative ideas about personal and family responsibility, illustrates the fact that a wealthier region can use nationalism to fight concrete mechanisms of redistribution in the name of a restricted form of social and economic solidarity. Beyond the *Vlaams Belang*, the moderate Flemish parties also borrow from such a conservative rhetoric against economic redistribution across regional and linguistic boundaries.

50 Poirier, Johanne and Vansteenkiste, Steven (2000) 'Le débat sur la fédéralisation de la sécurité sociale en Belgique', *Revue Belge de Sécurité Sociale*, 2, 331–379 (356–362).

51 See the party program: *Vlaams Blok* (2003), *Een toekomst voor Vlaanderen* (A future for Flanders), 1–5; Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://vlaamsblok.be/pdf/program-mabrochure.pdf/>.

For these moderate Flemish parties, the ultimate objective behind the federalisation of social insurance is to take Belgium toward an ever more decentralised federal model, or even a confederation. From a short-term historical perspective, Flemish social policy claims fall within a pattern of nationalist mobilisation, mostly centred on language, which coincided with the federalisation of the state in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. This points to a fundamental difference between Belgium and Canada. In Canada, as discussed above, there is an intense competition between the federal and Québec governments over who should protect those living in that province. In Belgium, where conflicts are fewer between the federal and the regional or community governments, the dynamic is different. On the Flemish side, a decentralisation of social policy means that the country is evolving in the preferred direction of Flemish nationalists. For Francophones, the social insurance system is seen as the last ties that holds Belgium together as a political community; as a policy matter, it is much different than external commerce or agriculture, two fields recently decentralised. For this reason, many Francophones perceive Flemish proposals to decentralise the social insurance system as an attempt to destroy what remains of Belgium.⁵²

In social policy, thus far, Flemish nationalism has not played an agenda-setting role in Belgium comparable to Québécois nationalism in Canada. In Flanders, few social policy innovations have been carried out as a result of the drive to decentralise Belgian social programs. Moreover, there has been no mimetic effect at the federal level; Belgian

⁵² Survey results show that in Flanders, 36% of the population agrees with 'splitting social security', whereas support is 13% in Wallonia and 10% in Brussels (Baudewyns and Dandoy, 2003).

federalism follows a decentralist path and the federal government is not looking to outdo the governments of communities and regions in any area. Although there is some potential for Flemish nationalism to play an agenda-setting role in social policy in relation to the French Community, it may only materialise when the fiscal resources of both governments become comparable. As mentioned above, Francophone politicians took notice of the Flemish care insurance but did not have the fiscal means to implement a similar program in Wallonia.

This being said, the impact of Flemish nationalism on the Belgian social policy agenda was felt at the broadest institutional level, as Flemish nationalism questioned the very idea of a country-wide social insurance system. In the wake of Flemish nationalism, various publications set the agenda for the decentralisation of Belgium's social insurance system during the 1990s.⁵³ In 1999 and 2001, fiscal autonomy was achieved but without the decentralisation of health care and family policy. The failure of comprehensive social policy decentralisation largely is due to institutional factors, as this type of change would require constitutional change. The mechanisms for amending the Belgian constitution are centred around the existence of the main linguistic communities as opposed to different orders of government *per se*, which means that the key to change rests in central institutions where Francophone parties have veto power. Indeed, consociationalism in Belgium has translated into a constitutional obligation for Belgian governments to have an equal number of Flemish and Francophone min-

53 Banting, Keith G. (1999) 'Social citizenship and the multicultural welfare state', in Cairns, A. C. et al. (eds.) *Citizenship, diversity, and pluralism: Canadian and comparative perspectives*, Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 108–136; see also Béland and Lecours (2008).

isters (Article 99 of the Belgian Constitution), and from the political understanding that federal decisions will be reached by consensus. In addition, the division of power relating to the Belgian social insurance system is laid out in so-called ‘special laws,’ that is, federal legislations of a constitutional nature, which are even more difficult to amend than the Constitution; modifying a ‘special law’ requires a two-third overall majority in both Chambers of Parliament. Some Francophone parties would thus have to support the decentralisation of some parts of Social Security for that type of reform to proceed.

Discussion and Conclusion

At the most general level, our three cases feature a connection between substate nationalism and social policy while suggesting the nationalist movements can impact policy agendas at both the state and the sub-state levels. But particular institutional, ideological, and socioeconomic factors account for significant cross-national differences in the specific political forms that emerge from the meshing of nationalist and welfare-state politics. The following discussion stresses the role of these factors while returning to the issues discussed in the first part of the chapter: identity formation, territorial mobilisation, decentralisation, and agenda setting.

Nationalisms in Scotland and Québec have integrated notions of distinctive social programs and policy preferences into their identity much more than Flemish nationalism. This is primarily because social policy is more likely to become a focal point of national identity if nationalists are typically left-leaning actors advocating its expansion (as it is the case in Québec and Scotland but not in more conservative

Flanders). Moreover, the arguably more acute nature of linguistic tensions in Belgium—as compared with Canada—contributes to explaining why Flemish nationalism has not centred its discourse on the existence of allegedly distinct social policy preferences in Flanders. Unlike Québécois leaders, Flemish leaders are not obsessed with accusations of ‘ethnic nationalism’. This is true partly because Flemings are dominant in Belgium, and Flemish politicians are not immediately looking to secure the sympathy of the international community for the recognition of an independent state the way nationalists in Québec are.

The most important factors for explaining the prominence of social policy preferences in contemporary Scottish identity are ideological (the unpopular discourse and policies of the Conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major) and institutional (the incapacity for predevolution Scotland to veto or to opt out of Westminster social legislation). In recent decades, there has not been such a fundamental divergence in Canada between the Québec and the federal government, whereas in Belgium, the historical preponderance of the Christian Democratic Party (Flanders’s leading party) and the coalition governments have mitigated the potential consequences of ideological differences between Dutch and French speakers. The increased decentralisation of Belgian federalism combined with Flanders’s economic strength would favour the development of more distinctive social policies if it were not for the institutional factors mentioned above.

We have said that on the issue of identity, Québec and Scotland are strikingly similar. In both cases, the nation is ideologically constructed through references to egalitarianism and social justice and by the corollary preference for progressive social policy. However, comparing the articulation of the Scottish and Québécois identities to social

policy requires some nuance. The notion of being Québécois is underpinned by a wide set of distinctive social programs that date back to the 1960s. Contemporary Scottishness has been couched in terms of divergent collective values from England but is not truly supported by divergent social policies, which are both too few and too recent. This difference is, of course, the product of institutional factors, as Canadian federalism has long allowed Québec to craft much of its own social agenda, whereas the United Kingdom gave no such liberty to Scotland before devolution. Even now, Scotland's more-limited institutional autonomy, as compared with Québec, especially financially, constrains its ability to implement distinctive social policies and, therefore, the extent to which the Scottish identity can be articulated in terms of a different social policy corpus. Social policy has factored into nationalist mobilisation in all three cases insofar as Québécois, Scottish, and Flemish nationalism have pushed for welfare state decentralisation. Once again, here, the Québec and Scottish cases are similar, whereas the Flemish case stands somewhat apart. Both the PQ and the SNP argue that independence is necessary for Québec or Scotland to freely implement the (progressive) social policy agenda suited to the will of their nations. In the case of Flemish nationalism, which has never been about promoting equality and redistributive justice, claims for the decentralisation of social programs are rooted in a socioeconomic factor, the wealth disparity between Flanders and Wallonia, as well as to the weak sense of solidarity between the two linguistic communities. The three nationalist movements have had different degrees of success in decentralising social programs. Scottish nationalism capitalised on the momentum in favour of home rule in the late 1990s to decentralise some aspects of social policy. As for Québec, it has arguably more con-

trol over social programs than any other region in the Western world but seeks even more autonomy over this policy area—at least when the PQ forms the government. Finally, in Belgium, it is at first glance surprising that there has not been much movement on this issue, because it is the majority group that seeks change. The sticking point here is the fact that, in addition to the main ‘social partners’, Francophone leaders have strongly opposed the *splitsing* of social insurance. Because Belgian political practice requires decision making at the federal level to gather support across linguistic communities as the cabinet includes an equal number of Flemish- and French-speaking ministers, Francophones have so far succeeded in preventing bold social insurance decentralisation in Belgium.

In terms of the impact of substate nationalism on welfare-state politics, we have also noticed that Québécois, Scottish, and Flemish nationalism have all, albeit in different ways and to varying degrees, played significant agenda-setting roles. Institutional factors heavily condition the opportunity for nationalist movements to shape substate and state policy agendas. In the context of a federal system, Québec has developed many distinctive social programs when compared with the other Canadian provinces, and it has also put pressure on the federal government to keep up with its progressive family policies. In the United Kingdom, there are signs that devolution for Scotland has launched similar processes. Importantly, Flemish nationalism has not been an agenda setter in the same way as Québécois and Scottish nationalism. It has not implemented many distinctive social programs, partly because it is ideologically on the Right but also as a consequence of the federal government retaining power over many social policy areas. Nor has it triggered a mimetic effect. Because Belgian federalism

is one of ‘coming apart’ rather than ‘coming together,’ as opposed to the situation prevailing in Canada, the federal government is not in the business of outbidding regions or communities in any policy field. Furthermore, the Walloon Region and French Community do not have the financial means to emulate Flemish programs. Overall, Flemish nationalism has set the Belgian political agenda in a broader, and perhaps a more fundamental, manner by challenging the legitimacy of the federal government to regulate the social insurance system. In doing so, it is implicitly questioning the very meaning of solidarity in the context of a multinational state.

Despite the fact that this study focused on three cases and that only one other, Spain, would satisfy the double criteria of substate nationalism and a well-developed welfare state, we believe it can provide insight into research on other types of territorial politics such as political regionalism and state nationalism. As for strong regionalist movements, they often resemble substate nationalism in their claims and discourses. In this context, they lend themselves to an analysis of their interaction with social programs. For example, Italy’s Northern League advocates decentralisation by arguing that the South of the country drains all the financial resources from the North⁵⁴; this is not unlike the discourse of Flemish nationalism in Belgium. In the name of distinct values of entrepreneurship and efficiency, it has laid claim to Padania as a political community.

Scholars could also consider the role of welfare provisions in building national identities at the state level. In multinational states such as Canada and the United Kingdom, welfare-state development has

⁵⁴ Tambini, Damian (2001) *Nationalism in Italian politics: The stories of the Northern League, 1980–2000*, London: Routledge.

had a nation-building dimension⁵⁵ that deserves more attention. Even less discussed is the relationship between national identity and social policy in unitary states. But in Scandinavian countries, for example, there is strong evidence that national identity is closely related to social and economic policies. Consider the example of Sweden, where the 'social-democratic model' has long been a powerful symbol of national identity, and where progressive social policy is a crucial aspect of this model. As Hugh Hecló and Henrik Madsen argue⁵⁶, 'Social Democrats have captured the idea of the nation – they have successfully interpreted the [Swedish] national identity as one of an ever-reforming welfare state.' This seems true even today, as the growing influence of market liberalism has failed to eliminate political and ideological references to the social democratic model said to make Sweden and other Scandinavian countries unique⁵⁷. It is hoped that future scholarship on both multinational and unitary states will draw on the theoretical insights formulated above to explore further the relationship between the welfare state, national identity, and political mobilisation.

55 Brodie, Janine (2002) 'Citizenship and solidarity: Reflections on the Canadian way', *Citizenship Studies*, 6 (4), 377–394; see also McEwen, Nicola (2002) 'State welfare and the impact of welfare retrenchment on the conational debate in Scotland', *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 66–90.

56 Cited in Blyth, Mark (2002) *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

57 Cox, Robert H. (2004) 'The path-dependency of an idea: Why Scandinavian welfare states remain distinct', *Social Policy and Administration*, 38 (2), 204–219.

The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Social Policy, Migration Politics and Welfare State Nationalism

Patrick Emmenegger and Romana Careja

For some time, the links between state, nation, citizenship, rights and duties were considered settled and seemed to be stable. Questions such as ‘What defines a nation?’, ‘What does it mean to belong to a nation?’, ‘What are the rights and duties associated to this belonging?’, ‘Is belonging automatic or something that must be earned and/or granted?’, and, in the latter case, which conditions must be fulfilled?’ are now challenged by the crisis of the welfare state and globalisation processes, such as migration and the extension of human rights.

Some of the current reforms in the area of migration and social policy in Western Europe can be understood only when the effects of two distinct processes are taken into account: 1) the motives for migration and 2) the increasing role of human rights in liberal democracies. Traditionally, Western policy makers interpreted migration from poor countries to Western Europe as a function of available benefits

in receiving countries¹ and calibrated the policy answers accordingly. Considering that the current levels of immigration are too high, governments are now attempting to reduce migration flows by reducing Western Europe's image as a welfare heaven. Such policies are supported by voters who perceive that immigrants do not belong to the national community and therefore do not deserve to receive social benefits in times of need.

Second, processes of 'post-nationalisation' have restricted the toolkit of governments. Initially, migration and social policies in post-war Europe were based on the idea that immigrants' stay would be temporary ('guest workers'). However, transnational definitions of human rights decrease the state's ability to exclude migrants from social benefits.² As a result, Western European governments are forced to find new ways to regulate migration flows.³

The chapter starts by discussing some of the links between citizenship, nation, and welfare showing that initially, welfare schemes were envisaged only for those who contributed through work to the general societal product and for *citizens of their respective nation-states*. We also show that the relationships covered by the term welfare state nationalism, between nation (nationality) and welfare standards, were permanently present, directly or indirectly, in the justification of social

- 1 Borjas, George J. (1994) 'The Economics of Immigration', *Journal of Economic Literature* 32(4), 1667–1717. Thielemann, Eiko R. (2006) 'The Effectiveness of Governments' Attempts to Control Unwanted Migration', in Craig A. Parsons & Timothy M. Smeeding (eds.) *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe*, Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press, 442–472, 442.
- 2 Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu (1994) *Limits of Citizenship. Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*, Chicago IL/London: University of Chicago Press.
- 3 It should be added that most of these policies proved to be rather ineffective. According to Favell and Hansen, this is due to the states' incapacity to send immigrants home and to market forces' demands for more immigration despite a hostile public. Favell, Adrian & Hansen, Randall (2002) 'Markets Against Politics: Migration, EU Enlargement and the Idea of Europe', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28(4), 581–601.

benefits schemes: in some cases defence or promotion of nation were used as a reason for the creation of welfare entitlements schemes, in other cases welfare standards have been used to define a nation and rally the citizens in its defence. We argue that a certain level of 'nationalism' continues to imbue the issue of allocation of welfare benefits, and it becomes most visible when this issue is raised with respect to the category of 'migrants'.

Labour shortage in post-war Europe led to the active recruitment of workers from poorer countries, first from within Europe, later from outside Europe. These were 'guest workers', a label which indicated the presumed temporary character of their stay. It was assumed that these workers would come only to work and would go home when work was no longer available. It was also assumed that they would not be a burden for social benefits systems because they were expected to be young and healthy, to have no families to support, and to be enrolled in paid jobs. Böhning describes these migration policies as 'mercantilistic': "Labourers were welcome, even actively recruited, but not supposed to stay or to bring their families."⁴ This understanding of migration was exclusionary, and by clearly differentiating between 'us' and 'them' and by emphasizing the temporary nature of immigrants' stay protected the identity of natives.

This post-war pattern has been challenged in recent decades. The status of migrants in host countries has become a legitimate concern of international discourse and action. Under international scrutiny, host states can no longer treat their migrant populations as mere instruments for economic production. Rather, they have to respect inter- and

4 Böhning, W. R. (1978) 'International Migration in Western Europe: Past, Present, Future', *International Migration* 16(1), 11–22, 16.

transnational market and security arrangements, international codes and laws concerning the rights of individuals, international treaties and conventions on social rights and non-discrimination and, finally, international legal instruments to protect the rights of political refugees (e.g. Geneva Convention).⁵ When these transnational rules are not legally binding, social control plays a quite important role, which should not be underestimated. In many cases, however, noncompliance can lead to penalties. One way or the other, the transnational rules constrain the national governments' room of manoeuvre. Most notably, they have put an end to the guest worker programmes in West European countries.

This 'post-national model' of welfare allocation attacked the basic criteria of the post-war welfare provision systems, namely citizenship and labour market status, and by doing this opened immigrants' access to welfare benefits by immigrants. These transformations caused a tension between the real-world functioning of national welfare states and their ideational underpinnings that had to be resolved by national governments. We argue that the reaction of West European countries followed a three-pronged strategy to minimise the consumption of social benefits by immigrants. First, governments have enacted entry restrictions targeted to all individuals seeking permanent residence, with the exception of individuals who fall into categories protected by international treaties, such as political refugees and family reunification. Second, governments have restricted political refugees' access to social benefits in order to separate 'true' political refugees from 'bogus' refugees. Finally, governments have embarked upon a process of

5 Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu (1994) *Limits of Citizenship...*, 143–156.

retrenching those social protection systems that provide a disproportionate amount of benefits to immigrants. We argue that these strategies lead to a *de facto* restoration of the post-war social model, which distinguished between deserving and not deserving recipients.

To substantiate these claims empirically, we show, using the European Value Survey Wave 3, that in a context which sees a continuous growth of claims to social rights, citizenship status is one of the most resilient conditions for judging the deservingness of welfare entitlements. Moreover, by reviewing recent migration and social policy reforms in France, Germany and Great Britain, we show that social policy reforms have focused on those areas that are characterised by a disproportionate share of benefits going to immigrants, and that governments have attempted to restrict asylum seekers' access to the territory and welfare state benefits. These three countries have been selected because they represent different welfare and immigration regimes and absorb a large amount of immigrants coming to Western Europe.

Citizenship and Nation

After being relatively stable in the modern period, nation-states have recently been contested as being the locus of political power or as the only legitimate source of political identity. Sub-national or regional groups reject nation and choose linguistic, cultural or religious identities and claim the need to reconsider the rights and duties associated with belonging to a nation. Often, such claims refer to welfare entitlements. Such processes are referred to with the concept of 'welfare state

nationalism.⁶ But this is only one sense in which the term is used. It is also used in reference to Sweden's reluctance to join the European Union, portrayed as a potential danger for the moral and welfare standards of Folkhemmet,⁷ or in reference to Danish resistance to Nazi occupation⁸. However, as the following survey of some of the theoretical arguments which surrounded the birth of the idea of modern welfare benefits shows, the link between citizenship, nation and welfare has been a constant from the 19th century on.

Citizenship denotes an individual's belonging to a political community defined by a territory and a set of laws. The quality of 'being a citizen' involves *duties* towards the community (such as respecting the laws and improving the wellbeing of the community, paying taxes and joining the army) and *rights* (such as taking part in social and political life). Citizenship simultaneously includes and excludes: through citizenship, an individual is bound to his/her political community and to fellow citizens, but is separated from other political communities.⁹ Citizenship bonds individuals to a political society (*Gesellschaft*),

6 McEwen, Nicola (2001) 'The Nation-Building Role of State Welfare in the United Kingdom and Canada', in T. C. Salmon & M. Keating (eds.) *The Dynamics of Decentralization: Canadian Federalism and British Devolution*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 85–105. McEwen, Nicola (2002) 'State Welfare Nationalism: The Territorial Impact of Welfare State Development in Scotland', *Regional and Federal Studies* 12(1), 66–90; Béland, Daniel & Lecours, André (2005) 'The Politics of Territorial Solidarity: Nationalism and Social Policy Reform in Canada, the United Kingdom, and Belgium', *Comparative Political Studies* 38(6), 676–703; Béland, Daniel & Lecours, André (2006) 'Substate Nationalism and the Welfare State: Québec and Canadian Federalism', *Nations and Nationalism* 12(1), 77–96.

7 Tragardh, Lars (1999) 'Welfare State Nationalism: Sweden and the Spectre of the European Union', *Scandinavian Review* 87(1), 18–23.

8 Kaspersen, Lars Bo (2006) 'The Formation and Development of the Welfare State', in John L. Campbell, John A. Hall & Ove K. Pedersen (eds.) *National Identity and the Varieties of Capitalism: The Danish Experience*, Montreal & Kingston/London/Ithaca NY: McGill-Queen's University Press, 99–132.

9 Klausen, Jytte (1995) 'Advocacy and State Building: T. H. Marshall in the Hands of Social Reformers', *World Politics* 47(2), 244–267; Soysal 1994, 1–12.

whose laws have been accepted by the citizens themselves as the basis for interaction. However, these hierarchical and contractual bonds are unlikely to succeed in keeping a community together unless they are founded upon ties originated in the awareness of belonging to a nation (*Gemeinschaft*).¹⁰

Benedict Anderson defined a nation as “an imagined political community [that is] imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”.¹¹ The limited and sovereign character is given by the fact that individuals themselves create ‘the nation’ and endow it with a series of attributes, which distinguish it from other ‘nations’. This process of creation and endowment has no definite end. Although historically it is accepted that ‘formation of nations’ ended by the 19th century, this assertion can be certainly accepted only with respect to the nations which dominated the modern political era. Recently, these nations themselves have come under challenge, and are confronted with the need to redefine themselves in response to claims raised by sub-national units.¹² Moreover, if one applies a very generous definition to a nation, as the sum of political, cultural, social and economic achievements and identities of a group, then it is clear that the process of nation formation is endless: on a core of basic tenets, each generation adds its own contribution. Thus, the great picture shows individuals symbiotically related to their nation: the nation gives them identity while they give the nation

10 Bellamy, Richard (1992) *Liberalism and Modern Society: A Historical Argument*. Pennsylvania State University Press, 177

11 Anderson, Benedict (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 6–7

12 Corcuera Atienza, Javier, Brock, Albert & Watson, Cameron J. (2007) *The Origins, Ideology and Organization of Basque Nationalism, 1876–1903*, Center for Basque Studies. Ichijo, Atsuko (2004) *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe: Concepts of Europe and the Nation*, London: Routledge. Greer, Scott L. (2007) *Nationalism and Self-Government: The Politics of Autonomy in Scotland and Catalonia*, Albany: State University of New York Press.

substance. Humans are able to value their skills and to strive because they rely on resources created earlier by other members of their nation. Thus, each of them has a duty towards their nation, and this duty requires them to give their best for ensuring the common good and the survival of the nation.¹³

For a long time, wars were waged in the name of nations and the best individuals could do was to give their lives and their money.¹⁴ However, as states became more stable, greatness of nations started to be understood more in terms of economic success, a process which coincided with the rise of liberal economic arguments. This process also involved a refining of the relationship between individuals (citizens) and their nation (society). In this period the idea of creating the means to *ensure citizens' welfare* also emerged. The next section will briefly present the theoretical justifications of liberals for accepting the establishment of welfare provisions, which at prima facie ran against their most basic tenets. As will be seen, these justifications are connected to the role of individuals within society (nation), and have a strong pro-work bias.

Nation and the Welfare State

The liberals' view of the economy, the state, the society and progress revolved around the idea that individuals have inalienable rights and that the role of the state was to provide the legal framework in which individuals can develop themselves to the largest extent, without harming their peers. The classical liberal thinking depicted a harmonious society, where individuals who wanted to work could work and

¹³ Bellamy, Richard (1992) *Liberalism and Modern Society...*

¹⁴ Klausen, Jytte (1995) 'Advocacy and State Building...', 249

where the poverty was the result of vice (laziness). The liberals' faith that the market could secure a place for each individual, so that his/her specific skills could be valued, was akin to ingenuity¹⁵ and they were often criticised for this 'non-realistic' premise. This assumption, however, was important for their argumentation: it allowed them to avoid uncomfortable questions related to social diversity and to insist on individualism and on the state's non-intervention in citizens' welfare.¹⁶

However, the growth of poverty and unemployment, and the occurrence of economic crises forced liberal thinkers and politicians to admit that poverty was not only the result of vice, and that some measures for ensuring (a minimum of) social welfare were needed.¹⁷ The justification of welfare benefits schemes was also influenced by the process of nation and state formation. In countries where modernisation took place in a context where state and nation were already established (such as France and Great Britain), the liberals' attitudes towards social problems and welfare provision were very much in line with their classical arguments emphasising the individual effort to provide for one's own welfare. The workers' *right* to a minimum of guaranteed welfare was correlated with their *duty* to work and to make the best use of the opportunity given to them. The laws adopted at the beginning of 20th century, which "were designed to help only those who helped themselves", ignored the needs of those who were not able

15 This argument is reminiscent of the *oikeopragia* principle promoted by Plato, according to which if each citizen of the polis performs a function according to his skills, then the collective good is ensured (Plato in Republic).

16 Bellamy, Richard (1992) *Liberalism and Modern Society*...

17 Bellamy 1992; Peter Flora & Jens Alber (1981) 'Modernisation, Democratisation and the Development of Welfare States in Western Europe', in Peter Flora & Arnold J. Heidenheimer (eds.) *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 37-81.

to do so.¹⁸ Only those who contributed to the general good were considered part of society, worth of attention and concern. That ‘society’ was always implicitly understood to be the ‘national’ society¹⁹ is reflected in the political, economic and social mechanisms envisaged, which were meant to *maintain* the great status of the French or British nations.²⁰ In countries where the advent of liberalism coincided not only with modernisation, but also with state formation (such as Germany), the liberals argued that in order to secure the country’s place on the map of Europe, social progress was a must: “The national drive abroad must be accompanied by social progress at home”.²¹

Liberals insisted that only those *who worked were entitled and deserved* to be helped in case of misfortunes²² and this view dominated the pre-war view on social welfare policies. As at the time labour force structure was defined by industrialisation, the subjects and the target of the liberals’ welfare schemes were the working men. Moreover, the

18 “The much vaunted Old Age Pensions scheme [in Great Britain, authors’ note], being in a large part contributory, was designed to help those who helped themselves. The destitute, the so-called ‘unemployable’, and the casual labourers, whose plight formed the vast bulk of the social problem, were largely neglected by the new liberal legislation. The new labour exchanges failed to address their needs and the unemployment insurance scheme referred predominantly to those groups of skilled and organised workers most able to make provision for themselves in any case” (Bellamy 1992: 55).

19 Cmiel, Kenneth (1996) ‘The Faith of the Nation and the Withering of the State’, *American Literary History* 8(1), 184–202.

20 The economist Arnold Toynbee accurately caught this liberal position in an essay generally defending state help, he remarked: “Even if the chance should rise of removing a great social evil, nothing must be done to weaken those habits of individual self-reliance and voluntary association which have built up the greatness of the English people”. Quoted in Bellamy, Richard (1992) *Liberalism and Modern Society...*, 47.

21 Bellamy, Richard (1992) *Liberalism and Modern Society...*, 172.

22 The importance of work as the basis for welfare entitlements is also visible in the conceptualisation of the Swedish *Folkhemmet*, where work is imbued with moral value. Klausen 1995. Although Marshall retains the importance of work in relation to welfare rights, he gives it a more instrumental value. If for Durkheim, Bourgeois and British liberals, work entitled individuals to receive welfare, for Marshall work gave the citizens the possibility to pay for welfare. Roche, Maurice (1992) *Rethinking Citizenship: Welfare, Ideology and Change in Modern Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

first social welfare laws were given when immigration was not an issue.²³ Therefore, almost by default, the legislation concerning welfare schemes referred to *national citizens*.

More than nationality, residency played an important role as a criterion for the link between the poor and local communities. All the poor laws that were enacted after 1500 stated that every community is to feed its indigenous poor, while the welfare of others was not the community's responsibility. In fact, the criterion of residency can be traced back to the Second Council of Tours in 567, in which the Catholic bishops decided that every community had to feed its indigenous poor in order to avoid the roaming of the poor from one community to another.²⁴

Nationality became more important during the development of modern welfare states. Conservative reformers such as Bismarck and von Taffe sought to weaken the revolutionary labour movement and tie the loyalties of the individual to the central state by offering generous social benefits to certain societal groups.²⁵ They hoped that these social protection schemes would provide some legitimacy to the empire, increase social cohesion and induce national identity.²⁶ This 'cit-

23 At the time, European countries were mostly countries of emigration.

24 de Swaan, Abram (1988) *In Care of the State. Health Care, Education and Welfare in Europe and the USA in the Modern Era*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 16–17.

25 Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 24.

26 Crepaz, Markus M. L. & Damron, Regan (2009) 'Constructing Tolerance: How the Welfare State Shapes Attitudes About Immigrants', *Comparative Political Studies* 42(3), 437–463.

izen-making through social benefits²⁷ strategy was later followed by many other states, especially in times of crisis.²⁸

Ideas of the responsibility of individuals towards fellow citizens, which appeared in the liberals' arguments with strong qualifications, were taken over and developed further by socialist thinkers, who campaigned to extend it to include other categories, not only industrial workers.²⁹ In their view, state intervention was the instrument to ensure the *nation's* welfare, and thus nationalism became "a critical ideological prop for the positive state for the past 90 years".³⁰

The post-war theoretical momentum for the arguments in favour of welfare provision bore Marshall's stamp. His famous 1950 essay presented social rights as following naturally from civil and political rights. From here, many interpreted social rights as equal in type to political and civil rights, and claimed that social rights are to be granted automatically and unconditionally. Other authors argued that this view misinterpreted Marshall's view by ignoring his insistence that "Citizenship rights, particularly social rights, are to be reciprocated and paid for by the citizens' duty to work".³¹

The idea that citizens have social *rights* has produced a major turn in the relationships between different groups in the society. The monopoly power to define who is entitled to receive benefits, who belonged to the state, was dismantled. Individuals and groups argued that they

27 Leibfried, Stephan & Pierson, Paul (2000) 'Social Policy: Left to Courts and Markets?', in Helen Wallace & William Wallace (eds.) *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 4th edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 267–292, 279.

28 Katzenstein, Peter J. (1985) *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe*, Ithaca NY/London: Cornell University Press. Campbell, John L., Hall, John A. & Pedersen, Ove K. (eds.) (2006) *National Identity and the Varieties of Capitalism: the Danish Experience*, Montreal & Kingston/London/Ithaca NY: McGill-Queen's University Press.

29 Flora and Alber 1981.

30 Cmiel 1996, 188.

31 Maurice Roche 1992, 20.

themselves have the right to define their needs. Underdog groups used the rights-dominated conception in order to fight for recognition and inclusion in the formation of a coalition controlling policy-making.³²

However, the supporters of the rights-approach to welfare tend to ignore that social rights have a different quality than political and civil rights. While political and civil rights are indivisible, non-transferable and granted automatically, social rights are redistributive and depend on the fiscal capacity of the state and on the political mobilisation of certain groups.³³ In other words, for social rights to be translated into real existing benefits the balance of power between 'beneficiaries' and 'providers' matters, where the 'providers' are the taxpayers. The debate is not about providing or not providing welfare benefits, but about who should receive them. In this context, the most powerful means at the providers' disposal is their possibility to decide on the criteria for deservingness. As long as the two groups overlap, problems are minimal. When they do not overlap, the groups' divergent interests fuel tensions.

While the rights-approach started as a domestic development, it received a strong impetus from the evolutions in the international arena. The increased concern with human rights in conflict areas or in totalitarian regimes was translated in the effort of international actors to promote the standards and the means to protect human beings' lives. By proclaiming the pre-eminence of human rights and the right of humans to be protected from the actions of the state or sub-state actors, the personhood rights became de-territorialized, and consequently, separated from the rights derived from the status of citizens. More im-

32 Klausen 1995.

33 Breiner, Peter (2006) Is Social Citizenship Really Outdated? T. H. Marshall Revisited. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Albuquerque, March 17, 2006; Klausen 1995.

portantly for the argument developed in this chapter, the international regimes of human rights pledged states to protect individuals against other states.

The codification and institutionalisation of the human right standards has had several implications: 1) signatory states had to implement them, 2) they provided models for nation states actions and 3) they constrained the actions of the nation states. What is very important in the context of the previous discussion, which showed that social protection was envisaged by the national states for their own citizens, is the fact that under the international pressure, the same national states were required to provide the minimal welfare standards for citizens whom they were supposed to protect under international laws, but who were *not* their own citizens. This model of providing access to certain rights, based not on the affiliation to the political community (citizenship) but based on de-territorialised notions of persons' rights is what Soysal proposes under the name of a "post-national model".³⁴

It should not be understood that without the umbrella of international organisations, states could mistreat the non-nationals living on their own territories. Democratic states especially have always pledged to respect human rights, and the plethora of human rights organisations active on their territories would make sure that even those unprotected by the citizenship status would have their rights respected. Therefore, as Joppke argued, basic constitutional principles would

34 Soysal 1994. Maurice Roche argues that "post-nationalism' refers not only to transnational political change, involving levels higher than the nation state [...], but also to subnational change, involving the development of local and regional political culture and institutions." In this paper we use the term in Soysal's sense, as an expression of transnational changes. Roche 1992, 192–193, emphasis in the original.

bind states' hands in their actions against non-nationals.³⁵ However, as Liedtke and Holzer et al. show in their respective discussions of the welfare provisions for asylum seekers in Germany and admission ratios in Switzerland, nation-states, even when constrained by international conventions, still enjoy a great deal of discretion in applying them.³⁶

Welfare State Nationalism and Perception of Deservingness

In the preceding pages, we have argued that being considered part of the national community is one of the most important criteria for being considered as 'deserving' of social support in times of need. In the following, we substantiate this claim by providing empirical evidence on informal solidarity with different societal groups and the relationship between perception of immigration and the preference for conditionality of social benefits.

Van Oorschot discusses five criteria that influence the perception of deservingness of certain societal groups. People are considered to be more deserving of social support 1) if they cannot control the reasons for their neediness (responsibility), 2) if they are very needy of social support (level of need), 3) if they are close to 'us', i.e. belong to the national community, 4) if they display an expected form of behaviour or 5) if they have earned the support (reciprocity).³⁷ Of course, some of these criteria overlap. For instance, the likelihood of having con-

35 Joppke, Christian (1999) *Immigration and the Nation State: The United States, Germany and Great Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

36 Liedtke, Matthias (2002) 'National Welfare and Asylum in Germany', *Critical Social Policy* 22(3), 479–497. Holzer, Thomas, Schneider, Gerald & Widmer, Thomas (2000) 'The Impact of Legislative Deterrence Measures on the Number of Asylum Applications in Switzerland (1986–1995)', *International Migration Review* 34(4), 1182–1216.

37 Van Oorschot, Wim (2000) 'Who Should Get What, and Why? On Deservingness Criteria and the Conditionality of Solidarity among the Public', *Policy and Politics* 28(1), 33–48, 36.

tributed to the community increases if the needy person in question belongs to that community. However, it is important to note that these five criteria do not rule out the possibility to consider immigrants very deserving of social support as, for instance, they could be seen either as not controlling the reasons for their predicament or as being in particularly needy situations.

In his empirical analysis using a sample of 1500 Dutch respondents, van Oorschot shows that out of 29 societal groups identified as 'needy', immigrants were considered to be the least deserving.³⁸ A similar analysis has been conducted by Appelbaum using a sample of 2000 German students. She observes that target groups belonging to the national community that are seen as less responsible for their predicament are considered to be most deserving. At the same time, although refugees from Kosovo and asylum seekers from Bosnia were considered to be the least responsible for their need of aid, they were still thought to be the least deserving of receiving aid.³⁹ This finding shows that the collective identity plays a crucial role in judging deservingness. In a comparative study using European Values Survey data van Oorschot shows that immigrants across Europe are considered to be less deserving of social benefits than the elderly, sick or disabled and unemployed people. Moreover, he shows that conditionality of social benefits, i.e. the extent to which respondents make a difference between different

38 Van Oorschot 2000.

39 Appelbaum, Lauren D. (2002) 'Who Deserves Help? Students' Opinions about the Deservingness of Different Groups Living in Germany to Receive Aid', *Social Justice Research* 15(3), 201–225, 214.

groups of needy people, is strongly influenced by their perception of immigrants.⁴⁰

In the following, we replicate van Oorschot's study using data on France, Germany and the United Kingdom provided by the third wave of the European Value Survey (1999). Deservingness is operationalised using respondents' informal solidarity towards four groups of needy people. The exact wording of the question is: "To what extent do you feel concerned about the living conditions of: (1) elderly people in your country, (2) unemployed people in your country, (3) immigrants in your country and (4) sick and disabled people in your country?" Respondents could choose among five answer categories ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much).

Figure 1 displays average informal solidarity with different societal groups of needy persons for France, Germany and Great Britain. Higher values indicate higher levels of informal solidarity. In all three countries, the same rank order can be observed. Elderly people are seen to be the most deserving of social benefits followed by the sick and disabled. The unemployed are considered to be less deserving, especially in Great Britain. However, most important for the argument developed here is the fact that immigrants are clearly seen as the least deserving societal group of needy persons. This evidence supports our claim that identity and membership in the national community are very important determinants of informal solidarity.

40 Van Oorschot, Wim (2006) 'Making the Difference in Social Europe: Deservingness Perceptions among Citizens of European Welfare States', *Journal of European Social Policy* 16(1), 23–42.

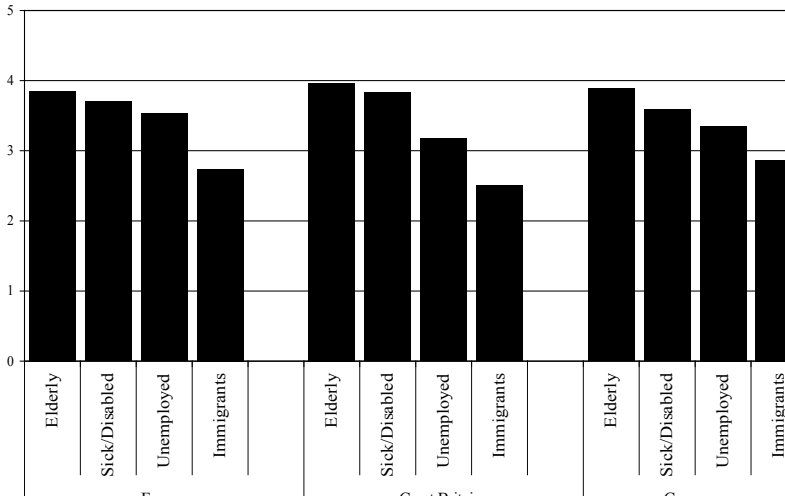


Figure 1: Informal solidarity with different societal groups of needy persons (national averages)

In a second step, we analyse whether support for conditionality of social benefits is influenced by attitudes towards immigration. Conditionality is the extent to which respondents make a difference between different groups of needy people. If a respondent is equally concerned with the living conditions of all four groups, his or her conditionality score is zero. If, however, a respondent is more concerned with the living conditions of certain groups than others, his or her conditionality score will be greater than zero. It is important to note that this definition is not dependent on the overall informal solidarity of the respondents. A respondent may or may not be concerned with the living conditions of all aforementioned groups. In such a case his or her conditionality score will remain the same as long as s/he makes similar differences among groups in need. Following van Oorschot, the condi-

tionality score is measured by the sum of absolute differences between a respondent's answers to the four questions above, and therefore theoretically ranges from 0 to 16.⁴¹

The general perception of immigration by the respondents is measured using two dummy variables. The wording of the first question is: "When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to [country] people over immigrants". Respondents that agreed with this statement have been coded one and zero otherwise. The wording of the second question is: "How about people from less developed countries coming here to work. Which one of the following do you think the government should do?" Respondents who answered with "Put strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come here" and "Prohibit people coming here from other countries" have been coded one and zero otherwise.

We further introduce several control variables into the statistical models: gender (male = 0, female = 1), age (years passed since birth), highest level of education reached (8 categories) and political stance through self-placement on a 10-point left-right scale. Moreover, following van Oorschot⁴², we introduce three variables that control for respondents' general welfare state sentiments: (1) whether individuals or the state should take more responsibility in providing for people (1–10), (2) whether unemployed people should have to take any job or not (1–10) and (3) whether people who do not work turn lazy (1–5). The models are estimated using OLS regressions with country dummies (reference group: Germany) and robust standard errors. The self-

41 Van Oorschot 2006, 29.

42 Van Oorschot 2006.

placement on the left-right scale is only introduced in Model 2 as it leads to a loss of 650 (out of 4046) observations.

Table 1 displays the results of OLS regressions of the conditionality score on preferences for immigration and control variables. All variables, except gender, are highly significant in Model 1. Older and less educated respondents tend to score higher on our conditionality indicator. Respondents who think that unemployed people should take any offered job and that those who do not work become lazy receive a very high score on our conditionality indicator, while respondents who think that everyone should take the responsibility for providing for themselves receive a low score. In the context of the argument presented in this chapter, it is very important to note that respondents with an overall negative perception of immigration support high levels of conditionality of social benefits. Moreover, these two dummy variables are characterised by the lowest probability of a type I error (except the country dummies) and have a considerable substantive effect on the dependent variable.

Table 1: Determinants of conditionality (European Value Survey wave 3, 1999)

Dependent variable: Model:	(1)	Conditionality of informal solidarity (2)		
Gender (woman)	0.0925 (0.85)		0.0846 (0.72)	
Age	0.0140 (4.19)	***	0.0137 (3.76)	***
Education (1–8)	-0.1711 (6.41)	***	-0.1730 (5.99)	***
Welfare state sentiments:				
Responsibility (individual–state)	0.1240 (5.43)	***	0.1134 (4.51)	***
Unemployed accept any job (yes–no)	-0.0831 (3.77)	***	-0.0404 (1.67)	
No work makes lazy (yes–no)	-0.2786 (6.10)	***	-0.2610 (5.21)	***
Attitudes to immigration:				
Scarce jobs for natives (no–yes)	1.1087 (9.66)	***	1.1064 (8.84)	***
Inflow of immigrants (no–yes)	1.1640 (10.42)	***	1.1140 (9.17)	***
Political stance (left –right)	-		0.1578 (4.78)	***
France (country dummy)	1.4032 (11.55)	***	1.4056 (10.61)	***
Great Britain (country dummy)	2.1072 (13.96)	***	2.1769 (13.30)	***
Constant	2.8177 (8.96)	***	1.8680 (4.92)	***
Adjusted R ²	0.1654		0.1735	
N	4'046		3'396	

Notes: Ordinary least squares regressions with country dummies and robust standard errors. Absolute t-value in parentheses. *** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05.

In Model 2, we further control for the self-placement on a left-right scale. Respondents who consider themselves to be right of the political centre support a higher level of conditionality of social benefits. In general, the introduction of this variable leads to a decrease of the t-values of all independent variables. In the case of attitudes towards acceptable jobs for unemployed people, the coefficient even turns insignificant. However, the two dummy variables measuring general attitudes towards immigration remain the most robust determinants of preferences for the conditionality of social benefits.

In sum, respondents in France, Germany and Great Britain not only consider immigrants to be the least deserving group of needy people, but their preferences for conditionality of social benefits are also strongly affected by their attitudes towards immigration. This clearly supports our claim that social benefits are considered to be mainly for members of the national community.

Migration and Social Policy Reforms in France, Germany and Great Britain

In the following, we provide a condensed summary of migration and social policy reforms in France, Germany and Great Britain. We argue that West European countries have followed a three-pronged strategy in order to minimise the consumption of social benefits by immigrants. First, governments have restricted the access to the territory for immigrants from outside the European Union (so-called third country nationals), and allow entrance only to those groups which they are,

by international treaties, obliged to admit (immigration policies⁴³). Second, governments have restricted political refugees' access to social benefits in order to separate 'true' political refugees from 'bogus' refugees (immigrant policies).⁴⁴ Finally, governments have embarked in a process of retrenching those social protection systems that provide a disproportionate amount of benefits to immigrants (social policies). Our discussion of immigration and immigrant policies is based on the work of Geddes and several publications by the OECD if not otherwise indicated.⁴⁵

Immigration policies: France has a history of open borders. Concerned about low levels of population growth, the government even encouraged immigration from nearby countries such as Italy or Spain. However, due to the worsening of the labour market situation in the aftermath of the first oil price crisis, France suspended labour and family migration. Although the latter was later overruled by the Council of State as it contravened the constitutional right to family life, the mid-1970s demarcated a new epoch in French immigration policy. The borders were now closed.

Immigration became an increasingly politicised topic in the 1980s. Not least due to the increasing popularity of the far-right Front National, immigration control was set to remain on the political agenda

43 Immigration policies concern the regulation of migratory flows and the admission of foreign nationals. Immigrant policies regulate immigrants' lives in their host countries.

44 Note that 47 per cent of the respondents in the European Social Survey of 2002–03 agreed that "Most applicants for asylum aren't in real fear of persecution in their own countries" while 22 per cent disagree. Citrin, Jack & Sides, John (2006) 'European Immigration in the People's Court', in Craig A. Parsons & Timothy M. Smeeding (eds.), *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe*, Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press, 327–361, 337.

45 Geddes, Andrew (2003) *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*, Los Angeles CA/London/New Delhi/Singapore: Sage. OECD (several years) *International Migration Outlook*, Paris: OECD.

for the decades to come. Although initially reluctant to endorse the topic, the mainstream parties became increasingly active. Centre-right parties in particular saw a tougher stance on immigration as a possibility to weaken their far-right rivals. For instance, the 1994 Pasqua law restricted family reunification and prohibited the regularisation of status of undocumented foreigners who married French citizens, while the 2003 Sarkozy law introduced even tougher restrictions on entry and stay of asylum seekers.⁴⁶ The left also supported restrictive legislation. For instance, the 1989 Joxe and 1997 Chevènement laws toughened immigrations controls, but the left also introduced new forms of protection and anti-discrimination policies. Finally, France, together with Germany and others, was among the first countries that attempted to externalise immigration controls through European integration.

Unlike France, Germany never attempted to be a country of immigration. Nevertheless, by 2006, almost 13 per cent of its population had not been born in Germany. Historically, Germany has been characterised by relatively liberal asylum provisions, a right to return for ethnic Germans and an extensive guest worker programme. This programme had been designed to attract workers to Germany, but it envisioned their departure as soon as the economic situation would deteriorate. As the first oil crisis struck Germany, numerous migrant workers became unemployed. But they did not leave. Although unanticipated by policy makers, guest workers had acquired the right to stay.⁴⁷

46 Guiraudon, Virginie (2006) 'Different Nation, Same Nationhood: the Challenges of Immigrant Policy', in Pepper D. Culpepper, Peter A. Hall & Bruno Palier (eds.) *Changing France: The Politics that Markets Make*, Houndmills/Basingstoke/Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 129–149, 145.

47 It is debated whether guest workers acquired the right to stay due to post-nationalism or whether Germany's sovereignty was 'self-limited'. Soysal 1994. Joppke 1999.

After the first oil crisis, the guest worker programme was basically abolished and migration was limited to political asylum, family reunification and the return of ethnic Germans. Ethnic Germans are people of German descent living outside the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and later the reunified Germany. They were granted a particularly easy access to Germany and its welfare state. However, after the end of the Cold War, as ethnic Germans came increasingly from places further away, resentment at their special treatment grew. By 1996, local authorities were given the right to monitor and regulate the lives of ethnic Germans in a similar way as the ones of asylum seekers.

The relatively liberal asylum provisions were due to self-imposed 'special obligations' rooted in Germany's particular history as a provisional state, especially prior to reunification. As the public's discontent with these policies increased, Germany turned to the European Union in order to enact more restrictive regulation and avoid domestic debates related to these 'special obligations'. An amendment in 1993 brought Germany in line with the other EU member states and with the Dublin convention, and put an end to its liberal asylum provisions. In 2003, Germany received its first regulated immigration system. As argued by Geddes, although "the symbolic right to asylum remained, [...] the actual ability to exercise the right by entering German state territory was reduced."⁴⁸

Great Britain shares with France the colonial legacy and the open borders for citizens of its colonies. Between 1948 and 1962, all subjects

48 Geddes 2003, 82.

to the Crown had the right to move to Britain.⁴⁹ After arrival, they were granted the same legal, social and political rights as the locals. Considering the size of the British Empire, this policy created an enormous pool of would-be migrants.

This policy changed with three legislative acts adopted between 1962 and 1971, which closed the door on large-scale labour migration. Politics became increasingly concerned with the ‘problem’ of coloured immigration and the Conservative government of Harold Macmillan argued that change was needed as the British islands were in danger of becoming overcrowded. Although it initially opposed this policy change, the Labour Party soon noticed the electoral potential of the anti-immigration policies. The 1968 Second Commonwealth Immigrants Bill, restricting the access to Great Britain for British citizens of Indian origin that faced persecution in Kenya and Uganda as a result of Africanisation policies, was passed by a Labour government led by Harold Wilson. These policy reforms led to a suspension of migration, with the exception of family members and asylum seekers.

One particularity of the British approach is reluctance to cede power to supranational EU institutions. Unlike France and Germany, which saw European integration as a chance to enact more restrictive immigration policies than otherwise possible, Great Britain relied on its geographical advantages as an island on the Northern edge of Europe. Moreover, unlike France and Germany, the British government was confronted with few institutional veto points and was able to enact re-

49 According to Martiniello, colonial labour migration played the same economic role for France and Great Britain as collective labour recruitment (‘guest workers’) in Germany. Martiniello, Marco (2006) ‘The New Migratory Europe: Towards a Proactive Immigration Policy?’, in Craig A. Parsons & Timothy M. Smeeding (eds.) *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe*, Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press, 298–326, 312.

strictive policies on its own. As a result, the need for tougher immigration controls through European integration was considerably weaker.

Immigrant policies: All three countries have in common that, despite their efforts to restrict immigration, actual immigration numbers did not decline. International obligations and national constitutional rules obliged them to accept political refugees and allow for family reunification. Moreover, governments sometimes supported, or at least did not oppose, the immigration of certain groups of workers. These workers were often to fill certain labour market needs, such as nurses from South Africa for hospitals in Great Britain. Finally, the free movement of people within the European Union curtailed the governments' ability to control the immigration of citizens of other European countries. As a result, governments increasingly turned to immigrant policies in order to control migration.

France's immigrant policy is based on the idea that "as immigrants become 'integrated' then they disappear as a distinct component of French society"⁵⁰. However, policy makers soon realised that some immigrants are easier to assimilate than others. This resulted in a distinction between 'good' European and 'bad' non-European immigrants, as the latter were considered to be unassimilable.⁵¹ This had important implications. For instance, the 1983 Badinter Law empowered the police to use someone's hair or skin colour to decide upon ID checks.⁵²

50 Geddes 2003, 66. Nevertheless, the French government hoped after 1973 that migrants would return to their homeland. According to Guiraudon, the government even consciously refrained from integrating them in order to increase their incentive to return. Guiraudon 2006, 136.

51 Schain, Martin A. (2006) 'The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain, and the United States: A Transatlantic Comparison', in Craig A. Parsons & Timothy M. Smeeding (eds.) *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe*, Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press, 362–391.

52 This law was repealed in 1993.

During the last decades, France developed a rather tough stance on asylum seekers. According to Delouvin, about 90 per cent of all claims for acceptance as a refugee are rejected by the French authorities. Moreover, in order to decrease the incentives of 'bogus' refugees to apply for recognition as asylum seekers, France has considerably restricted the access to social benefits. Foreigners seeking protection must present themselves to the local authorities. Until the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and State Persons comes to a decision on their case, they are allowed to stay but not to work. If the registration through the local authorities is delayed, for instance, due to missing documents, refugees do not have any access to social assistance for several months.⁵³ According to Schuster, these measures are clearly targeted at so-called 'bogus' asylum seekers.⁵⁴ However, they also complicate the lives of 'real' asylum seekers.

Historically, Germany had a relatively liberal asylum seeker policy. However, the 1993 asylum compromise put an end to this tradition. This amendment brought Germany in line with the other EU member states and the Dublin convention and introduced the concept of 'safe countries of origin'. Subsequently, Germany also introduced the concept of 'safe third country', which means that asylum seekers lose their right to apply for asylum in Germany if they had entered the territory of a country that could provide protection against prosecution before they crossed the border to Germany. Since all of Germany's neigh-

53 Delouvin, Patrick (2000) 'The Evolution of Asylum in France', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13(1), 61–73, 64–65, 71.

54 Schuster, Liza (2000) 'A Comparative Analysis of the Asylum Policy of Seven European Governments', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13(1), 119–132, 123.

bours are deemed 'safe third countries,' the only legal way of entering Germany for asylum seekers is by air.⁵⁵

The access to social benefits has been restricted by several acts. Asylum seekers are not covered by social assistance but by special systems at lower benefit rates during the first 36 months of their stay. However, these social benefits are not paid in cash but provided through in-kind benefits or vouchers. Moreover, these vouchers are only valid in certain food stores. According to Liedtke, these policies aim at complicating the social integration of asylum seekers in order to keep their immigration reversible as long as their long-term status remains unclear. Put differently, "welfare state instruments are used rather to minimise or limit than to maximise asylum seekers' well-being".⁵⁶

Great Britain's initial attempt to deal with the immigration problem was to focus on the external borders. For instance, airlines, ferry companies and truck drivers were liable to be fined if they brought in people without the appropriate documentation. However, the measures were not very successful. In 2000, more than 80,000 people applied for political asylum in Great Britain.

The government reacted by adapting the immigrant legislation. In 1996, the Conservative government decided to remove access to social benefits for 'in-country' asylum applicants. Thus, only if applications were made at a point of entry such as an air- or seaport, could asylum seekers expect to receive social benefits. The Courts challenged this act by describing it as 'barbaric' as it could lead to the destitution of numerous in-country applicants. As a result, the government adapted the act and decided that local authorities should be responsible for asylum

55 Liedtke 2002, 482.

56 Liedtke 2000, 493-494.

seekers. As this policy led to an uneven distribution of costs, it proved to be very controversial.

In 1999, the Labour government of Tony Blair went one step further. It sought to address the problem of the geographical concentration of asylum seekers in London and the South East of Great Britain by developing a new dispersal system. The government also introduced vouchers, which were to be given to asylum seekers in place of cash benefits. Especially the introduction of vouchers has “helped to place asylum seekers outside the community of legitimate receivers of welfare state benefits.”⁵⁷ However, due to strong protests by human rights NGOs and to increasing costs, the British government has recently abandoned the voucher scheme and returned to the previous cash-based system.⁵⁸

In sum, a similar development can be observed in all three countries. Access to social benefits for asylum seekers has been restricted in recent years. As argued by Schuster on the basis of an analysis of asylum policy in seven European countries: “The response [to the] question ‘How low can the lowest common denominator go?’ would seem to be very low. The governments of the European Union are opting for offering the barest minimum possible to asylum seekers –the acceptance of a few token, carefully chosen refugees who will be entitled to minimal support from host governments (who rely increasingly on cash-starved NGOs and charities to act as safety nets) for limited and renewable periods of time.”⁵⁹

57 Geddes 2003, 194. See also Sales, Rosemary (2002) ‘The Deserving and the Undeserving? Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Welfare in Britain’, *Critical Social Policy* 22(3), 456–478.

58 Thielemann 2006, 457.

59 Schuster 2000, 125.

Social policies: So far, we have seen that all three countries tried to restrict access, and allow entrance only to those groups which they have to accept (political refugees and family reunification). Moreover, in recent years, social benefits for asylum seekers have been considerably retrenched. Now, we would like to demonstrate that even when settled in their host countries, immigrants are still worse off than citizens. Furthermore, we show that minimum income protection and social assistance have been substantially retrenched since the 1990s, and disproportionately affected the economic well-being of immigrants.

In all three countries, the labour market participation rate of native-born and foreign-born residents is rather similar. However, important differences can be observed with regard to unemployment rates. In 2006, the ratio of the unemployment rate of foreign-born to the unemployment rate of native-born residents was 1.82 in France, 1.77 in Germany and 1.35 in Great Britain (down from 1.57 in 2005).⁶⁰ Interestingly, these differences are *not* reflected in participation rates in social transfer programmes. As Morissens and Sainsbury show using data from the Luxembourg Income Study in the mid-1990s, participation rates of migrant households in unemployment insurance are smaller than the ones of citizen (native-born) households.⁶¹

Not surprisingly then, considerable differences between citizens and migrants can be observed with regard to socially acceptable standards of living. In France, migrant households are 3.57 times more likely to have a household income below the poverty line than citizen households. Moreover, in migrant households from an ethnic minor-

60 OECD (2008) *International Migration Outlook*, Paris: OECD, 87.

61 Morissens, Ann & Sainsbury, Diane (2005) 'Migrants' Social Rights, Ethnicity and Welfare Regimes', *Journal of Social Policy* 34(4), 637–660, 650.

ity group, the likelihood even increases to 5.40. Similar observations can be made for Germany and Great Britain.⁶² Among residents whose main income is a regular salary, the poverty rates are 2.09 times higher for migrant households in Great Britain, 2.88 times in France and 4.32 times in Germany than for citizen households. Among residents whose main income is transfers, the poverty rates are 2.56 times higher for migrant households in Great Britain, 3.43 times in France and 3.86 times in Germany than for citizen households.⁶³

As a result, many migrant households are dependent on social assistance.⁶⁴ However, as Figures 2 and 3 show, social assistance and minimum income protection have been considerably retrenched in recent years.⁶⁵ Figure 2 displays the average of yearly social assistance standard rates for a single adult below retirement age without children, for a lone parent with two children and a two-parent family with two children in the period 1990 to 2005 standardised for the development of wages. As can be seen, in all three countries, the social assistance standard rates have decreased by between 8 to 17 per cent in the period under consideration. Figure 3 displays the average yearly minimum income protection for the same three type-cases. Minimum income protection is the sum of social assistance standard rates, housing sup-

62 In Germany, migrant households are 3.75 times more likely to have a household income below the poverty line than citizen households. In Great Britain, migrant households from ethnic minority groups are 2.68 times more likely to have a household income below the poverty line than citizen households. Morissens and Sainsbury 2005, 644.

63 Morissens and Sainsbury 2005, 648.

64 In social assistance, the participation rate of migrant households is 1.61 times higher in Great Britain, 1.92 times in France and 2.48 times in Germany than among citizen households. In the case of migrant households from an ethnic minority group in France, the participation is 2.65 times higher than among citizen households. Morissens and Sainsbury 2005, 650.

65 See also Nelson, Kenneth (2007) 'Universalism versus Targeting: The Vulnerability of Social Insurance and Means-Tested Minimum Income Protection in 18 Countries, 1990–2002', *International Social Security Review* 60(1), 33–58.

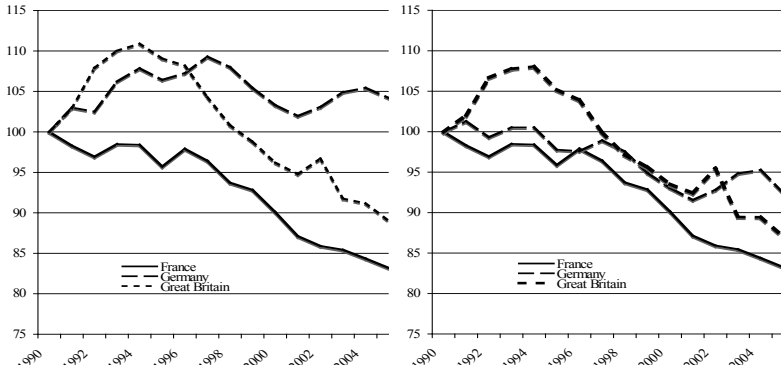
plements, refundable tax credits and other benefits. In France and Great Britain, both minimum income protection and social assistance standard rates decreased, while in Germany, minimum income protection slightly rose. However, this rise is mostly due to the slow development of wages.⁶⁶

It is important to note that the correlation between the retrenchment of minimum income protection and increasing politicisation of migration policies does not tell us anything about causality. As argued by Menz: “While xenophobic rhetoric often links migrants with abuses of welfare state services, cuts have not usually been strongly linked to implicitly racist discourse.”⁶⁷ However, it would be premature to rule out a causal connection. In contemporary Europe, reform justifications based on racist or xenophobic arguments are unlikely to convince the median voter. However, as shown above, people in Western Europe consider immigrants to be less deserving than native-born residents. Policy makers can win public support for welfare state retrenchment by framing issues in terms of deservingness of welfare beneficiaries.⁶⁸ For instance, in all countries of Western Europe between 41.5 (Italy)

66 However, it should be noted that German labour market policies have undergone considerable change in recent years. Most importantly, the long-term unemployed have lost their access to social insurance benefits and are now covered by means-tested social assistance, so-called unemployment benefit II. These reforms can be expected to considerably affect the economic well-being of immigrants. Kemmerling, Achim & Bruttel, Oliver (2006) ‘New Politics’ in German Labour Market Policy? The Implications of the Recent Hartz Reforms for the German Welfare State’, *West European Politics* 29(1), 90–112. Seeleib-Kaiser, Martin & Fleckenstein, Timo (2007) ‘Discourse, Learning and Welfare State Change: The Case of German Labour Market Reforms’, *Social Policy & Administration* 41(5), 427–448.

67 Menz, Georg (2006) ‘Useful’ Gastarbeiter, burdensome asylum seekers, and the second wave of welfare retrenchment: Exploring the nexus between migration and the welfare state, in Craig A. Parsons & Timothy M. Smeeding (eds.) *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe*, Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press, 393–418, 396.

68 Slothuus, Rune (2007) ‘Framing Deservingness to Win Support for Welfare State Retrenchment’, *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30(3), 323–344.



Figures 2 and 3: Development of social assistance and minimum income protection, 1990–2005.

Notes: Data taken from the social assistance and minimum income protection data-set. Values standardized (1990 = 100). URL: <http://www2.sofi.su.se/~kne/> (access 28.1.2009).

and 65.8 per cent (Belgium) tend to agree with the statement “People from these minority groups abuse the system of social benefits.”⁶⁹

Moreover, as shown by Larsen, labour market reforms follow a certain pattern: societal groups exposed to the harshest policies tend to be those that are seen as least deserving of social support.⁷⁰ From this point of view, it is not surprising that in periods of retrenchment means-tested benefits prove to be more vulnerable than social insurance systems.⁷¹ While the former pay a disproportionate amount of benefits to migrants, who are considered to not deserving, the latter pay benefits mostly to citizens.

69 Crepaz and Damron 2009, 448.

70 Larsen, Christian Albrekt (2008) ‘The Political Logic of Labour Market Reforms and Popular Images of Target Groups’, *Journal of European Social Policy* 18(1), 50–63.

71 Nelson 2007.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we argue that confronted with the challenges posed by migration, West European countries follow a three-pronged strategy: they enact entry restrictions targeted to all third country nationals seeking permanent residence, with the exception of individuals who fall into categories protected by international treaties such as political refugees and family reunification; they restrict asylum seekers' access to social benefits in order to separate 'true' from 'bogus' political refugees; and retrench those social protection schemes that provide a disproportionate amount of benefits to immigrants.

We show that these strategies, while conforming to international principles and agreements, seek to retain the post-war social model, which reserved the bulk of social benefits for the national citizens. Moreover, we demonstrate that governments pursue such policies to satisfy the latent preferences of voters, who see immigrants as not deserving to receive social benefits.

The first part of the chapter retraces the links between nation, citizenship and welfare benefits and shows that these links have been essential in defining the first modern welfare benefits schemes. The second part, which analyses the individuals' attitudes towards different groups in need, shows that nationals of France, Germany and Great Britain strongly associate the immigrant status to non-deservingness of social benefits. In other words, we show that in the collective perceptions of nationals of these countries, the idea on which welfare states was funded – to provide help for the working members of the nation (citizens) – continues to be strongly embedded. The third part of the chapter surveys the policies enacted with respect to immigration

rules and benefits for immigrants. It shows that all the countries under investigation follow roughly similar strategies of limiting the access of those third country nationals who ask for permanent residence, of reducing the asylum seekers' welfare entitlements and of retrenching welfare benefit programmes whose beneficiaries are likely to be immigrants.

By simultaneously highlighting the regulatory capacities of states to assert control over migration and the transnational restrictions that undermine some strategies, we strike a balance between the 'transnationalist' and the 'state-centric' strands of the literature. We argue that transnational processes have removed *some* strategies of regulation from the governmental toolkit. This, however, did not stop West European governments from developing new –more or less effective –strategies in order to restore their capacity to act in the area of migratory policy. These policies are the answer of Western societies to the challenge posed by the immigration of third country nationals to their collective identity as welfare societies.

Part III

Citizenship, Nationalism and Welfare: In-depth single country cases

Citizenship and Welfare in the Norwegian Nation State. The Immigration Challenge

Grete Brochmann

The welfare state has been a central component in the nation building process in Norway after World War II. Through social rights the nationals were to be included in society and become full citizens of the modern nation state. The nation state, on the other hand, should be strengthened through the eradication of social injustice. The Norwegian welfare state has developed as a dialectical project, shaped by and giving shape to central societal forces – first and foremost through the so-called class compromise,¹ later the gender issue, and – after the beginning of the 1970s – the significant challenge of ethnic diversity. The national ideology production attached to the welfare state became both the means and the end: national cohesion was a precondition for the development of the welfare state project, but was also seen as a consequence – a continuous benefit of the expanding welfare regime.

The welfare state has thus been seen as a vehicle for post-war *societal* integration in the country – as a powerful motor in the grand nation-building process that took place after the war devastations. The welfare state project implied much more “than a mere upgrading

1 The incorporation of workers and peasants into the grand welfare project.

of existing social policies”, in the words of Gösta Esping-Andersen² (1996:2). Apart from economic redistribution, the welfare state was a moral construct, an entity for institutionalised solidarity, presenting a “ray of hope to those who were asked to sacrifice for the common good in the war effort”.³ This essentially *political* project was necessary as a fully developed citizenship was seen as a precondition for the stabilisation of the vulnerable post-war democracy. In Norway, as in the rest of Scandinavia, the philosophy of the welfare state has to a large extent been based on a model of equality and harmony, incorporating conflicts and contradictions through the extension of rights to its citizens.

How do welfare states with such high ambitions and a strong sense of egalitarianism as the Norwegian one cope with the pressures of immigration and the challenges to national unity presented by growing immigrant populations? There are two basic dimensions to this question; one substantial and one ideological. The substantial one deals with the actual extension of welfare goods to newcomers – the willingness and the capacity of the welfare state to include new residents as social citizens. The ideological one deals with the question as to whose welfare state we are talking about– the “we-issue” in welfare policy – and possible efforts to adjust the grand story about the nation. As usual there are connections between substance and ideology, but in this article I will pay most attention to the ideological dimension, including justification for policy making in the field of immigrant inclusion.

I am interested in *how* the understanding of (post war) nation building and policy making through the welfare state have influenced

2 Esping-Andersen, Gösta (1996) After the golden age? Welfare state dilemmas in a global economy, in Esping-Andersen, Gösta (ed.) Welfare states in transition. National adaptations in Global Economies, London: Sage, 2.

3 Ibid.

and possibly *collided* with another ideology production – the one developed in the wake of “the new immigration” from the early 1970s onwards – the so-called *multicultural integration*. I am particularly interested in how the strong tradition of social citizenship governance in Norway has been reconciled with claims for liberality towards new cultural minorities. The role of research will be discussed specifically in this respect.

Unit of analysis

International citizenship discourse is currently deeply embedded in questions of how to delineate the unit of analysis. Citizenship used to – as a matter of course – be placed solidly in the realm of the nation state. Hannah Arendt, among others, contended bluntly that a citizen “is *by definition* a citizen among citizens of a country among countries. His rights and duties must be defined and limited, not only by those of his fellow citizens, but also by the boundaries of a territory”.⁴ Today international migration, the building of transnational communities and the influence of international human rights have challenged this taken-for-granted-status of the *national* character of citizenship. Scholars are criticised for the continuous use of nation states as an instinctively natural unit of analysis in studies of immigration. The challengers, some of which are labelled *post-nationalists*, have, on the other hand, been criticised for being normative and for confusing ideal-types and *realpolitik*. I will let this, in many ways important dispute, rest in this

4 Referred to in Bosniak, Linda (2000) ‘Citizenship denationalized’, *Indiana journal of global legal studies*, 7, 448.

context. I find, along with many other scholars,⁵ that when the questions under scrutiny deal with the *inclusion of newcomers*, rights and duties, and day-to-day coping strategies of individuals and authorities, it is difficult to disregard the importance of nation states. Political disagreement in this realm is still solidly embedded in national contexts, and *national* budgets are the target for claims. Citizenship depends on boundaries that separate insiders from outsiders, and the importance of boundaries are particularly high in relation to *social citizenship* as it touches sensitive issues like material redistribution, and embodies dilemmas of equity, justice and reciprocity.⁶ The modern welfare states are nevertheless influenced by other nation states in their policy making (both through learning and positioning), and not least, international human rights have increasingly premised principles of equal treatment and the extension of specific rights to non-citizens. The somewhat contentious term “welfare nationalism” is thus in one sense intrinsic to the welfare state as such, yet at the same time slightly outdated. For all that, Norway is the unit of analysis in this article (by order), although many of the observations are akin to traits in the fellow Scandinavian countries,⁷ and occasionally also to advanced welfare states more in general.

5 Calhoun, Craig (2007) *Nations matter. Culture, history and the cosmopolitan dream*, London: Routledge; Joppke, Christian (2003) ‘Citizenship between de- and re-ethnicization (I)’, *Archives Europeennes de sociologie*, 44; Benhabib, Seyla (2002), ‘Transformations of citizenship: The case of contemporary Europe, Government and opposition’, 37, 439–465.

6 Ferrera, Maurizio (2005) *The Boundaries of Welfare. European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Protection*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

7 Hagelund, Anniken and Brochmann, Grete (2009), ‘From rights to duties? Welfare and citizenship for immigrants and refugees in Scandinavia’, in Koniordos, Sokratis M./ Baert, Patrick/Procacci, Giovanna/Ruzza, Carlo (eds.) *Conflict, Citizenship and Civil Society*, London/New York: Routledge.

Citizenship and the welfare state

Immigration policy in welfare states is generally divided into two main spheres: An external sphere of *admission* (who is given the opportunity to enter the country), and an internal sphere of *rights* and *integration policy* (what terms entrants are offered – i.e. the degree of inclusiveness of citizenship).

Politically and legally, these spheres are usually treated separately. Regulation of admission to a country is closely connected with the nation-state's historical right to control its territory, whereas civil, social, and political rights for aliens who settle in a country are closely linked to the country's long-term general development as a *rechtsstaat* – a state ruled by law. Modern welfare states have furthermore developed policies to promote *integration* – a genuine incorporation of aliens into the community beyond the granting of rights pure and simple.

Developments in the wake of the so-called “new immigration”⁸ brought to light an extensive and complicated interplay between the two main spheres of immigration policy, in which the welfare state plays a prominent role. Both spheres are relevant within discourses of “welfare nationalism”. The control over (legal) access to the territory – and in welfare states, hereby social citizenship – has been motivated by the welfare state: due to the rights attached to legal residency, restrictions in access policy have been seen as pertinent. Within the internal sphere, on the other hand, the economic housekeeping has made governments keep a specific eye on possible disproportionate welfare consumption by newcomers, and political parties have periodically appealed to the public on this issue.

⁸ i.e., from countries outside the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) from the end of the 1960s onwards.

Citizenship has developed into a comprehensive analytical approach touching various disciplines and fields of research; gender, civil society, economy, human rights, law, sociology, political science and anthropology. Much of the attention is probably due to a central societal tension in our times – the one between pluralism and equal rights: pluralism through growing cultural complexity and equal rights through the historically generated polity in liberal democratic states. The discussions touch the duality of the citizenship: the formal and the substantial – the rules of the game and the basis for a good life. Much of the citizenship-discourse deals with the preconditions for the creation of well functioning and just societies in general, and does not have immigration as a central dimension in the first place. Multicultural issues have nevertheless cropped up over recent years, impelled by increasing immigration in most western societies.

However, the concept of citizenship covers several phenomena, and is used in contradictory ways. In the traditional, T.H. Marshall inspired approach, the concept is reserved for the *rights*-dimension; juridical commitments between the state and the individual,⁹ and the status of citizenship is usually attached to the *nation state* as a community – a cultural and spiritual collective, with the state as the performer of common decisions. Increasing multicultural immigration, followed by integration endeavours in the recipient societies, however, has incited an extension of the concept to include questions of identity and

9 Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and social class and other essays*, Cambridge, 1950.

belonging.¹⁰ These are important dimensions for any citizen, yet the themes have been actualised and contrasted through the inclusion of newcomers, not having had their basic socialisation within the majority society. With such an extended approach, a person's citizenship may refer to three distinct phenomena: firstly, his or her *status* as a legal member of the state, defined by a series of civil, political and social rights, matched by a relatively small number of duties, like the duty to abide by the law; to pay tax and –for men – to do military service. Secondly, his or her *identity* as a member of one or more political *communities*. This type of identity is often depicted in contrast to other, more particular identities, such as class, ethnicity, religion, gender and profession. And thirdly, the pattern of participation and *civic virtues*, such as loyalty, independence, work ethic, tolerance, courage and vigour.¹¹

Rights and social cohesion

Furthermore, citizenship deals with two entities – state and society – and within these two entities different dimensions predominate; the judicial and the societal¹² respectively. The *judicial* dimension deals with the formal rights and duties attached to individual membership in a state, acquired through birthright or naturalisation. The rights shall apply to *all citizens* and should be *the same* for all citizens; they

10 See Kymlicka, Will and Norman, Wayne (eds.) (2000) *Citizenship in diverse societies*, Oxford; Lister, Ruth (1997) *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, New York; Spinner-Halev, Jeff (1999) 'Cultural pluralism and partial citizenship', in Joppke, Christian and Lukes, Steven (eds.) *Multicultural questions*, Oxford University Press; Geddes, Andrew and Favell, Adrian (eds.) (1999) *The political belonging: Migrants and minorities in contemporary Europe*, Aldershot.

11 Op cit Kymlicka, Will and Norman, Wayne (eds.) (2000) *Citizenship in diverse societies*.

12 I will use this term "societal" here to distinguish this sphere from the narrower Marshallian "social citizenship", which deals with the rights dimension attached to welfare provision.

are based in *law*, and qualifying for citizenship means one has a *claim* to those rights. Moreover, it is the *state* that has the responsibility to abide by these rules. On the other hand, the state is sovereign in assigning citizenship to foreigners, and in defining the criteria for naturalisation through the democratic institutions.

The *societal* dimension of the citizenship institution is much less precise. It concerns being “part of society”, subjectively and objectively, and it has to do with the social *content* of the membership. This content can be defined in various ways, but mostly it relates to issues like identity, loyalty, belonging, trust and the possibility of participation. An ideal typical societal citizenship implies living by rules and laws, participation in civil society and in democratic processes, acceptance of others as well as a subjective feeling of belonging. Weak societal citizenship on an individual or group level may imply segregation, marginalisation and exclusion.

There are obvious connections between the rights-sphere and the identity-sphere, yet they are not unambiguous. Some writers talk about the integrative function of rights.¹³ Rights can engender participation, which again can stimulate integration or inclusion. The formal institutions constitute a frame for the envisioned collective of nations. Rights are necessary but not sufficient conditions for a full societal citizenship. In human relations – where the basis for the extended societal citizenship is formed – the legal status is rarely central. One may consequently have societal citizenship without being naturalised, and on the other hand, one may also be a legal citizen without being a societal citizen. Formal citizenship has historically been regarded as member-

13 Marshall, Thomas H. (1965) *Class, citizenship and social development*, New York; Kymlicka Will (1995) *Multicultural citizenship*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

ship in a nation state, and embodies as such an “us/them”- dimension. Citizenship is thus simultaneously exclusive and inclusive, a fact that also applies to societal citizenship. In other words, access and no-access, belonging and not-belonging, are mutually constituting.

Marshall’s famous three step model contains the most important substantial aspects of citizenship, yet the order of the steps does not necessarily follow Marshall’s pattern in reality, as many rights in modern liberal democratic states are decoupled from formal citizenship. During the second half of the 20th century, social citizenship was being fulfilled prior to political citizenship in many liberal welfare states. A legally established immigrant in Norway immediately has access to civil and social rights, but will not achieve full political rights until he or she is naturalised. This phenomenon has prompted the distinction between citizenship and *denizenship* in literature, in which denizenship denotes social and civil citizenship without political citizenship.¹⁴

The citizenship discourse is normative in its essence. The preconditions for good and just societies, necessarily build on some preconceived notions of the content of what is good and just. Even though liberal democratic societies are undergoing significant *general* changes normatively speaking, multicultural immigration may have reinforced the anxiety in many places. Multicultural societies epitomise competing sets of values, which again interplay with other value conflicts, existing independently of immigration.

14 Hammar, Tomas (1990) *Democracy and the Nation State*, Aldershot: Avebury.

The logic of immigration policy in welfare states

Norwegian post-war history can fruitfully be understood in terms of an expanding welfare state and the gradual increase in citizens' and residents' rights. Income security has been a basic pillar in this story, both in the form of *social assistance* and as *social insurance*. Norway, in line with Denmark and Sweden, go further than any other countries along this line, which really gains momentum in the 1950s and reaches its peak in the mid 1970s.¹⁵ The system, that was designed to constitute a basic security net for all citizens from cradle to grave, has been generous – and herby also costly.¹⁶

The universalistically-oriented Norwegian welfare state with its tradition for regulation, its large public sector, economic transfers to weak groups as well as the principle of equal treatment has in practice had two central implications in relation to the “new immigration”. Firstly, controlling inflow into the country –the first gateway to the territory – has been seen as a prerequisite for maintaining the specificities of the system. The fundamentally generous welfare model, which embraces everyone but which can be undermined by excessive burdens, necessitates selection and delimitation in relation to potential new members from elsewhere. This logic has been reemphasised along with the expansion of rights in the country. The more rights, the more caution. And caution has been manifested both in the form of blunt *border con-*

15 Korpi, Walter and Palme, Joachim (1998) *The paradox of redistribution and strategies of equality: welfare state institutions, inequality and poverty in the western countries*, Stockholm, referred in Hansen, Lars-Erik (2001) *Jämlikhet och valfrihet. En studie av den svenska invandrarpolitikens framväxt*, Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell International, 101.

16 Lundberg, Urban and Amark, Klas (2001) 'Social rights and social security: The Swedish welfare state 1900–2000', *Scandinavian Journal of history*, 26, 157–176.

trols and besides, increasingly via differentiation through *categories*.¹⁷ Different kinds of immigrants (distinguished partly by the motives for immigration), are given different residence status, which again activate different sets of rights, and hereby also the scope of expenditure. A fine-masked status hierarchy, reflected in the Foreign Laws, has been developed over the years in this respect. The juxtaposition of access control and extension of rights coins the basic tension between generous welfare structures and “unwanted immigration”; the welfare state is to be universal, yet only within its restrictively defined confines.

Secondly, the emphasis on equality, state management and welfare rights – have had a logical corollary in the *integration* policy. If this policy framework is to be maintained, new, legally accepted inhabitants must be made a part of it. Good welfare states do not tolerate substantial elements of persons or groups that fall by the wayside, disturb the regulated world of work and burden social budgets. This reflects a basic recognition that a society cannot function smoothly if a large section of the population is marginalised and socially excluded. Besides, organised labour has played a central part in politics, and has to a larger extent than elsewhere contributed to a regulated labour market. This again has had specific consequences for advanced welfare states, where an orderly labour regime is one of the basic preconditions for the operation and maintenance of the system. The Labour Union has opposed any generation of a reserve army of cheap labour – inclined to undermine achieved standards in working life. Consequently, there are important societal considerations behind the Norwegian integration policies in addition to the liberal humanitarian principles.

17 Tjelmeland, Hallvard and Brochmann, Grete (2003) *I globaliseringens tid 1940–2000*, in Knut Kjeldstadli, Knut (ed.) *Norsk innvandringshistorie* bd III, Oslo: Pax.

The immigration policy signals a duality here: many immigrants (apart from labour in demand) are not desired at the outset, but if they manage to enter anyway, they must be incorporated in some way or other. And The Good State must go further: It must lay the basis for a positive attitude in the population for the integration project to succeed. It must in other words create support for this policy, financed as it is through the income tax system.

The whole idea of the welfare state is economic redistribution in order to diminish social inequality, and in Norway – as in the rest of Scandinavia – the understanding is that economic equality has been a prerequisite for equal social citizenship.¹⁸ The idea has been that a high degree of social and economic equality is necessary for the creation of social cohesion and stability. For people to feel part of society, access to goods that are highly valued in that society is necessary. This implies that integration and equality are linked together. Thus, a good society has been one with relatively small economic differences, achieved through economic redistribution, and social protection for all. This fully accomplished social citizenship was believed to engender freedom for the individuals; freedom from dependence on kinfolk, freedom from anxiety related to the provision of basic needs and freedom to develop and prosper through education and good health. The grand task of the welfare state has been to create the preconditions for this kind of citizenship. This Norwegian “good society” thus ideally harmonises two dimensions often seen as conflicting in society – freedom and equality.

18 Goul Andersen, Jorgen (2003) *Over-Danmark og under-Danmark? Ulighed, velfærdsstat og politisk medborgerskab*, Aarhus: Aarhus universitetsforlag.

The Norwegian welfare system was formally intended to include newcomers as well. The systemic logic called for equal extension of the goods ingrained in the welfare societies. And besides, the humanitarian ideals spelt out in terms of international solidarity in the post war period, supported this policy ideologically. This support was later reinforced through the political radicalisation of the 1960s and 1970s.

In earlier times, receiving countries could wait for things to settle down over time. Newcomers slowly adapted to the new conditions, at least after two or three generations, and in due course came to be much like the new home country's population and changeable way of living, as the US has been famous for. Newcomers adjusted themselves and were included slowly through work, social processes and the gravitation of time. Immigrants were in fact gradually assimilated this way also in Norway, or were actively pressured into adopting the majority's way of life, as we have seen was the case with some of the Nordic minorities.¹⁹

But the modern welfare state has brought urgency into the system. These kinds of states *do not have time* to let history do the job, as in the meantime, the risk is that minorities and individual immigrants remain outside the labour market, suffer deprivation, possibly leading to negative "social inheritance" rather than mobility over generations. Nor has there been political legitimacy to pressure anyone too strongly to *become like the majority* over night, due to the post war human rights legislation. This opportunity structure results from a combination of systemic characteristics of the welfare state and the kind

19 Kjeldstadli, Knut (2003) Norsk innvandringshistorie bd. 1–3, Oslo: Pax.

of immigrants having found their way to the region after the 1970s.²⁰ This is nevertheless why inclusion needs to be managed, at the same time giving leeway for internationally established human rights, which include the right for minority members to retain their distinctive cultural characteristics.

“A completed welfare mission”

Throughout the period since the initiation of the new immigration to Norway, national politics have been strongly occupied on the *social citizenship* side. In accordance with the *integration ideology*, prevalent after the early 1970s, newcomers should be able to *choose* whether they would adapt culturally in the receiving society, or whether they would want to sustain their cultural background and original feelings of belonging. In the cultural sphere, the immigrants were to be “let alone” (sometimes lukewarmly backed up through some public funding for “their own” cultural activities etc.), whereas in the sphere of welfare they were targets for more or less extensive (although not necessarily successful) efforts to be economically included. Having the whole welfare state national integration project in mind – with its occasionally quite paternalistic intervention in people’s private lives²¹ –this non-interference-policy in relation to immigrants’ way of life is highly interesting. It was as if the immigrants were not targets for the other-

20 Here some would argue that there is a causal relationship between the two, i.e. that advanced welfare states serve as “magnets” for people who could claim rights according to international conventions. This contentious and complex relationship will not be dealt with here.

21 This was even more so in Sweden, where the Myrdal couple played a strategic role in the initiation of the idea of social engineering –formulated during the 1930s, yet still very influential after WWII. In Norway this was, to the same effect, labelled “upbringing of the people” (“Folkeoppdragelse”).

wise ongoing and continuous nationhood formation. It was simply not vitalised or made relevant in relation to immigrants. This is interesting even more so, as the new immigration challenge was presented for the Norwegian society at the time when the welfare state project hit the highest point in terms of the ideological production of its success – when the mission was seen as complete, so to speak. The Norwegian historian Francis Sejersted labels the beginning of the 1970s as the “happy moment of the welfare state”.²² Others have also emphasised the ethos of fulfilment in the cultural sphere: the end of the 1960s was seen as “the natural point of completion” for the grand pedagogical nation-building project the school system had taken on since 1814, when the country obtained its constitution.²³

How can we explain this puzzling coincidence – that the new immigrants were intentionally included in the nation state on the social side, but not on the nationhood side? Was it because it was conceived as “mission impossible”, i.e. the newcomers were culturally too strange and alienated to warrant the effort? Or was it not necessary, seen from the point of view of the nation-builders of the welfare state, as their political legitimacy was secured through the traditional Norwegian *ethnos*?

I do believe that a combination of three factors contribute to explaining the phenomenon; the historical context, lack of political experience and the “relative autonomy of ideology”.

The historical context has been spelt out: the Norwegian post war welfare state formation was read as a (still in the late 1960s) more or

22 Sejersted, Francis (2005) Sosialdemokratiets tidsalder. Norge og Sverige i det 20. Arhundre, Oslo: Pax.

23 Lorentzen, Svein (2005) Ja, vi elsker. Skolebøkene som nasjonsbyggere 1814–2000, Oslo: Abstrakt forlag, 227.

less unchallenged success story and the concomitant nation building project was seen as fulfilled, i.e. the nation was basically understood as *one* (if one were to disregard the Sami population, which was in fact often the case). When the new immigrants started coming, the state had hardly any experience in handling this unfamiliar phenomenon, so it was intrinsic to approach the newcomers with familiar means – i.e. welfare state mechanisms. Including people through equal treatment, social rights and if necessary, targeted policy making, had become the standard tools in Norwegian welfare governance.²⁴ On the *nation* side, we are left with very little documentation. There is a striking lack of reflection in public documents from this initial period as to what is later on often labelled “challenges to the nation”. The reason for this lacuna is most likely the fact that it was not seen as a challenge at the time. The self confidence of the welfare state nation was, as we have seen, rather high, and besides, nobody knew that immigration was going to escalate significantly in the decades to come. In tune with the general confidence in governance, the state obviously believed that immigration could lend itself to regulation. This was clearly manifested in 1975 when the so-called “immigration stop” was implemented; actually a policy introduced as a one year temporary regulation, believed to be a sufficient time period to get the immigration housekeeping “in order”.²⁵

24 For a more extensive documentation of this initial period in modern immigration policy making in Norway see Tjelmeland, Hallvard and Brochmann, Grete (2003), *I globaliseringens tid 1940–2000...*, as well as Brochmann, Grete and Kjeldstadli, Knut (2008) *A history of Immigration. The case of Norway 900–2000*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

25 Brochmann, Grete (2003) *I globaliseringens tid 1940–2000, Del II*, in Kjeldstadli, Knut (ed.) *Norsk innvandringshistorie, Bd III*, Oslo: Pax, 137–387.

So, if the nation was not challenged, and the welfare state (let alone the labour market) took care of the newcomers, new ways of thinking could have some leeway. In the beginning of the 1970s new ideologies had already made their impact on Norwegian politics: as in most West European countries, a grand wave of political radicalisation swept over society, and affected most corners of politics. Most relevant in this context is the eradication of traditional thinking in relation to minorities. The importance of ethnic roots, authentic culture and self determination constituted the core of the new philosophy. The *integration* ideology that came out of this climate was developed at an early stage particularly in Sweden – being a pioneer country (together with the Netherlands) among welfare states. Norway, being a latecomer, when compared to Sweden in relation to multicultural immigration, simply imported most of the ideology from its neighbour. In these formative years, it was actually possible to trace formulations word by word from Swedish documents on immigrant integration. The *credo* to the effect that minorities and immigrants should be able to choose to sustain their “own culture” while at the same time having equal access to the goods of the majority society, was simply adopted as a package from outside. According to a central official in the state administration at the time, “we knew all the correct words, yet we had no idea how to implement them.”²⁶

Migration research in the initial phase

The radical rhetoric within the state administration was, on the other hand, a constant frustration to the embryonic migration research

26 For further reading and documentation, see Brochmann *ibid.*

community. As elsewhere in Europe, the 1970s was a period of heavy radical transformation of academia. Politics and academics were in fact nearly inseparable. Academic disciplinary claims were made on banners at 1st of May demonstrations, and lectures were boycotted due to political content. As elsewhere, the state was one of the main targets for the left, generally speaking. To “disclose the class character of the state” was a recurring concern in most political contexts. So when the Norwegian state at an early stage had appropriated the radical platform, the left was stalemated. Or rather, their major task was to unveil the state project at any point; to show that the rhetoric was hollow and that the public was cheated.

The social sciences in Norway were completely dominated by the political left in the early years of the new immigration, and migration researchers were no exception. In fact a number of the central researchers during the initial years were also the most prominent political activists in the public. Some of them also functioned as advisors for immigrants trying to find their way in the Norwegian system.

Both the state and the researchers on migration shared a strong *problem-focus* in relation to immigrants in the 1970s. Analyses of the *causes* of the problems however, split the different actors. Basically the foreign worker phenomenon revealed, according to the researchers, comprehensive and serious weaknesses within Norwegian society, and the authorities were accused of not having control of the development. The “Foreign worker problem”, as it was frequently labelled in the media, was not real as such, only a symptom of already existing flaws in society; the left was against international labour migration in the first place. Migration was a symptom of exploitation across borders within a worldwide capitalist system. The radical researchers were caught in

an important dilemma between long-term, collective internationalistic interests and short-term, individual welfare concerns. In the long term the left worked for the abolishment of the need to migrate in the first place, yet in the short term it was necessary to assist the newcomers very concretely in the Norwegian context. It made no sense for Ali or Kumar to be refused at the border in the name of internationalism.

Likewise, within the Norwegian system, the left did the splits: system-criticism went hand in hand with fine-tuned local advisory work among immigrants, and even cooperation with the authorities to improve the situation for newcomers. The political process leading up to the introduction of the immigration stop in 1975 was a marker in the field. The left was split in the middle: some groups were in favour of the stop, as international migration was a capitalist evil, and other groups were against, basically because the stop was viewed to be designed in a discriminatory way. Migration researchers were caught in the same quagmire.

During the 1970s – the first years of formulating an integration policy in Norway – migration researchers had an interesting position, which may even constitute a national peculiarity. On the one hand these intellectuals raised harsh criticism against the state, which had stolen their rhetoric and therefore needed to be spotted time and again when theory and practice went apart. The language of accusation has hardly ever been stronger in the Norwegian public than during these formative years. On the other hand, the very same intellectuals were extensively used as advisors and consultants by the very same state, when it came to concrete policies. There was a strong need in the state for knowledge about the newcomers and their backgrounds and cultures, and the most resourceful persons in this respect were the in-

tellectuals/activists from the left. “Our knowledge and expertise was expeditiously put into use”, as one of the researchers sums up many years later.²⁷

Some of the explanation for this at the time was the high concentration of politically radical individuals also within the state administration, who sympathised with the researchers on the outside, and who wanted to stretch the good intentions of the policy as far as possible. But the close relation between research and the state goes beyond this explanation on the individual level. Norwegian social scientists have been called “organic intellectuals” in a Gramscian sense²⁸, as they to a large extent have the welfare state as a major frame of reference, even when the analysis is very critical to state policies. The state is conceived as both the problem and the solution. On the other hand, there is also tolerance within the state system for some kind of criticism from the research community. The corporate state needs independent researchers to legitimise activities.

The punch of the political left ebbed out during the first part of the 1980s. Social scientists continued, however, to be recruited from the left, or increasingly from the broad social democratic circuit.²⁹ Criticism against the state turned milder at least in form. This tendency was, however, less prominent among migration researchers than among the rest of the research community. The language of strong criticism continued to be part of the dominant rhetoric in this group, and increasingly phrased through accusations of institutional racism or discrimi-

27 Korbøl, Aud (1988) *Kulturforskjeller og gjensidig forståelse*, Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning.

28 Antonio Gramsci saw such intellectuals as intrinsically interwoven with the authorities – as “experts in legitimizing power-relations”, Paxlex 1979, bd. 3. Oslo: Pax Forlag.

29 This is actually still the case, at least among sociologists. See *Sosiolognytt* (2009) “Ni av ti sosiologer stemmer rødt”, vol 34, no 1, 16–18.

nation. On the *external* side equally harsh criticism was raised against the state's access policies. As the inflow of asylum seekers increased significantly in the late 1980s, the alleged inhumanly low acceptance rate was at the forefront.

Migration discussions in the 1990s

Entering the 1990s the research discourse becomes more complicated. The social scientist Ottar Brox wrote a book in 1991 called "I am not a racist, but..." (author's translation),³⁰ which played an important role in public and academic discussions.³¹ Brox actually placed "political correctness" as a theme on the agenda by inventing a new concept; "The moral-championship" (*moralmesterskapet*). One of his major points was that researchers in the field of migration strived to appear as morally good as possible rather than doing a good analytical job. – Research became a presentation of self in the public and in the peer group of academics. Researchers figured prominently among what he called the "moral elite". One of Brox' theses was that substantial self-censorship was prevalent among researchers (and politicians) in fear of being called "racist", with the result that debates were choked or never raised. Even substantial facts generated through research were held back as they could empower racism in the public, according to Brox. Furthermore, Brox analysed how the "moral left" and the increasingly forceful populist right reinforced each other's positions. The book was naturally very controversial among his colleagues at the time.

30 Brox, Ottar (1991) "Jeg er ikke rasist, men..." Hvordan far vi vare meninger om innvandrere og innvandring, Oslo: Gyldendal.

31 As it is beyond the scope of this article to review more comprehensively the Norwegian discourse on migration, I will instead pick a few pieces that turned out to be significant and emblematic in the scholarly and public debate.

In the political sphere the same year another intervention played into this schism: a leading labour politician, Rune Gerhardsen,³² accused the Norwegian establishment, absolutely including his own party, of being kind to a fault, or mistakenly nice to weak groups – immigrants in particular. Gerhardsen called this phenomenon *Snillisme* (literally *kind-ism*) – making an -ism out of being excessively understanding and accommodating.³³ The *snillisme*-concept was originally coined by the leader of the populist rightist party (FrP), which naturally made the intervention even more dubious. The message of Gerhardsen was that the Norwegian welfare state had to shape up its policies towards weak groups through making demands on the individuals instead of patronising them and clientelising them through generous public benefits.

Among the researchers, Ottar Brox was four years later followed by another book in the same spirit: Unni Wikan's *Towards a new Norwegian underclass*³⁴(author's translation). Wikan's book was a bonfire of accusations against The Good State in line with Gerhardsen's argument. But Wikan is a professor of anthropology, an expert on Islam, with extensive fieldwork among Muslim women in different parts of the world. Wikan's arguments had much more impact, and as a matter of fact she was in the traditional Norwegian manner invited into the very same state she was accusing of violating human rights (e.g. not protecting Muslim women from their own community), and used as an advisor in reform efforts. She was also extensively used in tel-

32 Rune Gerhardsen is, on top of everything, the son of the national political icon, Einar Gerhardsen – Labour Party Prime Minister (1945–1951, 1955–1963, 1963–1965).

33 Hagelund, Anniken (2003) *The Importance of Being Decent. Political Discourse on Immigration in Norway 1970–2002*, Oslo: Unipax.

34 Wikan, Unni (1995) *Mot en ny norsk underklasse. Innvandrere, kultur og integrasjon*, Oslo: Gyldendal.

evision programmes and in various types of meetings. Wikan's book was even more controversial than the one of Ottar Brox, and she was in many ways seen to incarnate the malevolence of majority thinking for the traditionally-oriented migration researchers as well as for parts of the immigrant community. Both Wikan and Brox were openly and more subtly rendered suspect in terms of their motives. Accusations of racism (intentionally or non-intentionally) were lurking below the surface.

So after the entry into the field of new voices opposed to the traditional research approach to immigration and welfare, and opposed to the policy line of "excessive tolerance" and *snillisme*, it is possible to trace *two* clearly opposing lines in migration research. Yet the fault line was not very clear, and the premises for disagreement not always commensurable.

Entering a new century

Since the late 1990s the migration discourse in Norway has become steadily more complex. The amount of interventions has increased tremendously, and many new voices – among them gradually more with immigrant backgrounds – have entered the public scene. Race, religion and gender have become the major themes of public conflict and dispute, yet the welfare state dimension still constitutes a central backdrop in the field.

Marianne Gullestad (deceased in 2008) – an anthropologist who had earlier concentrated mostly on studies of Norwegian everyday life – came out with a book in 2001 on "*The Norwegianness seen with*

new eyes” (author’s translation)³⁵, with extensive examples of racialised ways of thinking among research colleagues – and in the public, generally speaking. This book, which also became very controversial, was very much in line with the (maybe former) mainstream mode of thinking from the 1970s and the 1980s. Thus, when Gullestad in August 2002 wrote a piece in one of the major newspapers accusing a young outgoing, transcending woman of Pakistani background – *Shabana Rehman*³⁶ – for hindering more timid women from coming out, a full storm followed. Gullestad, also accusing Rehman for not challenging the prejudices of the majority, made a series of people (researchers and others) jump on her. The emotional punch in this debate indicated a long accumulated aggression in parts of the public against people who tended to defend immigrants against the ways of the majority.

Unni Wikan’s second book on this issue which was published in 2002, with the expressive title *Generous Betrayal*³⁷, is a more advanced follow up of the book from 1995, but the theme is the same – the failure of the generous state to accommodate basic problems in multicultural societies. In the following I will use this book as a catalyst, trying

35 Gullestad, Marianne (2002) *Det Norske sett med nye Øyne*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

36 Shabana Rehman had become a phenomenon in Norway. Being the first female stand-up comedian, let alone as a first generation immigrant from a Muslim family, she has provoked heavy turmoil first and foremost within immigrant circles. She was labelled “societal enemy number one” by a (labour party) politician – originally from Pakistan – in 2001. On the other hand, she has largely been embraced by the Norwegian establishment for being brave, funny and as an example for the new culturally hybrid generation of Norwegians. In some ways Shabana Rehman represents the “oppressed”, at the same time criticising the cultural patterns the snillists serve to protect.

37 Wikan, Unni (2002) *Generous Betrayal. Politics of Culture in the New Europe*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

to delineate where the research front(s) are located today, and where conceptual fallacies and shortcomings can be identified.³⁸

At a superficial level, there seems to be a dividing line in the research community between the ones who emphasise *individual rights* and the ones who accentuate *cultural rights* or group rights. Sketchily we may say that the ones who stress group rights have the tendency to belong in the traditional research group, favouring a high degree of toleration towards the multicultural project – the belief that various “cultures” may thrive in parallel in society. On paper, this has been the official line of thinking in Norwegian politics, supported by and partly formed by the research community from an early stage. In the 1990s the state proclaimed itself to be “multicultural”.³⁹ The evil in this perspective is the lack of toleration in the majority, discrimination and racism.

The ones who emphasise individual rights have traditionally been few, yet this group is increasing – and Unni Wikan with her book *Generous Betrayal* takes a long step forward in the direction of disregarding group rights. The evil in this perspective is oppression of individuals by “culture” – norms and rules by the group they belong to.

Through pointing to the fact that the Human rights conventions comprise competing imperatives, Unni Wikan touches the nerve centre of the multicultural debate: the relationship between collective and individual rights may constitute unsolvable dilemmas with essential consequences for human beings. She does not however recommend that group rights should be abolished, only modified so that the states

38 In doing this, I am indebted to my colleague Tordis Borchgrevink, with whom I have written a more comprehensive review of this book: Borchgrevink, Tordis and Brochmann, Grete (2003) ‘Det generøse forræderi – individer og kollektiver under velferdsstatens vinger’, *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, nr. 1 vol 44, 85–97.

39 Stortingsmelding nr. 17. (1996–97) Om det flerkulturelle Norge. Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet.

are less obliged to keep promises in relation to cultural protection. Wikan uses Liah Greenfeld to support this view: “Plainly put, cultural validation and empowerment of ethnic identity and ethnic diversity endangers liberal democracy.”⁴⁰ It is seen as abuse if groups exploit a liberal system to use force against their own members. Wikan’s master point is that the Norwegian state serves this opportunity on a silver tray, through its excessive tolerance of cultural difference. Wikan illustrates this *snillism* with a citation: “Why is it, that if a Norwegian won’t let his daughter marry an immigrant, it’s called racism, but if an immigrant won’t let his daughter marry a Norwegian it’s called culture?”⁴¹. The main thesis of the book is that the fear of being called racist has made the state and its officials pursue a wrong policy – a policy that closes its eyes towards the oppression of particularly women and children in the name of culture.

Unni Wikan sees the state as an under-utilised tool for individual liberation from oppressing *cultures*. The traditionalists on the other hand regard the state as a vehicle for oppression through the majority’s intrinsic despise for foreigners; criticizing minorities’ culture undercommunicates similar traits in the midst of the majority and generates racism. Consequently, the one position stays quiet on the other’s central theme.

This leaves us with a rather confused situation when it comes to racism, which in fact may be illustrative for the state of affairs: supporting collective rights can lead into racism in the sense that people are seen as functions of their ethnicity. Yet defence of individual rights qualifies for suspicion of the same. To quote from a public meeting in Oslo:

40 Wikan, Unni (2002), 161.

41 Ibid. 103.

“In Norway we have two different kinds of racists; the racists and the anti-racists”.⁴²

The overwhelming target of Wikan’s analysis is nevertheless the mistakenly kind welfare state. “The country is rich, indeed so rich that handing out social welfare becomes an easy way – a cheap way – out of a difficult human situation”.⁴³ And she claims that the Government has consciously avoided knowledge of the miserable situation among immigrant communities to escape accusations. As she calls this a *cover-up*, we get the impression that the state is in fact not kind to a fault, but rather is up to “conscious suppression”. In whose interest this suppression is pursued remains unclear.

Wikan’s position, with a tentative reestablishment of individual rights as the guiding principle in the multicultural debate, falls short when it comes to the major dilemma: the authorities are bound by international conventions to pursue both individual rights and group rights at the same time: Equal treatment as an individual and differential treatment through minority protection. The trick for all liberal democratic states is to avoid betrayal of the individual, whilst simultaneously being generous when it comes to religious rights; rights to equal treatment as to access to social benefits, and the right to marry out of free will.

What is striking in Wikan’s position is the centrality of the welfare state as a major premise – regardless. Wikan’s target for criticism is definitely the welfare state, yet she is still bound by the logic of the very same state: the alternative to what she labels “welfare colonisation” is not clear, yet it is adjacent to interpret it as an *alternative welfare state*,

42 Thanks to Tordis Borchgrevink for these points.

43 Wikan *ibid*, 63.

as she wants targeted policies in favour of minority women and children. The majority society and the state institutions could have been a gift to oppressed minority women and children, yet the state does not dare to use its power to this effect. It is possible to trace arguments in the text for both a strong (alternative) state and for one that is more *laissez faire*. She is in favour of the “social contract” implied by the traditional Norwegian welfare state, but it has the wrong content.

The most “holy cow”⁴⁴ of the North?

The centrality of the welfare state in Norway – both in terms of constituting nationhood and as a vehicle for economic redistribution – has by and large been beyond dispute. According to a Norwegian expression, everyone potentially has a straw into the state budget, i.e. everyone has claims on the state, and it is the state that gets the blame when things go wrong. Even with the new immigration from the 1970s, welfare governance long dominated both discourse and policy making. The state is supposed to protect immigrants from pressure within the majority to assimilate, yet when the state succeeds in this endeavour it receives accusations of *failed integration*.⁴⁵ The ideology of integration implies a good portion of liberality towards minorities in their endeavour to maintain their original culture. At the same time the state should be aware that *difference* does not become a barrier when rights and benefits are allocated. And individuals may ask the state for protection against his or her own minority: circumcision and forced mar-

44 This label was used by Christopher Arzrouni in *Weekendavisen* 13.–19. April 2007.

45 In Norway there have been examples of students with immigrant background intending to sue the state for their deficient skills in the Norwegian language. Their claim is that being placed in special classes for students with limited knowledge of Norwegian (targeted policy) has retarded their learning process.

riages have made minority women seek refuge in majority institutions. Nonetheless many modern welfare states have felt the limitations of governance in this field. The states are torn by dilemmas and competing moral imperatives, and have neither the answers nor the means to handle many of the problems. Today the state has to balance national values, human rights and *realpolitik* in complicated ways and where the field does not lend itself easily to policy making in the first place. The governing state is conceived as both the problem and the solution in relation to multicultural society. However, even though the welfare state as the centre of gravitation has not waned during the last decade, its role and function have become more controversial.

Not only is the welfare state as such a central premise for how researchers phrase analytical problems, there is also a tendency that the way in which the state tends to approach problems, also colour problem-*analysis*, and even suggestions for change, when such are asked for, from the research arena:⁴⁶ Despite the politically radical traditions in Norwegian social science, there is a very high degree of trust in relation to the political institutions and the capacity of the state to solve problems. Optimism as to what can be achieved through public measures still prevails. Public measures are really the master recipe for problem solving, and researchers contribute to the continuity of this tradition by suggesting new measures when improvements are needed.

During the last few years both the public and the scholarly discourse on immigration matters have become more multifaceted.

46 One of the reasons for this is the substantial proportion of commissioned research in Norway, a fact which also underlines the point in terms of the close connections to the state in Norwegian social science. Problem-solving has been the prime issue, whereas university research on immigration has been scarce until recently. This is, however, rapidly changing.

Among researchers, criticism of what is often labelled “methodological nationalism” has been raised, which is also related to immigration research in Norway,⁴⁷ and more studies from a transnational perspective have been developed.⁴⁸ At the same time new twists to welfare state approaches have also materialised. Concern over the development of parallel societies in the wake of increased immigration and inadequate integration has in turn induced awareness of the basic cohesive forces in society; the preconditions upon which liberal democratic welfare states rest in order to ensure the continued welfare for all its members. Although being a more general concern in today’s Europe, this issue has crystallised through multicultural immigration. How are states to forge a new or renewed societal foundation to uphold treasured liberal democratic values, universal welfare and possibly a sense of bounded belonging, in a context increasingly featured by people’s diverse loyalties and lifestyle preferences? States have a limited number of policy options to deal with this complicated and nebulous challenge. The substance is indistinct in itself, and besides, both goal and instruments are politically highly controversial.

Nevertheless, the new explicit focus on social cohesion – which in Norway has manifested itself in a recent White Paper,⁴⁹ and in discussions related to the new Citizenship Law of 2005 – reflects that the nationhood issue has caught up with the multicultural discourse. The most concrete and material result of this development so far is prob-

47 Andersson, Mette (2007) ‘Migrasjon som utfordring: Kritikk av metodologisk nasjonalisme’, in Fuglerud, Øyvind and Eriksen, T.H. (eds.) *Grenser for kultur? Perspektiver fra norsk minoritetsforskning*, 1–22.

48 See e.g. Gran, Espen (2008) *Imagining the Transnational Lives of Iraqi Kurds*, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo; and Fuglerud, Øyvind (ed.) (2004), *Andre bilder av “de andre”: transnasjonale liv i Norge*. Oslo: Pax.

49 Kommunal- og regionaldepartementet: *Stortingsmelding nr. 49 (2003–2004)*, *Mangfold gjennom inkludering og deltakelse*.

ably the reinforcement of the “single citizenship”-policy. The Government (Bondevik II at that time), chose – disregarding the majority of the preparatory expert committee who wanted dual citizenship – to *conserve* the single citizenship institute; strengthen the enforcement of it; and besides, introduce requirements as to language skills for naturalisation.⁵⁰

The message in the White paper, and implicitly in the new Citizenship Law, can be read as a realisation to the effect that society needs some basic common values beyond the *rule of law*, in order to sustain the fundamental solidarity upon which the welfare state rests, i.e. to reproduce the historically established societal formation of the Norwegian nation state. This interpretation is in line with the philosopher Michael Walzer’s basic assertion: *A political community has the right to preserve the integrity of its form of life.*⁵¹ In the Norwegian case, the welfare state has clearly been a central part of the country’s *form of life* since 1945. The question is thus, whether national cohesion or a common sense of nationhood has been and is a precondition for the sustenance of this form of life in Norway. This is obviously an inconclusive issue. Different people will contend both premises and analysis. The major challenge for governance is notwithstanding to uphold some social cohesion while at the same time remain flexible enough to incessantly secure the inclusion of newcomers.

50 Required skill: All applicants must have followed an authorised 300 hour language course, including 50 hours information about Norwegian society.

51 Walzer, Michael (1983) *Spheres of justice*, New York: New Basic Books.

Welfare nationalism?

As stated in the introductory part of this article, a “nationalist” approach to welfare can mean different things. Politically, there is no doubt that the welfare state has played a prominent role as a premise for policy-making in the field of immigration. The modern restrictive regulation of access to the country has to a large extent been formed with welfare parameters in mind. Residency in Norway has been viewed as a scarce good, not least due to the income security apparatus. On the other hand, the intrinsic relation between labour market and welfare arrangements has spurred a generous approach of equal treatment when people have (legally) managed to settle. Legal residency has released access to welfare rights by and large at a par with nationals. The state has also been a powerful *actor* implementing programmes directed at newcomers in a variety of policy fields. One may thus say that the Norwegian authorities have acted in a “nationalist” or exclusive sense in their (intended) access control, yet in a “non-nationalist” and inclusive sense in their internal welfare instruments. This is however, an approach in line with most modern welfare states, although with variation in degree both as to external restrictions as well as to internal generosity. There is also variation among welfare states concerning the degree to which the means of the welfare state have been conducive when it comes to processes of societal inclusion; whether the tools have worked in practice. There is however no simple way of measuring success in this respect, and the Norwegian authorities are confronted with more or less the same set of problems as other comparable welfare states: a slow pace of inclusion in the labour

market, overrepresentation in the social security statistics as well as frequently reported instances of ethnic discrimination.

On the ideological side, the state has needed to mix two discourses along with increasing immigration, one pluralist integrationist strand and one unifying national strand. This mixed mission has not been treated very explicitly in Norway, or the two strands have scarcely been addressed in combination. The discomfort associated with addressing the diffuse nation sphere is probably the reason why politicians and academics concentrated for a long time on newcomers' rights and on equal treatment. Nationhood issues have been virtually absent in public documents on integration.

Today the state is under crossfire, and immigration issues figure prominently in public discussions on *snillism* or welfare erosion respectively. 40 years of mileage in the experiment of integration policies have left both the state and (parts of) the research community with more questions marks than answers as to successful strategies. The weaknesses and contradictions of the multicultural approach, and not least the unsatisfactory results in terms of equal performance of immigrants in society, despite the well-intended welfare state, may have brought *nationhood* into light: the subtle, yet probably still forceful "thickness" of Norwegian self conception. If perceptions prevail to the effect that it is difficult to *become* Norwegian by learning, the welfare avenue may become reinforced through the back door: if the Norwegian society falls short in including newcomers, at least their material standards need to be safeguarded.

Yet the limits to a "nationalist" approach to immigration are even more striking in today's Norway than what was the case during the 1970s. Even though the nation state is still a vital entity, it also needs

to preserve its economic and societal capabilities to take care of its steadily more diverse population in conducive ways; the necessity to be open and internationalised is becoming even more pertinent. This has been strikingly demonstrated also from the position of the welfare state since the beginning of the new millenium. After 25 years with a focus on immigrants as “burdens on welfare”, the tidal change, in terms of demography and labour demand, have made immigrants emerge as the potential saviours of current and future welfare production.

In the Borderland of the Welfare State: Danish Integration Policy – the early Years 1967–1983

Heidi Vad Jønsson

Introduction

Danish integration policy is a hot topic on the political agenda both nationally and to some extent also internationally. The election campaign in 2001 gave Denmark an international reputation for being a somewhat alien hostile country and the Muhammad-drawings and the following ‘cartoon-crisis’ added fuel to the flames. On the other hand, Denmark is also known for its universal welfare state – a society with high equality between classes and genders, where social mobility and advance is relatively easy, with a well functioning democracy etc. Immigrants have been pointed out as both a future problem for the welfare state and as a solution to future problems regarding scarcity of labour in certain areas of the labour market.¹ This chapter does not look at the future, but at the past and the development of Danish integration policy. How did the welfare state react to the encounter with the first

¹ See for example Velfærdskommissionen (2006) *Fremtidens Velfærd – Vores Valg* Copenhagen, Finansministeriet

labour-immigrants (guest-workers)? What was / were the problem(s) and what solutions were proposed? These questions are analysed and discussed in this chapter, which focuses on the development of Danish integration policy through the eyes of the welfare state.

Since integration and immigration research, as well as welfare-state research, are rapidly expanding research-fields, obtaining an overview over these research-fields would require more than a chapter in itself. Two overviews in regard to welfare-state research are however delivered by Søren Kolstrup² and Klaus Petersen³ respectively, who both give an introduction to and an overview of welfare-state research in Denmark in the period before and after the Second World War. In a recent publication on the history of the Danish welfare state, Jørn Henrik Petersen and Klaus Petersen presents an updated overview of the state of the art research within this field.⁴ When it comes to integration and immigration research, Flemming Mikkelsen's publication from 2008⁵ examines and presents national as well as international research within this field. Furthermore, two publications comprising *Immigrant Research in Denmark*⁶ volumes I and II from 1983⁷ and *Integration-research in Denmark from 1980 to 2002*⁸ present ongoing

2 Kolstrup, Søren(1994) 'Forskning i velfærdsstatens rødder Forskningsstrategier, resultater, huller'. Historisk Tidsskrift, volume 16(3).

3 Petersen, Klaus (1997)'Fra ekspansion til krise – Udforskning af velfærdsstatens udvikling efter 1945'. Historisk Tidsskrift, volume 16 (6,2).

4 See Petersen, Jørn Henrik, Klaus Petersen & Niels Finn Christiansen (eds.) (2010) Dansk Velfærdshistorie. Frem mod socialhjælpsstaten, Odense, Syddansk Universitetsforlag.

5 Mikkelsen, Flemming (2008) Indvandring og integration, Akademisk Forlag

6 All Danish publications are translated into English by the author. For full bibliographic references, see the footnotes.

7 Statens Samfundsvidenskabelige Forskningsråd (1983) Indvandrerforskning i Danmark. Volume I and II, Copenhagen, SFI.

8 Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration (2002) Integrationsforskning i Danmark 1980–2002. Copenhagen.

research and stress where further research is needed. In general, integration and immigration research has been carried out by social and political scientists as well as economists. Historians have also given this field quite some attention during the last decade. In Denmark a number of PhD dissertations have been written on the political discourses on immigrants.⁹ Bent Jensen has delivered a thorough analysis of the news chapter debate on immigrants in his publication: *The 'foreigners' in Danish newspaper debates: from the 1870s to the 1990s*¹⁰ and in regard to unemployment, immigrants take up quite a few pages in his recent publication *Features of the newspaper debate on unemployed*.¹¹ Furthermore, Bent Østergaard has published two somewhat popular scientific histories on immigrants in Denmark.¹²

An important point, when taking a look at the great amount of research publications, is that the welfare state seems to have been left out or only taken in marginally, especially in the historical analyses. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to include the welfare state as an important actor and analyse how the system reacted in the 1960s when the guest-workers were imported and in the 1970s when (some of) the guest-workers became permanent immigrants.

9 See for example Jørgensen, Lars (2006) *Hvad Sagde vi ... om "de andre"?* Den udlændingepolitiske debat i Folketinget 1961–1999. RUC and Lærke K. Holm (2006) *Folketinget og Udlændingepolitikken – diskurser om naturaliserede, indvandrere og flygtninge 1973–2002*. AMID.

10 Jensen, Bent (2000) *De fremmede i dansk avisdebat: fra 1870'erne til 1990'erne*. Spektrum.

11 Jensen, Bent (2008) *Træk af avisdebatten om de arbejdsløse. Fra 1950'erne til 1990'erne*, Odense, Syddansk Universitetsforlag.

12 See Østergaard, Bent (1983) *Indvandrerens Danmarkshistorie*, Gad, and Bent Østergaard (2007) *Indvandrerne i Danmarks historie kultur- og religionsmøder*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag.

Theories on integration – integration theories

The concept: ‘integration’ has at least three meanings in the Danish language. First it defines the *process* of integrating foreigners into the Danish society; secondly, it is the *means* to reach the goal of integration, and thirdly it is the *goal* in itself.¹³ This means that integration policy and discussions related to this policy field are often quite diffuse. It is not unusual to observe a mix of immigration policy (meaning entrance-policy) and integration policy (addressed to the foreigners, who are actually in the country on a more or less permanent basis), partly because these two policy fields were interwoven in the debates of the 1980s and 1990s, and partly because the number of foreigners, who sought asylum in Denmark, rose rapidly from 1984. Thus, the amount of foreigners was in itself of importance for the framing of Danish integration policy. In this article, the concept: ‘integration’ is an analytical terminology referring to the policies addressed to or aimed at foreigners in general and the foreigners labelled ‘guest-workers’ or ‘foreign-workers’ in particular.

Today’s integration policy is however not merely a question of who the political initiatives are aimed at. Rather, as Peter Seeberg points out, Danish integration policy can be defined as a dynamic between creating equality and equal opportunities on the one hand, and respect for and acceptance of cultural, ethnic and religious differences on the other. In regard to the ‘multicultural’ aspect, this is only valid and accepted by the majority as long as the cultural aspects do not stand in contrast to the “legal foundation of society”.¹⁴ The effects of this un-

13 Seeberg, Peter (2006) ‘Indvandrere, integration og velfærdsstatens fremtid?’, in Petersen, Jørn Henrik og Petersen, Klaus (eds) 13 Løsninger for den danske velfærdsstat, Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 101.

14 Seeberg, Peter (2006), 102–3

derstanding and definition of integration (policy) is that the state and society in general are attempting to provide the frames for equal opportunities for social mobilisation and social advance. In return, the immigrants are expected to participate actively in society, and especially on the labour-market. As implied in the above listed question, this article will primarily focus on the welfare state and the policies addressed at immigrants in times of 'economic boom and recession'.

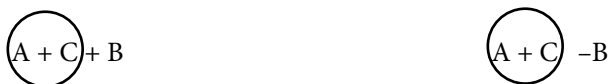
An important perspective to take into consideration in the analysis is then, whether the initiatives and policies directed towards immigrants were in principle different from the general development in the welfare state? And furthermore how integration policy was defined in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s; was the aim to create equal opportunities and what were the problems and solutions when discussing guest-worker policy?

This approach means that to some extent the question of how to define integration policy is a question for the empirical data. An analytical distinction often used in integration research is assimilation – integration – multiculturalism.¹⁵ This differentiation is usable to some extent and especially for contemporary and comparative analyses. On the other hand, integration seems to be defined through what it is not: if you do not have an assimilation-policy or a multicultural policy towards immigrants, then the label is integration. And thus we are back where we started with a rather vague definition of the concept. In this chapter integration policy is therefore defined as listed above: (welfare) policies addressed at foreigners.

¹⁵ Jørgensen, Lars (2006).

This definition does, however, also give a rather diffuse picture of what integration-policy is. Even though the aim is to recognise the early steps in the creation of the policy, it is necessary to know what to be looking for. In this respect, Charlotte Hamburgers article: ‘Assimilation as a fundamental trait in Danish immigrant-policy’¹⁶ gives a preliminary overview of the central concepts from a social scientist’s point of view. In regard to the concept of assimilation, Hamburger states that in a meeting between two cultures, assimilation means complete assumption of the ‘majority-culture’ and abandonment of immigrants’ own culture; immigrants are assimilated and are expected to abandon their cultural heritage and take over the culture of their ‘new country’. The model for this type of policy is listed in the following figure, where A equals the majority-culture and B equals immigrants’ culture. C is the societal structure of culture A. The affect of assimilation is that immigrants completely take over the majority-culture, A, and the societal structure C.

Figure 1 Assimilation policy



In regard to integration policy, the model is somewhat different as the aim of integration in Hamburger’s definition is to create a ‘multi-cultural society’. In this (pluralistic) integration, immigrants and the

¹⁶ The following passage is based on: Hamburger, Charlotte (1990) ‘Assimilation som et grundtræk i dansk indvandrerpolitik’, *Politica* volume 22(3).

majority-population alike are expected to adapt their different cultures to each other and create a new, common societal framework.

Figure 2: Integration policy



When working on policies it is important to keep in mind that these figures are not used in order to identify the effects, but rather to analyse the aim and principles of the policies and place these within the modelled framework.

Even though these figures and definitions of assimilation and integration are usable analytically, it is necessary to use them with quite some caution in the period before the mid 1980s. To use a contemporary definition of integration on the past and at a time where the concept did not have the same meaning¹⁷ is quite problematic, as the result could very easily be an anachronistic analysis. Therefore these definitions of assimilation and pluralistic integration are used to identify the principles of the early policy build-up combined with a hermeneutic approach, letting the definitions of the past define the policies. An important point in this regard is whether the policies are addressed at the individual level (which Hamburger places within the assimilatory model) or at a collective, ethnic group-level placing the initia-

¹⁷ The concept of integration was used in combination with countries' integration in the EU, UN etc. and not as a national policy addressed at immigrants. Source: Dansk Sprog-nævn.

tives within the 'integration model' –and furthermore, if new societal structures can be observed in this connection as an effect of the policy.

A few comments on the methodology and empirical data

Even though this chapter uses a broad definition of 'integration policy' in the early phase, it is however as mentioned above, necessary to know what to look for and where to look. In this connection, the focus is on *system integration* meaning that the legislations and institutional recommendations are the primary empirical data. *System integration* includes the welfare state's formal framework (for example legislations on discrimination, voting rights etc.) and in this perspective, the normative principles concerning immigrants' inclusion or exclusion in society are at the centre of attention. *Social integration* studies concentrate on immigrants' 'lived' citizenship, integration in society, implementation of the *system integration* etc. and primarily focus on whether immigrants are in fact included as proscribed by the system through legislations. As stressed above, this chapter is primarily a *system integration study* and for this reason, the focus is on identifying what the system saw as problems, the solutions suggested and the normative principles behind this.

Two important tools are used in the empirical analysis including the concepts of *margizen*, *denizen* and *citizen*. The first concept, *margizen*, includes people who are excluded from social benefits and / or have temporary residence permits. *Denizen* refers to people with full or almost full social rights, but no or limited political rights and permanent residence permits. *Citizen* refers to people with full political and social rights (state citizens), who are at the normative level fully included

and / or integrated in society.¹⁸ This definition of groups of people in society is used in this chapter to analyse the ideas and normative development from guest-worker policy to immigrant-policy in the earliest period (from 1967 to the mid 1970s).

Secondly, the concepts of *inclusion* or *exclusion*, with regard to social rights, are used in order to identify the ideas and goals of the policies. Whether the aim of the policy was to include immigrants in society, on what premises and to what extent are but a few of the questions connected to these two terms. The welfare state history has to a great extent been a history of 'social inclusion'¹⁹ between top and bottom, between classes, between genders etc. In this chapter the connection between *social inclusion / exclusion* and *ethnicity* is at the centre of attention.

The data for this chapter primarily consists of commission and work group reports as well as legislative data. Furthermore, the political debates, and to some extent also the public debate, are taken into consideration in the analysis of the system's reaction.

The following passages present the building-blocks, counting firstly the legislative heritage from the pre- and inter-war-period, and secondly a few comments on social inclusion in the welfare state.

The building blocks: the legislative legacy

The Danish borders had been crossed by labour-immigrants before the guest-workers from the 1960s. At the beginning of the 20th Century

18 Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu (1994) *Limits of Citizenship. Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. The University of Chicago Press, 136ff.

19 This is generally defined as social integration, however in this chapter social integration is linked to the process of integrating immigrants and the concept is therefore replaced by social inclusion when it comes to the welfare state.

from 1893 to 1929, Polish land-workers came to the Danish islands Lolland and Falster to take up seasonal employment in the agricultural production of sugar beet. The employment 'service' was carried through by German hiring-offices, and a German *Aufseher* (attendant) accompanied the girls on their arrival to Denmark.²⁰ The Poles were lodged in barracks which were soon named 'Pole-Barracks', and the quality of the buildings were, as the name implies, quite poor.

In order to protect these workers from exploitation the Danish Parliament, *Rigsdagen*, passed an act in 1908 on the use of foreign workers in certain productions including supervision carried out by the public authorities.²¹ The act was pushed forward by a somewhat colourful group consisting of the Social Democrats, Catholic priests and agricultural organisations.²² The Social Democrat, Peter Sabroe, fought the battle in Parliament in alliance with Catholic priests and the local Social Democratic party in Holbæk. The employers' organisations were also in favour of some state regulation as it was crucial to secure ongoing recruitment to the sugar-beet fields. This could be endangered by the fact that the poor conditions for the Polish girls had made it difficult to hire seasonal workers from Poland.²³ The result of this alliance was the so-called 'Pole-Act', which contained minimum standards in regard to the housing conditions; it was for example stressed that the employers were obligated to ensure that the Poles had dry and healthy

20 Østergaard, Bent (1983) *Indvandrerne Danmarks...*

21 Lov vedrørende Anvendelse af udenlandske Arbejdere til Arbejde i visse Virksomheder samt det offentlige Tilsyn dermed. Lov nr. 229, 21. august, 1908.

22 Østergaard, Bent (1983), 196. See also Larsen, Kennet (2004) *Den stereotype polske arbejder – en undersøgelse af den benyttede stereotypi omhandlende den polske arbejder i den offentlige debat i Danmark i forbindelse med "Polakloven" af 1908 og Polens medlemskab af Den Europæiske Union*, Unpublished master thesis, Department of History, University of Southern Denmark.

23 Nellemann, Georg (1973) 'Fremmedarbejderpolitik i Danmark 1973 og 1908' *Ny Politik*, volume 4(12).

accommodation²⁴. The supervision was to be carried out by the local police and the health inspector.

This was the first time the work and living conditions for foreign workers were regulated by the state. It happened at a time when public supervision and regulation of citizens' living-conditions developed and expanded rapidly. The so-called Child-act of 1905 contained a public supervision as did the 'Factory-Act' from 1873 which was changed several times in the years after. The fact that the state initiated regulation and superintended different aspects of peoples' lives such as work, child-care etc. was not surprising at this time. However, the sorting out of immigrant workers as a group in need of particular governmental and administrative regulation is to some extent a new development. Even though this aspect is to be seen as part of the general development in the 'birth' of the welfare state (these were the childhood-years), it is still of great significance that the state administration, the government and the political actors in general saw it as their duty to ensure freedom and basic work- and living-conditions in accordance with the standard of the time.

The recession in the late 1920s resulted in the introduction of work permits from 1926.²⁵ All foreigners who wanted to take up work in Denmark were from then on obligated to have a work permit. The reason was of course to protect the domestic labour-market through limiting and controlling the number of foreign-workers in Denmark. In the post-war years the number of foreign-workers to some extent followed the ups and downs of the economic trends. In 1954 a Nor-

24 Lov vedrørende Anvendelse af udenlandske Arbejdere til Arbejde i visse Virksomheder samt det offentlige Tilsyn dermed. Lov nr. 229, 21. august, 1908. § 10, 1.

25 Lov om midlertidig Ændring af og Tillæg til Lov af 15. Maj 1875 om Tilsyn med fremmede og rejsende m.m., Lov nr. 80, 31. marts 1926.

dic agreement on establishing a 'Common Nordic Labour-Market' was carried out and all Nordic citizens were allowed to take up work in Scandinavia on equal terms. The effect of this introduction was among others that i.e. Swedes did not need a work permit in order to take up employment in Denmark and vice versa. Nordic citizens were from then on put on the same footing and Scandinavian citizens were no longer regarded as guest-workers by the system.

Inclusion and exclusion for better or worse. The welfare state and nation building

The welfare state has played a significant role in the nation-building process and to a great extent this has reflected on Danish nationalism being significantly orientated towards the welfare state.²⁶ The Social Democratic principle programme 'Danmark for Folket' [Denmark for the people] from 1934 is an example of the people-party ideology – an ideology stressing that the nation and the social benefits were for the entire people and not bound to certain classes. The influence of the Social Democratic Party is discussed in the Danish welfare state research, where it is occasionally emphasised that the Social Democrats did not build the welfare state on their own. It was in the late 19th and early 20th Century built up through a coalition between the Liberals and the Conservatives by an alliance with the farmers. The Social Democrats did however come to play an increasingly important role in the inter-war period, where K.K. Steincke's Social Reform from 1933 represents a new era in the welfare-state history by the introduction of a 'principle

26 Christiansen, Niels Finn & Klaus Petersen, Klaus (2001) 'The Dynamics of Social Solidarity. The Danish Welfare State 1900 – 2000', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Volume 26 (3).

of rights,' which in regard to most social benefits released the existing system of 'administrative estimations,' loss of political rights etc.²⁷ Furthermore, with the principle programme 'Fremtidens Danmark' [The future Denmark / The Denmark of tomorrow] from 1946 the Social Democratic party became a key-actor in the build-up of the Danish welfare state –especially in the post-war years.²⁸

This aim of including the entire people and not only securing social rights for the working class is an important part of the history of the Danish Social Democracy and of the Danish welfare state. To provide a high degree of social security for all people through a universal principle is one of the most important features of the welfare state. 'Do your duty – claim your right' is a Social Democratic 'slogan' which to a great extent tells what the basic principle of the Danish welfare state is all about –participate in the labour market for a high degree of social and economic security. This principle demands for a high degree of social cohesion where those on the labour market are willing to provide for those, who are temporarily or permanently outside (for example the elderly). The Danish welfare state is based on the principles of universalism and solidarity between classes and generations.²⁹ It is characterised by a fine meshed net of social and economic security, and 'the

27 For further information on Steincke's Social Reform, see Christensen, Jacob (1998) K.K. Steincke. Christian Ejlers

28 Christiansen, Niels Finn & Petersen, Klaus (2004) 'Velfærd med vilje – men hvis?' in Ploug, Niels/ Henriksen, Ingrid/Kærgård, Niels (eds) Den danske velfærdsstats historie. SFI.

29 For a series of articles on the normative principles of the Danish welfare state, see Petersen, Jørn Henrik, Petersen, Klaus & Petersen, Lis Holm (2007) 13 værdier bag den danske velfærdsstat. Syddansk Universitetsforlag.

distinctiveness of the Danish welfare society³⁰ is that we together bear the responsibility for each other and especially for the weakest groups and those who have special problems.³¹ The keywords of the Danish welfare state are equality, social cohesion, solidarity, universalism and social security. These principles are key items in the Danish welfare state and in the current and historical development of the Danish nation. What is interesting here is how the welfare state –based on these principles which had been developed during the 20th Century and were expanding in the 1960s – reacted, when new groups of people came to Denmark to substitute Danish workers at a time of scarcity of labour, and later on took permanent residence in Denmark. But before examining this aspect, let us first take a brief look at the lopsidedness of social inclusion.

‘If you are not with – you are against us?’ –Dealing with the outsiders

Many descriptions of the universal welfare state model are positive histories of social inclusion – how the standard of living became increasingly better for the poorest people and people at the bottom of society; how the welfare state enabled social advancement, social security for all of us etc. It is however important to ask the question: are there no negative effects of social inclusion? Some people are not easily included into society; they stand out –break the social norms of

30 In Denmark there are often no strict distinctions between the terms ‘state’ and ‘society’ and the concepts are often used synonymously. A larger research project on the contextual conceptual history of the welfare state is currently being carried out at the Centre for Welfare State Research, University of Southern Denmark by Professor Klaus Petersen and Professor Jørn Henrik Petersen.

31 Velfærdskommissionen,(2006), 15.

society. The balance between providing social security and ensuring cohesion in society on the one hand, and avoiding the creation of a paternalistic state on the other, is the welfare state's Janus-face. When working on immigrants and the welfare state's reaction, it is important to take into consideration how the state has dealt with 'the others' in the years before the 1960s. In this connection, the assimilation of children from Greenland is an example of a social project gone wrong. The children were placed in Danish families for approximately one year and were then sent back to Greenland. The idea was that the 'Danification' of these children would create a spillover effect and the Danish norms, values and ideas would change the population in Greenland and make them more Danish.³² These attempts at changing the Greenlandic population's moral were carried out in the 1950s³³ and the experiences from this social project might have some influence on the way the welfare state institutions reacted and created policies addressed at immigrants a decade later. Even if the empirical data does not provide any direct references to this project, it is however still important to be aware of the historical legacy counting both the legislative heritage and the experiences from earlier times when dealing with foreigners and groups of 'others'.

Guest-worker policy: avoiding exploitation 1967–1973

During the 1960s, Denmark initiated a labour-import from European countries (for example Great Britain) and countries in the periphery of (the former Yugoslavia) and outside Europe (Turkey). The people who

32 For an analysis of the effects of this social project, see Bryld, Trine (1998) *I den bedste mening*. København.

33 The period of normalisation and standardisation in Danish welfare-state history.

came to Denmark were male industrial workers with no education, entering the country in order to meet the labour shortage at a time of very low unemployment rate in Denmark.³⁴

The Elkær-Hansen Commission

As an effect of the labour-import, the number of guest-workers from non-Nordic and Non-European countries rose. This was especially the case in 1969–1970 as Table 1 illustrates.

Table 1: *Number of foreigners with work permit in Denmark by January 1st 1959–1970*

Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and Icelandic citizens are not included.		
Year (January 1 st)	Number of foreign-workers with work permit	Increase
1959	8.737	
1960	9.281	544
1961	9.606	325
1962	10.567	961
1963	11.453	886
1964	11.875	422
1965	13.436	1.561
1966	14.869	1.433
1967	16.891	2.022
1968	18.857	1.966
1969	19.389	530
1970	24.244	4.857

Source: Elkær-Hansen, Niels (1971) *Betænkning om udenlandske arbejderes forhold i Danmark: afgivet af det af arbejdsministeriet den 17. juni 1969 nedsatte udvalg*, København, 18.

34 Jønsson, Heidi Vad & Petersen, Klaus (2010) 'Danmark, den nationale velfærdsstat møder verden', in Brochmann, Grete & Hagelund, Anniken (eds) *Velferdens grenser*, Universitetsforlaget.

Looking at the nationalities of the foreign-workers, the Germans accounted for 22% of the total number, whereas Britons made up 11%. The number of Yugoslavians and Turks increased from 8% to 16% during 1969 – a number which was rapidly increasing. In total the estimated number of guest-workers in Denmark in October 1970 was approximately 35.000, equal to almost 2% of the total number of wage earners in Denmark.³⁵

On the basis of the increase in the number of immigrant-workers in the late 1960s and the expectance of a future increase, the so-called Elkær-Hansen commission was appointed in 1969. The remit of the commission was formulated by the Minister of Employment in June 1969 as follows;

‘Quite recently the number of foreign workers in Denmark has increased. They take employment in jobs which cannot be filled by Danish workers and thus their presence is expedient. The entrance of foreign workers has, however, lead to certain problems. Many have taken residence and jobs here unaware of the existing rules; foreign workers have in many cases been exploited at the Danish labour-market and the housing market. [...] For this reason the Government has decided to appoint a committee which is to consider foreign workers’ conditions in Denmark.’³⁶

The commission was firstly to consider how to control the access to Denmark for guest-workers and in this connection include the Swedish model as a possible solution. Secondly, the commission was to shed light upon the social problems related to guest-workers, meaning how their social conditions were in Denmark, and furthermore give

³⁵ Elkær-Hansen, Niels (1971), 20.

³⁶ Elkær-Hansen, Niels (1971), 5.

recommendations as to improving these conditions. In turn, this two-fold remit concerned both the question of how to control the guest-workers' entrance to the country and how to ensure acceptable living-conditions for those who were already here. Thus it was implied that the welfare state was obligated to take care of the guest-workers and to ensure that they were not exploited by the employers.

The members of the commission were appointed by the government with prefect Niels Elkær-Hansen as head of the commission. The Danish LO appointed two members; among others the head of the LO, Thomas Nielsen, who was replaced by Secretary Inga Olsen in December 1969. The Danish Employers' Association had two members: Director Arne Lund and Head of Office Bent Jensen. The members from the Ministry of Employment were Per Kerstein and Erik Wingsøe (Head of Office), the Ministry of Housing had one member, Johannes Brigsted, the Ministry of Justice two members, Niels Larsen and Ole Stevns, who was Chief Superintendent, the Social Ministry had one member, Fanny Hartmann and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had one member, Erik Krig-Meyer.³⁷ The members of the commission were representatives from both labour and employer organisations as well as the relevant ministries; a traditional composition incorporating interest-organisations from both sides and Government officials.

When looking at the composition of the commission it is noteworthy that the representatives from the labour-market organisations were somewhat prominent people (for example Arne Lund who was director of the Danish Employers Organisations DA). This implies that the guest-worker question was linked to the labour-market and that it was

³⁷ Elkær-Hansen, Niels (1971).

of great importance for the organisations. The unions represented by the LO were quite sceptical towards the import of labour, whereas the employers had argued heavily for it during the boom of the 1960s. When it was decided to import labour from other countries it became important for the unions and the LO to organise the guest-workers and to ensure good and equal working-conditions for them. *The Foreign Worker Magazine*³⁸ which was published from 1971 to 1977 is an example of how the trade-unions attempted to organise the guest-workers and expressed solidarity with all working-class people.³⁹

The conclusions from the commission illustrate a significant trait in regard to guest-workers. This was not only a question of supplying the labour market with labour and regulating this through work permits – it was also a question of how to ensure acceptable living conditions for those foreigners, who had already come to Denmark. The conclusions with regard to foreigners' social-, health-, living-conditions etc. were that they had the same rights, to a great extent, as Danish state citizens. It was, however, difficult for immigrants (guest-workers) to obtain suitable housing; partly because Denmark did not have a large-scale social housing 'programme' at this time, and partly because of the general housing shortage at this period of time.⁴⁰ The commission's suggestion was to earmark municipal apartments for immigrants – a suggestion which was carried through in 1970.⁴¹ This is an example of how the commission regarded immigrants as having special problems or difficulties even though they had the same social rights, to a great

38 Fremmedarbejderbladet.

39 Jønsson, Heidi Vad & Petersen, Klaus (2010).

40 Jensen, Bent (2000) De fremmede i dansk avisdebat: fra 1870'erne til 1990'erne, Spektrum, 420.

41 Elkær-Hansen (1971), 29ff.

extent, as 'native Danes.' Another example of this focus on immigrants' social problems is the question of nutrition and health. The commission pointed out that immigrants, especially from Turkey, suffered from malnutrition.⁴² The solution suggested was to have the Danish National Council for Domestic Science make information-material on grocery-shopping, easy cooking etc. This recommendation was also followed.⁴³ These and other recommendations indicated that even though the 'guest-workers' enjoyed almost the same social rights as the rest of the population, there were certain problems and difficulties for this group. These difficulties were to be solved by the Danish welfare state through the existing system and institutions. In 1971 a new position was put up in the Ministry of Social Affairs: a so-called foreign-worker consultant service. This was also one of the recommendations made by the commission. Karen Andersen was appointed to the position and she played a significant role with regard to foreigners and the welfare state in the following years. She was among other things part of the 'Alien Act Committee' which created the foundation for the new Alien Act from 1983.⁴⁴ From the early 1970s, the Social Ministry played the role as coordinating institution with regard to the guest-workers. This was evident when the Social Ministry appointed a workgroup in April 1973, which was to evaluate the initiatives carried through on the basis of the recommendations given by the Elkær-Hansen Committee.

As in 1908 this perspective included the housing conditions and medical and health conditions, but the field had also expanded as edu-

42 Elkær-Hansen (1971), 33.

43 Betænkning om udenlandske arbejders sociale og samfundsmæssige tilpasning her i landet. Betænkning nr. 761, 1975.

44 See the following passage on the new Alien Act in the 1980s.

cational initiatives regarding language teaching and leisure-time activities for the foreign workers were also included in the commission report.⁴⁵ These aspects were to some extent also part of the 1908-legislation, however the Danish welfare state had expanded especially in the after-war-years, and this expansion reflected upon the establishment of Danish ‘integration policy’ in the early phase.

The initiatives suggested in the late 1960s and early 1970s were to some extent a product of the general development of the Danish welfare state: to provide equal rights, equal opportunities etc. for the entire population. The heritage from the early 20th Century was however also of indirect significance; the ‘building blocks’ chosen in 1908 and 1926 constituted an institutional framework which was further developed in the post-war years.

Immigrant policy: partial inclusion and societal adjustment 1973–1983

The guest-worker import came to an end with the first oil-crisis in 1973. Already in 1970 a so-called ‘small immigrant stop’ had been established as the Employment Minister had initiated an administrative stop for the issuance of new work permits.⁴⁶ When the oil-crisis and the following recession hit Denmark during 1973, the Employment Minister issued a total stop for the issuance of new work permits – the ‘immigrant stop’ had come to stay. This however did not effectively hinder immigration to Denmark as family reunifications contributed

⁴⁵ Elkær-Hansen, Niels (1971), 20.

⁴⁶ Jønsson, Heidi Vad & Petersen, Klaus (2010).

to continuous immigration.⁴⁷ From the 1980s a large scale refugee-immigration caused an implicit defeasance of the immigration-stop.

During the 1970s the guest-workers were to a great extent affected by the recession; they were hit by unemployment as was the majority-population. The unemployment rate was however higher for immigrants than for the rest of the population and unemployment among immigrants became a part of the public and political debate in the 1970s.⁴⁸ A public debate on the guest-workers' social situation occurred in the Danish newspapers where liberal and conservative newspapers stressed the need for integration due to the deficit in the balance of payment. The logic behind this connection was that the foreign-workers were in Denmark in order to make money which was sent back to the family in the home-country. In order to prevent this 'flight of capital' it was necessary to 'integrate' the foreign workers and their families.⁴⁹ Another point in the debate was however, that many single male foreign-workers had returned (repatriated), however this repatriation was equalised by the family-reunifications as the same number of women and children had entered Denmark. The point was that immigrant women from non-western countries had a lower rate of employment than the 'Danish women'; immigrant-women were not contributing and participating on the labour-market to the same extent as 'majority-women'⁵⁰. What happened in this period was that the focus shifted; in the pre-oil-crisis period, immigrants' social problems

47 It was still possible to get a residence permit.

48 See the debate in Parliament: Folketingstidende 1979–80, 2. samling (Folketingets Forhandlinger), sp. 14.

49 Jensen, Bent (2008) *Hvad skrev aviserne om de arbejdsløse? : debatten fra 1840'erne til 1990'erne*, Rockwool Fondens Forskningsenhed, Gyldendal.

50 The terms majority minority were not used in general in the 1970s. In this article the concepts are being used as analytical concepts to describe the persons.

were the primary ‘radios of action’, but from the mid and late 1970s immigrants were increasingly regarded as social problems per se. The group of newcomers originating from Non-Western countries was increasingly targeted as a ‘social group’ for the welfare state to handle. The question was, however, how to deal with this new social problem? Were immigrants to be treated as Danes in the social system, meaning that immigrants were to use the existing social offices and initiatives, or was it necessary to create new types of institutions to ‘take care of the new citizens’? This question of how to ensure equality between immigrants and the majority population was debated extensively throughout the late 1970s and especially during the 1980s⁵¹, when a new situation occurred in connection to the massive increase in the number of refugees seeking asylum in Denmark.

In 1975 the above mentioned workgroup appointed by the Social Ministry in 1973 published its report. The title was *Committee Report on foreign workers’ social and societal adjustment in this country*⁵², suggesting that the question was now more framed as an adjustment-question than concerning foreigners’ living-conditions as was the case with the Elkær-Hansen Report. The workgroup was to consider whether guest-workers’ general conditions had improved on the basis of the suggestions made by the Elkær-Hansen Committee and furthermore provide suggestions for ‘[...] the possibility of improving guest-workers’ social and societal adjustment [...]’⁵³

51 For a detailed description of the debate on immigrants in Danish newspapers, see Bent Jensen (2008). The political debate in Parliament has furthermore been analysed in a Ph.d-dissertation by Lars Jørgensen (2006) and Lærke K. Holm (2006).

52 Betænkning om udenlandske arbejderes sociale og samfundsmæssige tilpasning her i landet. Betænkning nr. 761, 1975.

53 Betænkning om udenlandske arbejderes sociale og samfundsmæssige tilpasning her i landet, 1975, 2.

In general, the workgroup recommended to expand foreign-workers' social and political rights. This tendency is quite clear with regard to the peoples' pension on the one hand and voting rights on the other. The right to full peoples' pension was regulated by 1) state citizenship or 2) the number of years in Denmark.⁵⁴ During the 1970s, social treaties between Denmark and Turkey, Yugoslavia etc. were introduced, ensuring equal rights for immigrants and Danish citizens.⁵⁵ The change suggested by the workgroup with regard to this perspective, was to expand guest-workers' rights to social pensions. The argument was that since the guest-workers had contributed to the financing of social pensions, they should also have the right to receive these even if they chose to leave Denmark.⁵⁶ This aspect reflects an important point with regard to immigrants and the Danish welfare state. The system was built upon the principles of universalism and solidarity between classes and generations, however when it came to immigrants and guest-workers this principle was implicitly challenged. Was the existing system fair, equal and universal when it came to immigrants? And how could the welfare state ensure equal rights for all people at a time when the definition of the people was changing. Hence what was challenged, when Denmark and the Danish welfare state met the world, were implicitly the core principles of solidarity, universalism etc. On the one hand, immigrants and guest-workers did not have a 'birth right' to the welfare state – on

54 In order to receive a full pension, the demand was 40 years of living in Denmark between the age of 15 and 67; a demand, which none of the foreign-workers could live up to. See Betænkning om udenlandske arbejders sociale og samfundsmæssige tilpasning her i landet, 1975, 8.

55 See Jønsson, Heidi Vad & Petersen, Klaus (2010).

56 Betænkning om udenlandske arbejders sociale og samfundsmæssige tilpasning her i landet, 1975, 9.

the other, it went against the principle of equality and inclusion to exclude this group from full social benefits.

The question of voting rights was also dealt with by the work-group and the recommendation was to give foreigners voting rights for municipal elections after three years of stay in Denmark. Also in this perspective, the argument of participation and tax-payment was used, and the workgroup pointed out that since foreigners had worked and paid taxes in Denmark, they should also have the right to vote in municipal elections and through this participate in the decisions made on 'public spending'⁵⁷. This question of political rights was debated through the 1970s and early 1980s. In 1981 the work-group's recommendation was followed after a heavy debate in Parliament.⁵⁸

This question of voting-rights not only points at the puzzle regarding inclusion / exclusion; it also indicated a shift in regard to the target-group. During the late 1960s and early 1970s it was assumed that the so-called 'guest-workers' or 'foreign-workers' would at some point return to the country they had left – hence the semantic. However, when the work-group submitted its report, it had become clear that not all guest-workers were in Denmark on a temporary basis; the guest-workers gradually 'transformed' into immigrants, who were in Denmark on a permanent basis. This shift from guest-workers to immigrants is reflected in the report with regard to the voting right question, as well as with housing and living-conditions and language. For example, the workgroup recommended preferential treatment for a shorter period of time with regard to the housing-question in order to ensure

57 Betænkning om udenlandske arbejderes sociale og samfundsmæssige tilpasning her i landet, 1975, 27.

58 Jønsson, Heidi Vad & Petersen, Klaus (2010), 35ff.

acceptable accommodation for foreigners and their families. This 'special treatment' should, however, only be temporary because an implied aim was to equalize immigrants with Danish citizens.⁵⁹ This idea of preferential treatment in order to obtain 'equalisation' was one of the important discussions of this time and suggests that the welfare state officials attempted put foreigners on the same footing as the Danish population, without changing the system and the societal structure.

The new Alien Act, increasing number of refugees and the polarisation of the debate in the 1980s

The guest-worker question was left unresolved in the 1970s and when the new Alien Act was passed and implemented in 1983⁶⁰ an increasing number of refugees sought asylum in Denmark from 1984. A consequence of this was that the number of immigrants in Denmark became a hot political issue.⁶¹ The debate became harsh and new concepts such as 'society-scroungers / moochers' were used by some newspapers to describe immigrants and refugees who in turn were considered indirectly subversive.⁶² At the same time, the welfare state was met with opposition and welfare-state critical parties such as the right wing *Fremskridtspartiet* was established under a so-called 'minimal state agenda'.

59 Betænkning om udenlandske arbejders sociale og samfundsmæssige tilpasning her i landet, 1975, 15.

60 For a thorough analysis of the Danish Alien Acts, see Vedsted-Hansen, Jens (1997) *Opholdsret og forsørgelsesret. Forsørgelsesbetingelser i udlændingeretten og socialretlige regler om forsørgelsesadgang for udenlandske statsborgere*. Jurist- og Økonomiforbundets Forlag. See also Morten Uhrskov Jensen (2008) *Et delt folk. Dansk udlændingepolitik 1983–2008*. Lysias where a thorough analysis of the 1983-Act is carried through. Uhrskov's interpretations should however be used with caution as they are quite politically coloured.

61 Coleman, David & Wadensjö, Eskil (1999) *Indvandringen til Danmark: internationale og nationale perspektiver*, Spektrum.

62 Bent Jensen (2000) and Lars Jørgensen (2006).

This party has later on been known for its anti-immigration position; a position which became quite characteristic for this party during the 1980s.

One of the big problems for the Social Democratic party in the 1980s was the lack of consensus between the municipals and the parliamentary representatives. Many social democratic mayors stressed the need for standardisation and a national policy with regard to integration. The loudest critic was Mayor Per Madsen (SD) from Albertslund who argued for a stricter policy addressed towards immigrants. This question was not consensual in Parliament either, as the Liberals and Conservatives argued for letting the municipalities find solutions on their own with reference to the municipal autonomy. The left wing argued for a national policy and in the middle were the Social Democrats, who were sharply divided.⁶³

Initiatives from welfare-state officials

During the 1980s a rather large number of municipal reports were made on integration efforts and how to deal with this aspect in the future –in the mid 1980s for example Albertslund municipality carried through a large-scale analysis on integration.⁶⁴ By this time the number of refugees had, as mentioned above, increased rapidly and were now turned over to the municipal social administration in great numbers. This transfer was especially extensive in 1986. The reason for this was that the Danish Refugee Council was in charge of refugees who had been granted asylum for the first 1½ years of their stay in Denmark.

⁶³ Lærke K. Holm (2006).

⁶⁴ See for example Temponeras, Takis (1986) *Indvandrere og offentlig service : et eksempel*. Komiteen for Sundhedsoplysning, and especially Ejrnæs, Morten & Skytte, Marianne (1986) *Indvandrerprojektet*. Resume, Albertslund Kommune.

This institution was established in 1956 when Hungarian refugees applied for asylum in Denmark, and the 'NGO' (which was extensively state-financed) played a significant role with regard to refugees until the Integration Act was passed in Parliament in 1998.

In 1983, the Conservative government presented an immigrant-political statement⁶⁵, which placed the integration of immigrants at the municipal level. The statement was an expression of principles and in this regard, it was stated that integration should be carried through with respect for and acceptance of immigrants' cultural points of departure. On the other hand, it was necessary for immigrants to give up some cultural traits and live after Danish norms, values and standards. This meant that with regard to the principles of the welfare state concerning duties and rights, immigrants had to adjust to the Danish standard. However, the municipalities and the administration would also have to accept some parts of the immigrants' culture – as long as this did not clash with the norms and values of the welfare state.⁶⁶ This interpretation of the balance between immigrants' cultural backgrounds and the welfare state to some extent fit the definition of integration argued by Peter Seeberg.⁶⁷ On the other hand, Charlotte Hamburger places this statement within the assimilation-model, because of the individually-oriented approach and due to the lack of creating a new common societal structure.⁶⁸ This is an example of how different the conclusions can be, according to the different definitions of integration. Charlotte Hamburger's point in regard to the 1983- statement and the integration-attempts and –policies carried through during the

65 Redegørelse R12.

66 Redegørelse R12.

67 Seeberg, Peter (2006).

68 Hamburger, Charlotte (1990), 310 ff.

1980s is that they focused to a great extent on how to avoid the clustering of immigrants in certain areas. For this reason, Hamburger argues that what was labelled ‘integration-policy’ was basically assimilation.

Whether the Danish policy towards immigrants was assimilatory or integration-based depends to a great extent on the definition of these concepts. In the beginning of this chapter, integration-policy was defined quite vaguely as initiatives and policies addressed at immigrants. The commission report and the workgroup-report from the 1970s implies that these policies were concentrated to a great extent on ensuring acceptable living-conditions according to the Danish standard, and later on to also expand immigrants’ social and political rights. In the 1983-statement R12 equalisation in general between immigrants and Danes was one of the primary aims as was avoiding that immigrants developed into a ‘minority-group or an opposition-group in relation to Danish society’. It was important for the Danish welfare state to ensure inclusion of this group of new-comers – an aim which was reflected both at the political⁶⁹ and at the institutional level⁷⁰.

The 1980s was a time of heavy debate and municipal solutions. The question of integration was not only a question of social and political initiatives and rights, but was also increasingly linked to the labour-market and the duty-side of the welfare state. Women became an issue and Jytte Andersen made this very clear when she stated that “The male immigrants must understand that we cannot accept the fact that a large part of the immigrant-group, the women, are in fact prevented from the opportunity of moving among Danes as equal citizens.”⁷¹ Dur-

69 Exemplified by the statement R12.

70 In this context, the institutional level is represented partly by the Elkær-Hansen commission and mainly by the workgroup appointed by the Social Ministry.

71 Folketingstidende, 1980/81, Folketingets forhandlingssp. 2580.

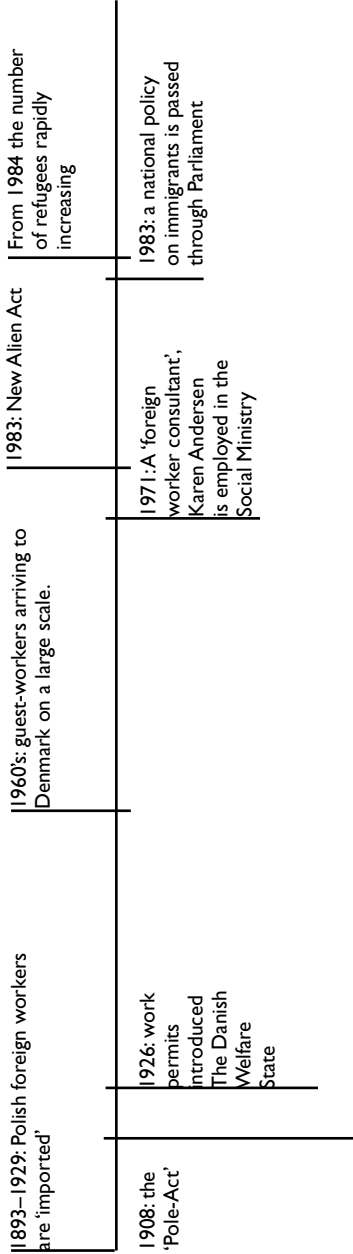
ing the 1980s, the labour-market became an increasingly important tool in the integration-toolbox and it still has a large space there today. Furthermore Jytte Andersen's statement shows how integration policy became an increasingly intersectional question, where the welfare state system and the political decision makers would need to regard this question of equality in terms of both ethnicity, culture and gender.

Summing up and preliminary conclusions

This article has discussed a number of perspectives concerning the reaction of the welfare state to the emergence of immigrants and foreigners. Firstly, it has been stressed that there are some longer chronological lines which create the foundation for the emerging integration policy in the 1960s and early 1970s. The attempts to ensure adequate housing for the Polish land workers in the late 19th and early 20th Century to some extent placed the responsibility for foreigners' social situations within the frames of the state. The introduction of work-permits in 1926 established a praxis with regard to the entrance-policy and this was, combined with the Pole-Act from 1908, the legislative foundation for the Elkær-Hansen-Commission. In the following timetable a brief and very simplified overview over the period is delivered.

It has also been suggested that the integration policy in the form of guest-worker-policy followed to a great extent the general development in the expansion of the welfare state. On the other hand, by the late 1960s the living conditions of the guest-workers were introduced as a problem for the welfare state to handle. Secondly a shift in 'discourses' can be observed by the mid 1970s where it was acknowledged that the guest-workers intended to stay and hence they 'transformed'

Figure 3: Timeline: immigrant workers in Denmark in the 20th Century'



into immigrants both in reality and rhetorically. At the same time immigrants were unemployed to a higher extent than Danish workers. The shift in discourse was marked by a changed view on immigrants, who now seemed to be extensively looked upon as a 'social problem.' Already in the mid 1970s the lack of participation on the labour market by immigrant-women was identified as a significant problem for the welfare state and for the integration at the political level. The so-called 'work -line' was an important perspective especially after the oil-crisis hit Denmark from 1973. This aspect concerning integration through participation in the labour-market has shown to be an ongoing part of Danish integration policy, meaning that the labour-market and its representatives (unions and employers organisations) have played a key-role in the establishing of this policy field. The point is that the welfare state has reacted in many different ways to the meeting with the new citizens – one of the reactions was firstly to protect the 'guest-workers' from exploitation and secondly to ensure their active participation on the labour-market – an aspect of integration-policy which is closely related to the general (Social Democratic) ambition of having the highest possible employment-rate.

Summing up, the period from 1967 to 1983 can be divided into three phases starting with a guest-worker policy, which is replaced by an immigrant policy from the 1970s. By the 1980s new tendencies emerged and new political questions were raised. This period starting where this chapter ends is for now labelled cultural and municipal immigrant policy. The main features and characteristics of the different phases are illustrated in Figure 4 on policy development.

In sum, a preliminary conclusion to the question: how did the welfare state react is that the state firstly attempted to increase the living

Figure 4: Policy development, 1967–1983

New Alien Act Incr. number of refugees	From 1983: 'cultural & municipal' immigrant policy Explicit cultural aspect, dissemination policy, refugee policy Elaboration of system integration (counting rights and duties)
Oil Crisis: recession, increased unemployment	From 1973: immigrant policy Social inclusion, political inclusion, social and societal adjustment Development of system integration
Economic boom Labour import	From 1967: Guest-worker policy Protection, avoid exploitation, avoid the creation of a new underclass

conditions for the immigrant-workers – an ambition rooted in the beginning of the 20th Century, and secondly attempted to integrate unemployed foreigners on the Danish labour market. Furthermore, it became increasingly important for the state officials and the institutions to ensure immigrants' social and political rights – initiatives which to some extent had a common goal: to include immigrants in the Danish welfare state, both the political part and the part concerning social and political security. These tendencies from the 1970s are however often cluttered by the very harsh political debate emerging from the mid

1980s. 1983 came to mark a new 'era in Danish integration history': the new Alien Act introduced a legal claim to family reunification etc. for refugees and the same year a governmental statement on immigration / integration policy was presented in Parliament.

Integration Policy Convergence and Welfare Ethnic Nepotism in the Republic of Ireland

Bryan Fanning

Introduction

Drawing on an analysis of the Netherlands, France and Germany, Christian Joppke in 2007 emphasised a growing EU convergence of integration policy. A new European pro-immigration consensus had reversed three decades in which immigration was mostly unwanted.¹ Well into the 1990s the joint stance of European states was ‘to sternly reject new labour migration’. During the 1990s, the main category of migrants was refugees; refugee migration became explicitly politicised. A resurgence of anti-immigrant political populism contributed to a ‘Fortress Europe’ harmonisation, whereby member states individually introduced harsh policies towards these. But alongside this Joppke argues that a fundamental shift occurred, whereby labour immigration is now presented as a ‘permanent, even desirable feature of European societies’, necessary to counter demographic decline and to preserve European competitiveness. Joppke’s critique of EU integration policy

1 Joppke, C. (2007), ‘Transformation of Immigrant Immigration: Civic Integration and Antidiscrimination in the Netherlands, France, and Germany’, *World Politics*, 59, 243–73.

harmonisation depicts it as rooted in an influential cosmopolitan elite consensus as well as in economic imperatives. The Europeanisation of civic integration policy is seen to occur though cultural standardisation no less than it does by legal mandate. Here culture is defined apolitically in the bloodless language of policy-speak ('the soft force of best-practice emulation') in contrast with European histories of blood and soil nationalist identity politics.²

Joppke does not argue that national difference in dealing with immigrants and ethnic minorities will disappear in Western Europe. But it is unlikely to be couched in grand 'national models' or philosophies of integration. He suggests that national difference will persist in two ways: 'trivially, as sheer contingency and history, which will never be the same in any two places' and in nation-state efforts 'sometimes to obstruct, but more often to accommodate and mould the new in the image of the past.'³ Here, the declining influence of nation-building processes of modernisation, as influentially depicted by Ernest Gellner, is suggested.⁴ Nation-building identity politics are portrayed as residual in the face of top-down EU-wide harmonisation.

Joppke's account of harmonisation is predominantly institutional. It instances the 2000 EU Race Directive which requires that member states pass and implement laws against direct and indirect discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin. This protects non-EU immigrants as well as member state citizens. Its remit encompasses education, employment, social protection, health care and access to vital goods and services such as housing and private insurance. A sec-

2 Joppke, *Transformation of Immigration*, 247.

3 *Ibid.*, 272. Also see Joppke, C (2005), *Selecting by Origin: Ethnic Migration in the Liberal State*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

4 Gellner, E. (1994) *Encounters with Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell.

ond instance of harmonisation is the 2003 Directive that extended the free-movement rights of EU citizens to non-EU residents. The third and most explicit indication of an EU integration project is the 2003 Council of the European Union agreed non-binding *Common Basic Principles For Immigrant Integration in the European Union*.

In Joppke's analysis two different elements characterise the 'two way process' emphasised in the *Common Basic Principles* (CBPs). Civic integration renders the individual responsible for his/her own integration. An accompanying emphasis on 'antidiscrimination' ('the liberalism of equal rights') at best retrospectively ameliorates inequalities resulting from the former:

The emergent gestalt of contemporary European integration is a peculiar coexistence of civic integration and antidiscrimination policies. They are complementary in that they address different phases of the migration process – its initial (civic integration) or late phases (antidiscrimination). However, both policies also exhibit countervailing, event contradictory dynamics. The logic of civic integration is to treat migrants as individuals, who are depicted as responsible for their own integration; civic integration is an extension into the migration domain of the austere neoliberalism that frames economic globalisation. The opposite logic of antidiscrimination is to depict migrants and their offspring as members of groups that are victimised by the majority society. There is thus reintroduced at the tail end of integration the ameliorative group logic that has been discarded at its beginning by the harsh individualisation of civic integration.⁵

Joppke concern is with the top-down diffusion of policy norms, influenced heavily by the Dutch rejection of multiculturalism and neoliberal EU responses to globalisation, the latter exemplified by Lisbon

5 Joppke, *Transformation of Immigration*, 247–8.

agenda goals of making the EU “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world.”⁶ His analysis suggests a distinction between political and apolitical integration. The former is pre-occupied with ‘traditional’ culture, poses integration questions from the vantage point of host country national identity and historically derived (essentialist) conceptions of social membership. The latter, exemplified by EU policy norms and directives, potentially works to depoliticise integration. Insofar as institutions are the structural manifestations of culture, institutional shifts suggest underlying cultural ones. The rules of belonging are as ever predicated on answers to the question ‘integration into what?’

The complementary analysis presented here addresses an implied cultural convergence seen to accompany institutional harmonisation. In summary this suggests three things: (1) that integration seems to have become depoliticised at the level of the nation-state because of internal social change that fosters generic approaches to integration. This perspective is one of functional convergence that emphasises shifting social norms as distinct from a conflict theory of social order; (2) for all that an EU harmonisation of integration norms can be identified, integration in any given Member State setting will inevitably be politicised because this necessitates the extension of welfare solidarities to non-citizens; (3) that integration has also become politicised by a trans-national liberal value culture rejection of multiculturalism. Here policy harmonisation is to some extent driven by an ethnocentric liberalism (exemplified by ‘clash of civilization’ rhetoric) that depicts integration as coercive acculturation. At a nation-state level ethnocen-

6 Ibid, 272.

tric liberalism defines as out-groups citizens and migrants ontologically at odds with the prevailing modernity.

The Republic of Ireland, a *kultur-nation* that recently opened itself to mass immigration, is examined here as a case study of the intersections between such apolitical and politicised integration. As (until recently) an enthusiastic participant in the EU, Ireland has been open to the kinds of institutional harmonisation emphasised by Joppke. The major Irish integration policy document to date, *Migration Nation* (2008), states that the *Common Basic Principles* have been and will be a major influence on Irish integration policy developments.⁷ A further key domain of harmonisation revealed in the Irish case is that of social inclusion policy (described by Joppke as ‘the dominant integration rhetoric of the EU). But Ireland’s mass immigration-without-politics cannot be understood without considering the modernisation of belonging that changed the ground rules of being Irish. The convergence emphasised by Joppke concerns the means of harmonisation. This article examines this in terms of a convergence of ends, by which we mean the kind of society into which integration might (or not) occur as a political project. Here, modernisation theory as applied to the ‘traditional’ *kultur-nation* by Gellner and theories of reflexive modernity applied by Beck, Giddens and Urry to ‘post-traditional’ projects of social reproduction posit shifting integration ends.

7 Office of the Minister of Integration (2008), *Migration Nation: Statement in Integration Strategy and Diversity Management*, Dublin: Stationary Office, 30.

Integration into What?

Normatively, integration refers to the process by which immigrants become accepted into a society, both as individuals and as groups.⁸ However it comes to be defined, the implicit assumption is that conformity represents “successful” integration.⁹ But conformity into what? Sociological, political science and social policy vantage points posit three sets of overlapping rules of belonging. The first is preoccupied with social reproduction and the relationships between changing social structure and individual agency. Here, the integration of immigrants and the social inclusion of existing citizens must hit a moving target. The second posits integration in contractual terms, whereby migrants must negotiate expectations about citizenship rights and behaviour in the public sphere. Ideologically, the *Common Basic Principles* presume the replacement of essential nationalism and multiculturalism by liberalism as a public sphere value culture. An influential sociological literature emphasises the primacy of capabilities for social and economic self-integration, theorised in terms of reflexive modernity and neo-liberal individualism. Here, integration becomes defined sociologically in terms of autonomous individual capacity to flourish and individual responsibility to do so. Reflexivity, so understood is something to be engineered as a political project just as were the older mass identities of cultural nationalism. The older nation-building projects of social modernisation and social reproduction are presumed to be residual.

8 Penninx, R. (2003) Integration: The Role of Communities, Institutions, and the State, Available at: <http://www.migrationinformation.org>.

9 Entzinger, H. and Biezeveld, R. (2003) Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration, Report written for the European Commission, European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (Rotterdam: ERCOMER, 8.

The traditional and reflexive modernisation perspectives on which this article draws are theories of convergence. They present norms as functional and posit that similar changes occur in different nation-states for similar reasons. The presumption is that integration harmonisation becomes necessary because it is functional. It is responding to similar bottom-up changes in the nature of social solidarity even if it appears intellectually and politically driven by an elite consensus. European champions of functional cosmopolitan reflexivity, such as Ulrich Beck, advocate a post-national understanding of citizenship, whereby rights within the nation-state do not depend on naturalisation.¹⁰ These also emphasise how cosmopolitan ideals have translated into norms of international reciprocity through the formation of transnational political and legal structures.¹¹ An example of cosmopolitan reciprocity is the agreement between Member States dating back to 1971 which grants reciprocal welfare entitlements to citizens of these living in other EU countries. As a result of such reciprocal arrangements, new anti-immigrant welfare stratifications, politically driven in Member States by ethnic nepotism, have come to predominantly affect non-EU migrants.

10 See Robert R and Smith, W. (2003) 'Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism', *Constellations*, 10.4, 469–487, Ulrich Beck (2000), 'The Cosmopolitan Perspective: Sociology of the Second Age of Modernity' *British Journal of Sociology*, 51(1), 79–105.

11 Fine R and Boon V. (2007) 'Cosmopolitanism: Between Past and Future', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10(1): 5–16, 6.

The Changing Rules of Belonging

Reflexive versus ethno-national modernity

Insofar as the entities charged with integrating immigrants are nation-states, essentialist ideologies of belonging that precipitated their historical development have inevitably featured in political responses to immigration. As influentially articulated by Herder and Fichte in the early nineteenth century, these included the belief that people can only realise themselves fully as members of an identifiable culture defined in terms of language, tradition and historical roots. Herder emphasised the multiplicity and incommensurability of the values of different cultures; different societies could have equally valid ideals but, in reality, they were incompatible.¹² Fichte influentially maintained that linguistic homogeneity defined nationality; a Gaelic revival was integral to Irish nation-building.¹³ Herder emphasised the incommensurability of different national cultures. Nationalism developed as an ideology of cultural separatism.

A key feature of EU integration norms – not emphasised by Joppke but central to the analysis presented here – is their presumed capacity to de-politicise integration by side-stepping thorny local histories of essentialist national identity. The new politics of immigration and integration charted by Joppke, with its emphasis on convergent legal and policy norms, are depicted as apolitical at the level of the nation-state. For example, as presented in the EU *Handbook on Integration for Policy Makers and Practitioners* (2007), the emphasis is on pragmatically re-

12 Berlin, I. (1998) *The Proper Study of Mankind*, London: Pimlico, 369–370, 393.

13 On the influence of Herder and Fichte's ideas on Irish cultural nationalism see Cruise O'Brien, C. (1988), *Passion and Cunning: Essays on nationalism, terrorism and revolution*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 192–195.

defining thorny questions of integration ends or goals into one about integration means or methods:

What does integration mean? The question might be expected to trigger familiar debates about assimilation and multiculturalism, but participants at the technical seminars preparing the handbook hardly used these terms. As policy makers and practitioners working with immigrant integration on a daily basis, they took a rather more practical approach, focusing on outcomes in terms of social and economic mobility, education, health, housing, social services, and societal participation.¹⁴

The *Handbook* emphasised the acquisition by migrants of competencies that would enable them to integrate. Language acquisition aside, what is required is the same kind of social capital required of the overall population. For example the *Handbook* called on ‘each individual to engage in a process of lifelong learning’ through ‘continuous training and education’. It emphasised individualised empowerment through reflexive skills of ‘learning to learn.’¹⁵ Integration, as such, is equated with normative social policy understandings of individualised social inclusion.

The meaning of social inclusion has shifted since the unravelling of post-WW2 growth and security welfare settlements.¹⁶ These promoted a growth and security social contract. Theories of reflexivity emerged to explain the deterioration of security. These presented the archetypical successful candidate for integration as a risk-taker who takes responsibility for his/her own welfare through autonomous reflexive

14 Directorate-General for Justice, Freedom and Security, *Handbook on Integration for Policy Makers and Practitioners* (EU Publications Office, 2007), 8.

15 *Ibid.*, 8.

16 Hughes G and Lewis G (eds.) (1998) *Unsettling Welfare: the reconstruction of Social Policy*, London: Routledge.

re-adaptation.¹⁷ Beck, Giddens, Urry and Lash have variously emphasised an obligatory individual capacity for reflexive adaptation.¹⁸ Matthew Adams summarises the claims that reflexivity is emancipatory in the following terms:

Reflexive self-awareness provides the individual with the opportunity to construct self-identity without the shackles of tradition and culture, which previously created relatively rigid boundaries to the options for one's self-understanding.¹⁹

As alternatively described by Lisa Adkins, the self-reflexive subject is 'the ideal and privileged subject of neo-liberalism'.²⁰ Thinking of citizens rather than migrants, Paul Sweetman summarises the experience of reflexivity as one of regulation, self-surveillance and nervous self-scrutiny.²¹ In all this, citizens are candidates for integration; they must continually negotiate the changing rules of belonging. But migrants who cannot muster the required reflexivity might be rejected out of hand. The example Joppke gives is that of the Netherlands, where requirements that immigrants demonstrate 'autonomy' through labour market participation and learning the Dutch language have become increasingly coercive.²² In effect, responsibility for integration becomes

17 Sevenhuijsen, S. (2000) 'Caring in the third way: the relation between obligation, responsibility and care in Third Way discourse', *Critical Social Policy* 62, 5–37 (25).

18 See Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London: Sage, and various contributions to Beck, U., Giddens, A., Lash, S. (1994) *Reflexive Modernization*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

19 Adams, M. (2003) 'The reflexive self and culture: a critique', *British Journal of Sociology*, 54, 2, 221–238 (222).

20 Adkins, L. (2002) 'Revisions: Gender and Sexuality in Late Modernity', Buckingham: Open University Press, 123.

21 Sweetman, P. (2003) 'Twenty-first Century Die-ease? Habitual Reflexivity and Reflexive Habitus', *Sociological Review*, 51 (4): 528–49.

22 Under the 1998 Newcomer Integration Law (Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers.) Joppke, Transformation of Immigrant Integration, 250.

individualised. In Joppke's critique, what ensues is a neo-liberalism of 'power and disciplining'. Here:

...the contemporary state, hollowed out by economic globalisation, is coercing individuals, as well as the 'communities' that they constitute, to release their self-producing and self-regulating capacities as an alternative to the redistribution and public welfare that fiscally diminished states can no longer deliver. Civic integration is the equivalent on the part of immigrants to the workfare policies that the general population is subjected to in the context of shrinking welfare states: both use illiberal means to make people self-sufficient and autonomous.²³

The reflexive modernisation perspective is an extension of modernisation theory stripped of the role ascribed to tradition in Gellner's account of nation-building.²⁴ Modern nations needed a shared sense of authentic culture. What they had little use for, according to Gellner, were the 'often baroque structures' and the plethora of 'nuances and ambiguities and overlaps' that served the functional needs of pre-modern society. National cultures became streamlined and homogenised and ontologically altered. Gellner's prerequisites for nationalism as a basis of social cohesion include mass literacy and school-inculcated culture.²⁵ Such inculcation may have promoted essentialist beliefs about national culture, but what arguably occurred, according to Gellner (writing about Irish modernisation), was the phenomenon of *Gesellschaft* using the idiom of *Gemeinschaft*.²⁶ The 'new primary ethnic colours, few in number and sharply outlined against each other, be-

23 Ibid, 268.

24 Gellner, E. (1987), *Culture, Identity and Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 15–16.

25 Ibid.

26 Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 57.

came deeply internalised.²⁷ In Gellner's account 'tradition' as invoked by nation-builders was invented. Modernity produced shifts in dominant cultural identities and nation-state rules of belonging through the modernisation of culture and through ontological displacement; out-groups whose beliefs, cultural practices and norms presented them as out of step with dominant current ones were remaindered.²⁸

Whatever the rules of belonging are understood to be will have a huge bearing on the politics of integration. National identities were functions of modernity and the nature of the ties that bind shifted over time. Nation-states became the vehicles for universalist conceptions of rights and belonging, for the expression of cosmopolitan ideas and liberal politics. Theories of reflexive modernisation presume a shift away from an explicit ethnic politics of national identity; identity is (again) seen to have become de-traditionalised. Essentialist nationalism became relegated to fringe political movements in the post WW2 era, although anti-immigration national front parties have persisted. Within the political mainstreams of many EU Member States racism and religious sectarianism became stigmatised. Essentialist nationalisms have been discarded in favour of looser and in some cases 'post-nationalist' depictions of identity. A key project of the EU has been to facilitate this.

Ethnic Nepotism and Ethnocentric Liberalism

However, claims that national identities and ethnocentrism have a minimal bearing on integration need to be treated with caution. Again, Joppke has charted the decline of ethno-racial exclusive immigration

27 Gellner, E. (1987), *Culture, Identity and Politics*, 16.

28 *Ibid*, 15-16.

policies in his *by Origin: Ethnic Migration in the Liberal State*.²⁹ In his analysis he notes some instances of preference for co-ethnics, Israel's law of return being an example. On the other hand, he suggests that German preference for co-ethnic immigrants has declined, this being exemplified by reform of *ius sanguine* citizenship laws. The inference is that solidarity is no longer defined by a homogenous ethno-national mass culture.³⁰ The Irish case bears this out. A proactive immigration policy targeted the Irish Diaspora until 2000 when it was believed that the pool of potential returning expatriates was becoming exhausted. In 2004, when co-ethnics constituted a small proportion of overall immigration, the Irish government allowed immediate access to migrants from the EU Accession States.³¹ But simultaneously in the Irish case legislation was introduced to remove welfare entitlements from migrants. Immigration became depoliticised, but not integration which required extending welfare solidarities to non-citizens.

David Goodhart, echoing what has come to be known as ethnic nepotism theory, has influentially argued that there is an inevitable conflict or trade-off between social solidarity and diversity.³² In the United Kingdom, the influence of Goodhart's arguments can be seen

29 Joppke, C. (2005) *Selecting by Origin: Ethnic Migration in the Liberal State*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

30 Klusmeyer, D. (2001) 'A 'Guiding Culture' for Immigrants? Integration and Diversity in Germany', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 27 (3): 519–532.

31 The Jobs Ireland campaign ran from the late 1990s. It visited Newfoundland, Boston, Sidney, Liverpool, Munich and Berlin. But by early 2000 it was believed that the pool of potential returning expatriates in Britain and America was becoming exhausted. Hayward K and Howard, K. (2007), 'Cherry-picking the Diaspora' in Fanning B. (ed.) *Immigration and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 47–62.

32 For example see Goodhart, D. (February 2004) 'Too Diverse?', *Prospect*, and Goodhart, D. (June 2004) 'Discomfort of Strangers', *Prospect*. On Goodhart and ethnic nepotism theory see Malik K. (2007) *Strange Fruit: Why Both Sides are Wrong in the Race Debate*, Oxford: One World, 263–4 and Fanning, B. (2009), *New Guests of the Irish Nation*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 181–187.

in *The Path to Citizenship* green paper (2008).³³ Using, as Goodhart put it, ‘a rhetoric that would have been unthinkable 10 years ago’ *The Path to Citizenship* proposed that newcomers incur additional taxes to ‘pay their way’.³⁴ This was, as the UK Minister of Integration put it, to ‘win an emotional argument about immigration’.³⁵ Goodhart depicts welfare nepotism as political pragmatism:

The justification for giving priority to the interests of fellow citizens boils down to the pragmatic claim about the value of the nation-state. Without fellow-citizen favouritism, the nation-state ceases to have much meaning. And most of the things liberals desire – democracy, redistribution, welfare states, human rights – only work when one can assume the shared norms and solidarities of national communities.³⁶

Diversity, according to ethnic nepotism theory, undermines the moral consensus on which a large welfare state rests.³⁷ As presented by its leading advocate Frank Salter, ethnic nepotism is more a political theory of human interests than a socio-biological theory of human behaviour.³⁸ It proposes calculus for ascertaining ethnic genetic interest (in copies of one’s own genes) in different relational situations that Salter uses to argue how ethnic groups ought to act in specific circum-

33 Border and Immigration Agency (2008) *The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in Reforming the Immigration System*, London: Home Office.

34 Goodhart, D. (February 24 2008) ‘The baby-boomers finally see sense on immigration’, *The Observer*.

35 Liam, Byrne (20 February 2008) UK Minister of Integration, Press Release.

36 Goodhart, Baby boomers see sense.

37 Salter, F.K. (2004) ‘Introduction’ in F.K. Salter (ed.) *Welfare, Ethnicity and Altruism: New Findings and Evolutionary Theory*, London: Frank Cass, 5.

38 Salter describes his work as ‘political ethology’ meaning the study of political phenomena from a biological perspective. Salter presents ethnic nepotism as a neo-Darwinism socio-biological theory of inclusive fitness: it presumes that individual genetic interest is carried by close kin, and ethnic interests by one’s ethnic group. Salter, F.K. (2002) ‘Estimating ethnic genetic interests: Is it adaptive to resist replacement migration?’ *Population and Environment*, 24, 2, 111–140, 112–3.

stances. Here ethnic kinship is presented as relative to the population chosen for comparison.³⁹ Ethnic nepotism theory developed from theories of inclusive fitness that portrayed individuals as 'programmed' by natural selection to extend preferential treatment of others in proportion to their degree of common descent.⁴⁰ It presumes that inclusive fitness can be applied to altruism towards non-relatives with whom genetic affinity can be recognised ('extra-familial nepotism'). Here ethnicity is ultimately defined in terms of common descent; ethnic and racial sentiments are understood as extensions of kinship sentiments; ethnocentrism and racism are thus extended forms of nepotism.⁴¹ Kenan Malik summarises the political appeal of ethnic nepotism in the following terms:

The echoes that reverberate between Goodhart's and Salter's arguments are not because Goodhart has accepted Salter's unsavoury claims about the dangers of miscegenation or the need for an ethnically homogenous society. Rather they reveal the ways in which contemporary anxieties about diversity can be reformulated into different political idioms. In part, this is because diversity has today become so ambiguous, indeed incoherent, in its meaning that both sides of the debate can simultaneously be for it and against it. Critics of diversity view ethnocentrism, and hence the tendency to diversify, as universal and often as adaptive. Proponents of diversity wish to limit the corrosive character of diversity in the name of cultural authenticity.⁴²

Ethnic nepotism theory presumes a kind of anti-integration harmonisation, one described by Joppke in 1999 as a comparative normative

39 Ibid, 123–124.

40 Vananen, T. (1999) 'Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A comparative analysis, *Journal of Peace Research*, 36, 1, 55–73 (73).

41 Salter, FK Estimating Ethnic Genetic Interests, 112–3.

42 Malik, *Strange Fruit*, 263.

shift characterised by new gradations of rights or welfare stratifications between citizens and immigrant non-citizen groups.⁴³ Whilst EU member states are required to extend reciprocal welfare rights to one another, they are not required to extend integration-as-social inclusion to non-EU migrants. The new welfare ethnic nepotisms cannot be reduced to a revival of essentialist nationalisms. The political audience being addressed are cosmopolitan values and social democrat advocates of universal welfare entitlements. Goodhart argues that the legitimacy of such entitlements depends on these being restricted to fellow citizens. Implicit and explicit welfare ethnic nepotism can be identified in a number of Member States. It is alluded to as a barrier to integration in the sixth CBP.

The second CBP implies that integration occurs into an EU-wide value culture. Specifically it states that: 'Integration implies respect for the basic values of the European union. Everybody resident in the EU must adapt and adhere closely to the basic values of the European Union as well as to Member State Laws'. It elaborates that provisions and values enshrined in European Treaties serve as a baseline and a compass. Examples listed include a mixture of cosmopolitan (respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, non-discrimination and citizenship-based solidarity. The countervailing emphasis on responsibility requires immigrants to assimilate (reject old culture where it conflicts with the basic values) and expects Member States to ensure that immigrants are not permitted to remain outside the wider value culture or national values:

43 Joppke, C. (1999) 'How immigration is changing citizenship: a comparative view', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22, 4, 629–652.

Views and opinions not compatible with such basis values might hinder the successful integration of immigrants into their new host society and adversely influence the society as a whole. Consequently successful integration policies and practices preventing isolation of certain groups are ways to enhance the fulfilment of respect for common European and national values.⁴⁴

Joppke emphasises the EU-wide influence of Dutch civic integration policy that emerged as a reaction against the ‘obvious failure’ of multiculturalism; the *Common Basic Principles* were an initiative of the Dutch EU Presidency. That multiculturalism *should* be rejected is taken as a given. The intersection of post-9-11/‘clash of civilisation’ responses to Islam and antipathy to multiculturalism within liberal democracies highlight the extent to which the public sphere is understood as a cultural sphere in its own right, one idealised in terms of secular values, individual personal autonomy and history of progress. Here the CBPs can be seen to endorse an ethnocentric liberal politicisation of integration. Anti-multiculturalism is also implicit in the requirement for integration into national culture outlined by the eight CBPs. This guarantees the practice of diverse cultures and religions with the caveat that if necessary ‘legal coercive measures’ can be applied where necessary to ensure that basic values prevail.⁴⁵

From the late 1980s Richard Rorty outlined an intellectual rationale for ethnocentric liberalism (or ‘anti-anti-ethnocentrism’ as he termed it).⁴⁶ Here liberalism is presented as a public sphere value culture that

44 Quoted from full text of the second CDP.

45 The eight CDP states that ‘Member States also have a responsibility to ensure that cultural and religious practices do not prevent individual migrants from exercising other fundamental rights or from participating in the host society.’

46 Fanning B., and Mooney T. (2009) ‘Pragmatism and Intolerance: Nietzsche and Rorty’, *Philosophy and Social criticism*, (at press), 35.

behaves like an *ethnos*.⁴⁷ Drawing on American pragmatist philosophy, Rorty depicted knowledge itself as ethnocentric; our only useful notions of ‘true’ and ‘real’ and ‘good’ are those extrapolated from our normative practices and our beliefs.⁴⁸ The choice then for liberals (or anyone else) is whether to privilege to one’s own community or to pretend an impossible tolerance for every other group. But his pragmatist critique of cultural relativism did not merely turn on the notion of a liberal *ethnos*. It extended also to national identity (*ethnos* as more generally understood). Pragmatic loyalty to both were emphasised in a 1994 attack on the role of the ‘unpatriotic academy’ in promoting divisive multiculturalism.⁴⁹ In the European context ethnocentric liberalism tends to be directed at the Muslim communities taken to offer proof that multiculturalism does not work largely because they are ontologically at-odds with the West. The Dutch rejection of multiculturalism, exemplified by Paul Scheffer, Pym Fortune and Theo Van Gogh, was expressly ethnocentric in defence of liberalism as a value culture.⁵⁰ Or to put it in different terms, Dutch anti-multiculturalism revealed a selective or *a la carte* cosmopolitanism, committed to many, but not all

47 Rorty R. (1991) *Objectivism, Relativism and Truth*, New York: Cambridge, 2.

48 Particularly on John Dewey. See Allen, B. (2002) ‘What was Epistemology?’ in Robert B. Brandom (ed.) *Rorty and His Critics*, London: Blackwell, 224; Rorty, R. (1979) *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 337.

49 As put by Rorty, it ‘refuses to rejoice in the country it inhabits. It repudiates the idea of a national identity, and the emotion of national pride. This repudiation is the difference between traditional American pluralism and the new movement called multiculturalism. Pluralism is the attempt to make America what the philosopher John Rawls calls ‘a social union of unions’, a community of communities, a nation with far more room for difference than most. Multiculturalism is turning into the attempt to keep these communities at odds with one another. Rorty, R. (13 February 2004) ‘The Unpatriotic Academy’ *New York Times*, reprinted in *Philosophy and Social Hope*, 252–4.

50 As put by Scheffer (in terms also expressed by Fortune and Van Gogh), recalling his generation as world pioneers of a new age of sexual and religious liberation, who shared the same ideas, the same values, the same references: ‘The Muslims are spoilsports, unwelcome crashers at the party.’ See Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam*, 127.

anti-discriminatory liberal values. European ethnocentric liberalism is by no means restricted to anti-Muslim politics. Insofar as it emphasises cleavages in terms of ontology and habitus, those excluded from solidarity include remaindered indigenous minorities living 'at odds' with modernity. Examples here include the Roma and also, in the Irish case, the exclusion of the Travelling community who are the largest indigenous ethnic minority from the remit of integration policy.

Integration as Social Inclusion

The social policy integration project exemplified by the CBPs extends the techniques of nation-building modernisation to the promotion of a new modernisation of belonging, one defined by globalisation and one targeted at host Member State populations as well as migrants. The first CBP defines integration in terms of rights and responsibilities as a two way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States. A number of CBPs emphasise integration goals that apply also to the citizen population of member states.

The EU social inclusion agenda encompasses normative understandings of the structural causes of poverty and deprivation, of the role of social policy in promoting social cohesion and, crucially, efforts to measure social inclusion.⁵¹ The dominant paradigm emphasises social cohesion. It defines social exclusion in terms of poverty, related phenomena such as unemployment, the spatial concentration of multiple disadvantages and discrimination. The focus is on processes of exclusion and processes of inclusion, on relational understandings of

51 Entzinger, H. and Biezeveld, R. (2003) Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration, Report written for the European Commission, European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER), Erasmus University Rotterdam, 8.

social capital on access to the resources needed to achieve security but also to the attainment of societal norms.⁵² EU funded research on social inclusion has come to emphasise relational understandings of social capital.⁵³ A normative focus on social cohesion, defined in terms of 'shared values, feelings of common identity, trust, a sense of belonging to the same community, can also be identified.⁵⁴ Prevalent definitions of social inclusion, social capital and social cohesion posit communal interdependence, shared loyalties and solidarity as the basis of integration.⁵⁵ Such normative communal, even communitarian integration values are clearly at odds with expectations of reflexive individualism as the basis of inclusion.

However, an emphasis on reflexivity can be identified in social inclusion definitions that depict individual autonomy as a core aspect of quality of life and human development. Here, capabilities equate to 'the idea that individuals actively and consciously direct their lives according to their preferences.'⁵⁶ The CBPs place considerable emphasis on social policy understandings of integration (integration-as-social inclusion). These can be seen to apply to citizens more so than to migrants where stratifications of rights and entitlements result in exclusion from social inclusion. The sixth CBP states that 'Access for

52 Cremer-Schäfer, H et al (2001), *Social Exclusion as a Multidimensional Process: Subcultural and Formally Assisted Strategies of Coping With and Avoiding Social Exclusion*, Brussels: European Commission. Targeted Socio-Economic Research (TSER) SOE1-CT98-2048.

53 'There are various theoretical approaches... But they all have in common that they regard social capital as a property of a social entity and not of an individual. It is a relational concept, it presupposes a social relation and exists only so far as it is shared by several individuals' Berger-Schmitt, R. and Noll, N.H. (2000) 'Conceptual Framework and Structure of a European System of Social Indicators', EuReporting Working Paper No. 9, Mannheim: Zuma, 8.

54 Ibid, 13.

55 Ibid, 34–35.

56 Ibid, 9.

immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on an equal basis to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is an indispensable foundation for better integration.' It summarises the integration case against welfare nepotism:

Conversely, uncertainty and unequal treatment breed disrespect for the rules and can marginalise immigrants and their families, socially and economically. The adverse implications of such marginalisation continue to be seen across generations. Restrictions on the rights and privileges of non-nationals should be transparent and be made only after consideration of the integration consequences, particularly on the descendants of immigrants.⁵⁷

Rights to welfare are emphasised as a means to an end (integration-as-social inclusion) rather than as an end in themselves (as an entitlement of citizenship).

What an EU integration-as-social inclusion project might involve is most clearly spelt out by the empirical indicators devised on behalf of the European Commission. These established an EU-wide baseline 'common language' for conceptualising and measuring social inclusion.⁵⁸ The purpose was to define core EU social values and place a normative pressure on member states to pursue social inclusion policies, to 'define social indicators conceptually, to apply them empirically, and to use them in politics.'⁵⁹ A key mechanism here has been the requirement that member States devise National Action Plans on Social Inclusion (NAPincl) The eleventh (and final) CBP proposed these as the basis of the EU integration-as-social inclusion project:

57 Quote from full text of the sixth CDP.

58 Noll, H.H. (2002) 'Towards a European System of Social Indicators: Theoretical Framework and System Architecture', *Social Indicators Research*, 58 (1-3): 47-87.

59 Vandenbroucke, F. (2002) 'Foreword' in Atkinson, T., Cantillon B, Marlier E and Nolan B, *Social Indicators: The EU and Social Inclusion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, vii.

Although it is a process rather than an outcome, integration can be measured and policies evaluated. Sets of integration indicators, goals, evaluation mechanisms and benchmarking can assist measuring and comparing progress, monitor trends and developments. The purpose of such evaluation is to learn from experience, a way to avoid possible failures of the past.

Ireland has been an early adopter of social inclusions plans and targets. In 1997 it became the first EU member state to adopt a national poverty reduction target.⁶⁰ In 2001 it agreed both a follow-up Revised National Anti-Poverty Strategy and its first National Action Plan on Social Inclusion.⁶¹

Integration and Irish Social Policy

Social Inclusion and Integration Policy Harmonisation

The Republic of Ireland joined the European Economic Community in 1973. Until recently it has been regarded as an enthusiastic member of the EU. It remained a net beneficiary of EU funding until well into its 'Celtic Tiger' boom period. A Referendum in 2008 rejected the Treaty of Lisbon. It became just one of three countries, along with Sweden and the United Kingdom that allowed free movement of labour from EU-Accession states in 2004. A country with a problematic history of handling cultural difference overtly pursued large-scale immigration as a neo-liberal response to globalisation. The first major Irish immi-

60 The National Anti-Poverty Strategy 1997 was developed following the 1995 UN Social Summit in Copenhagen. Atkinson et al, *Social Indicators*, 53.

61 Government of Ireland (2001) *Ireland: National Action Plan against Poverty and Social Exclusion (NAPSincl) 2001–2003*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

gration policy statement, *Integration: A Two Way Process* (2000) anticipated key elements of the Common Basic Principles.

As defined in the report 'integration means the ability to participate to the extent that a person needs and wishes in all the major components of society, without having to relinquish his or her own cultural identity'.⁶² *Integration: A Two Way Process* emphasised the need to promote the integration of refugees and immigrants into Irish society through measures to promote employment and ones aimed at addressing the specific barriers of discrimination, non-recognition of qualifications and lack of fluency in English:

Employment is a key factor in terms of facilitating integration. It provides a regular income and economic independence, security, status and opportunities for interaction with people from the host community and for social integration. Employment brings many benefits including an improved income and lifestyle, an increased sense of belonging to the community, better interaction with people outside their own communities and allows refugees to contribute to society.⁶³

This case for integration, defined in terms of capacity to participate fully in society drew on the one for addressing social exclusion contained in the *National Anti-Poverty Strategy* (1997) and restated in the revised *National Anti-Poverty Strategy* (2002). Both documents asserted that the social exclusion of marginal groups in Irish society must be contested in the interests of the greater good; 'no society can view without deep concern the prospect of a significant minority of people becoming more removed from the incomes and lifestyles of the

62 Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (2000) *Integration: a Two Way Process*, Dublin: Stationary Office, 9.

63 *Integration: A Two Way Process*, 29.

majority'.⁶⁴ This social cohesion case for social inclusion policy was first extended to migrants in the lead up to the revised NAPS (2002). That document quoted the 2000 social partnership agreement, *The Programme for Prosperity and Fairness* which described racism as an 'emerging cause of poverty in Ireland'.⁶⁵

Collectively, these have articulated a broad definition of social exclusion that encompassed concerns about 'poverty, deprivation, low educational qualifications, labour market disadvantage, joblessness, poor health, poor housing or homelessness, illiteracy and innumeracy, precariousness and incapacity to participate in society'.⁶⁶

Such definitions were stated and restated in the 1996 and 2000 social partnership agreements, *Partnership 2000* and *Programme for Prosperity and Fairness*. The former defined social exclusion in terms of 'cumulative marginalisation: from production (employment), from consumption (income poverty), from social networks (community, family and neighbours), from decision-making and from an adequate quality of life'.⁶⁷ This definition acknowledged that people who experienced material deprivation by comparison to community norms were understood to be excluded from participation in societal activities. At the same time this definition recognised that exclusion from community, family and neighbourhood networks was not merely a consequence

64 Government of Ireland (1997) National Anti-Poverty Strategy, Dublin: Stationary office, 3-4.

65 Government of Ireland (2000) Programme for Prosperity and Fairness, Dublin: Stationary Office, Review of the National Anti-Poverty Strategy (2002), 4.

66 Atkinson, T, Cantillon B., Marlier E., and Nolan B (2002) Social Indicators: The EU and Social Inclusion, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3.

67 Government of Ireland (1996) Partnership 2000 Agreement, Dublin: Stationary Office, Government of Ireland (2000) Programme for Prosperity and Fairness, Dublin: Stationary Office.

of income poverty. *NAPS* (1997) explained the need to tackle social exclusion in the following terms:

No society can view without deep concern the prospect of a significant minority of people becoming more removed from the incomes and lifestyles of the majority. It is the tackling of the structural factors that underpin this exclusion which requires the strategic approach set out in this document.⁶⁸

‘Migrants and members of ethnic minority groups’ were identified as a distinct target group within the *Revised NAPS: Building and Inclusive Society* (2002). This set an objective of ensuring that these are not more likely to experience poverty than majority group members.⁶⁹ It signalled (in theory) an integration remit for Irish social inclusion policy. However, the expectation voiced by various government ministers was that the integration of new immigrants would occur through the economy.

Ireland’s response to EU Enlargement in 2004 was to allow immediate labour market access to migrants from the Accession States whilst simultaneously introducing explicit welfare ethnic nepotism. The *Social Welfare (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act (2004)* removed rights from new immigrants to Unemployment Assistance, Old Age (Non-Contributory) and Blind Pension, Widow(er)’s and Orphan’s (Non-Contributory) pensions, One Parent Family Payment, Carer’s Allowance, Disability Allowance, Supplementary Welfare Allowance (other than one-off exceptional and urgent needs payments) and Children’s Allowances. The group most seriously affected by these new welfare stratifications were non-EU migrants. In February 2006 the govern-

68 Government of Ireland (1997) *Sharing in Progress: The National Anti-Poverty Strategy*, Dublin: Official Publications, 4.

69 Government of Ireland (2002) *Building and Inclusive Society: Review of the National Anti-Poverty Strategy*, Dublin: Official Publications, 17.

ment acknowledged that EU law (EEC 1408 of 1971) imposed reciprocal obligations on EU State to recognise the entitlements of citizens from other EU countries resident in their own countries. This meant that the removal of entitlements set out under the 2004 Act could never have applied to immigrants arriving from the new EU member states. Throughout 2004 and 2005 it was generally presumed by government departments and NGOs that the 2004 Act applied to all immigrants. What emerged however was a habitual residence condition for entitlement to such benefits; this required two years of reckonable residency for non-EU migrants as a basis of eligibility.

It is noteworthy that no specific political advocacy of welfare ethnic nepotism preceded the 2004 Act. However, a citizenship politics of ethnic nepotism did emerge in 2004 through the government's campaign in support of a Referendum on Citizenship. The outcome of the Referendum was to remove the birth-right to Irish citizenship from the Irish-born children of immigrants. Citizenship had been constitutionally defined in *Ius Soli* terms in a context of high emigration. The change towards an *Ius Sanguine* basis of establishing rights to citizenship was a direct response to immigration. Within the politics of the Referendum, the prevailing discourse distinction was one between 'nationals' and 'non-nationals.' The latter were portrayed as having a right to citizenship due to a loophole in the Constitution. That over 80 per cent of voters in the Referendum voted in favour of 'commonsense citizenship' (the government slogan) points to the salience of theories of ethnic nepotism in the Irish case.

Just one month before the Act was passed the Irish government hosted a conference entitled *Reconciling Mobility and Social Inclusion*

as part of its EU Presidency.⁷⁰ The report from the conference, whilst couched in the rhetoric of social inclusion, placed little emphasis on welfare rights and entitlements.⁷¹ The equation emphasised by the Conference was one between the promotion of mobility for economic reasons and the need to ‘specifically promote the social inclusion of these workers and *where appropriate*, that of their families.’⁷² Yet the *Reconciling Mobility and Social Inclusion* conference defined social inclusion and integration predominantly in terms of the economic integration of workers.⁷³ Furthermore, the presumption that immigrants were workers with no dependents living in Ireland was repeatedly stated.⁷⁴ Yet, the social policy case for integration-as-social inclusion was acknowledged in the foreword to the conference proceedings:

Mobile workers, and especially those who migrate from other regions and countries, are particularly vulnerable to social exclusion. Mobility can involve leaving behind the support of family, friends, local community and one’s own culture, and experiencing much difficulty in finding comparable support in the host country. This demands that, in solidarity, we work to provide them with the support they need to achieve social inclusion and integration. It is clearly also in our interests to do so. The social exclusion of migrants can result in their working well below their potential as well as high rates of unemployment. This has negative consequences both economically and in relation to social cohesion. Two key goals of the Lisbon

70 Office for Social Inclusion (2004) *Reconciling Mobility and Social Inclusion: The role of employment and social policy*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

71 Fanning, F. (2007) ‘Integration and Social Policy’, in Fanning B. (ed.) *Immigration and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 252.

72 Quoted from the back cover, italic emphasis added. Office for Social Inclusion, *Reconciling Mobility and Social Inclusion*.

73 *Reconciling Mobility and Social Inclusion*, 8.

74 *Ibid*, 27.

agenda, greater economic competitiveness and social cohesion, are well served, therefore, by reconciling mobility and social exclusion.⁷⁵

This partial endorsement of integration-as-social inclusion coincided with the welfare ethnic nepotism of the 2004 *Social Welfare Act*. In this context it was unsurprising that migrants and ethnic minorities received just a one-paragraph mention in the 2005 report on the implementation of the *National Action Plan against Poverty and Social Exclusion 2003–2005*. This noted to the ‘need to provide migrants with access to social protection and other services.’⁷⁶ For specifics it pointed to another policy document, *Planning for Diversity: The National Action Plan Against Racism*. This in turn noted the need to include immigrants within ‘national plans and programmes that target poverty and social exclusion.’ Again nothing specific was envisaged. *The National Action Plan against Racism* contained some emphasis on the need to address institutional barriers but placed none on structural barriers encountered by migrants not entitled to (some) welfare goods and services.⁷⁷ Integration was envisaged as occurring through ‘macro economic and social policy planning’ through ‘employment rights, responsibilities and workplace policy.’⁷⁸

During the peak years of immigration before and after EU Enlargement in 2004, there was little or no political debate on either cultural integration or on the role of social policy in furthering integration. Policy development gathered pace in 2007 with the establishment of a

75 Ibid, 6.

76 Office for Social Inclusion (2005) *National Action Plan Against Poverty and Social Exclusion: Implementation and Update Report*, Dublin: Stationary Office, 4.

77 Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (2005) *Planning for Diversity: The national Action Plan Against Racism 2005–2008*, Dublin: Stationary Office, 31.

78 *Planning for Diversity*, 31.

cabinet post with responsibility for integration. The first comprehensive report on integration policy was published the following year. *Migration Nation: Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management* sets out the following “key principles” which were claimed to inform Irish State policy on integration:

- A partnership approach between the Government and nongovernmental organisations, as well as civil society bodies to deepen and enhance the opportunities for integration
- A strong link between integration policy and wider state social inclusion measures, strategies and initiatives
- A clear public policy focus that avoids the creation of parallel societies, communities and urban ghettos, i.e. a mainstream approach to service delivery to migrants
- A commitment to effective local delivery mechanisms that align services to migrants with those for indigenous communities⁷⁹

Overall the principles could be seen to endorse integration-as-social inclusion. But none of the related key actions set out in *Migration Nation* did so. These emphasised immigration controls ‘to facilitate access to Ireland for skilled migrants with a contribution to make’, ‘citizenship and long-term residency to be contingent on proficiency of skills in the spoken language of the country and enhanced anti-discriminatory measures. *Migration Nation* stated that “Integration policy will be a two-way street involving rights and duties for those migrants who reside, work and in particular those who aspire to be Irish citizens.”⁸⁰ All of these were very much in keeping with the harmonisation identified by Joppke and the thrust of the CBPs.

79 *Migration Nation*, 9.

80 *Migration Nation*, 9–10.

A number of measures identified in *Migration Nation* fell to the wayside by the end of 2008. These included funding for migrants in schools (undermining linguistic integration goals) and plans for a Commission on Integration. The stated reason was the need to make cuts in public expenditure in response to the global financial crisis. But state-funded bodies with anti-discriminatory remits were subjected to hugely disproportionate cuts or were shut down altogether.⁸¹ The Combat Poverty Agency, which had long driven the development of social inclusion policy in Ireland, was abolished.⁸² Arguably, Irish governance had purged its advocates of integration-as-social inclusion. Significantly *Migration Nation* (unlike the earlier *Integration: A Two Way Process*) did not cite or paraphrase social inclusion documents. It made no specific commitments to integration-as-social inclusion.

Developmental Modernity and Cultural Convergence

Migration Nation engaged directly with the question of institutional harmonisation and social convergence. It argued from a nation-state perspective that there would be limits to the former; only so much could be drawn on from the experiences of other countries:

In applying such international models, the most important consideration to be taken into account is that integration takes place in the very specific context of individual cultures and traditions, legal systems, immigration histories, administration practices, religious profiles and shared value-systems.

81 Particularly the Equality Authority which was stripped of more than half its funding (several times the level of cuts required of other public bodies).

82 Bodies shut down included Know Racism and the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (responsible for anti-racism policy) and the Combat Poverty Agency which since the 1970s played a key role in the development of social inclusion policy. Its functions were transferred to the civil service The Office for Social Inclusion.

This is not to say that lessons cannot be learnt but such lessons must be strictly filtered to allow for such differences.⁸³

Irish distinctiveness is most evident in the education system. Constitutional religious subsidiarity has effectively resulted in a multicultural school system that allows state-funded schools with a Muslim ethos to exist alongside Catholic and Protestant schools.⁸⁴ *Migration Nation* noted that the ‘issue of Muslim radicalisation’ did not have the same profile as elsewhere.⁸⁵ *Migration Nation* emphasised the ‘soft’ but ‘binding’ harmonising role of the EU:

The point has already been made that globalisation, among other international phenomena, binds us together with other States and standardises experiences generated by the movement of people. As an EU Member State, this binding is a powerful determinant of integration issues and the role of the EU is particularly relevant. In general, the EU, in understanding the contextual nature of integration, has to date adopted a relatively soft approach to the co-ordination of international policy and concentrates on the articulation and development of best practices as opposed to harmonisation. Thus, EU leadership initiatives focus on the exchange of information and principles of integration common to Member States.⁸⁶

In keeping with the CBPs, *Migration Nation* de-emphasised national identity politics. However, its very title implied a cultural fo-

83 *Migration Nation*, 29.

84 On issues such as wearing the Hijab and dress code for girls the general trend has been towards flexibility. Groups such as the Joint Management Body for Secondary Schools and the management association of Catholic secondary schools advise schools not to make an issue of school uniform rules where these conflict with a child’s religion. Flynn K. (2006) ‘Understanding Islam in Ireland’, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol. 17, no. 2, 223–238 (231).

85 *Migration Nation*, 33.

86 *Migration Nation*, 29.

cus of integration. It specified two historical reference points. The first claimed that Ireland's history of Diaspora implied an intrinsic solidarity towards immigrants. The Minister of Integration's foreword evoked memories of past Irish emigration ('a sense of failure evoked by our own inability to provide for our own people and the courage it took to start a new life far from home'), and claimed a role for the Diaspora in formulating Irish identity ('In purely historical terms it is not an exaggeration to state that the Irish identity is as much a product of those who left our shores as those who stayed at home'). A degree of intrinsic solidarity with migrants was claimed ('This Ministerial Statement of policy is predicated on the idea that Ireland has a unique moral, intellectual and practical capability to adapt to the experiences of inward migration')⁸⁷.

The symbolic inclusion of Irish emigrants within the Irish nation is relatively recent.⁸⁸ Sentimental rhetoric belied several generations of post-Famine exclusionary pressures that, as deeply internalised within families and communities, ruthlessly consigned those without prospects to emigration or lesser status.⁸⁹ Ireland's response to its Diaspora was one of considerable ambivalence. An ongoing sense of Malthusian fatalism depicted emigration as a manifestation of overpopulation, whereby any increase in population was not to be condoned because it would mean a decline in living standards for the rest.⁹⁰ Through the 1998 Good Friday Agreement the Irish abroad became officially recognised by the Irish state as part of the Irish nation. The return

87 Migration Nation, 7.

88 Notably by President Mary Robinson in her inaugural speech in 1990.

89 Crotty R. (1986) *Ireland in Crisis: A Study in Capitalist Colonial Underdevelopment*, Dingle: Brandon, 70.

90 Lee, J.J. (1989) *Ireland: Politics and Society, 1912–1985*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 647.

of emigrants was promoted by the State during the late 1990s boom. Irishness was now portrayed as 'a global family, linked by blood and ancestry'.⁹¹ The Jobs Ireland campaign set up by the State encouraged co-ethnics abroad to 'think with their blood' in fulfilling their patriotic duty to return. However, invitations to this family reunion were selective; the focus was on attracting the skilled Irish abroad.⁹² *Migration Nation* offered a similar conditional welcome to immigrants.

The most prominent advocate of ethnic nepotism in the Irish case has been David McWilliams, an influential economist and journalist. In a 2007 bestseller book (and accompanying television series) McWilliams argued that large-scale immigration was accepted because economic growth ensured that there were no distributional conflicts between natives and newcomers.⁹³ He posited (and advocated) an emerging politicisation of immigration as one between nativists (whom he termed Hibernians) and cosmopolitans.⁹⁴ McWilliams advocated a selective cosmopolitanism meshed with an essentialist conception of Irishness, closer to fringe nationalist groups than any of the mainstream political parties. He proposed a 'New Hibernia' nation-building project modelled to some extent on Zionism and Jewish history. This would privilege the co-ethnics of the Diaspora whilst rejecting other migrants.⁹⁵ He advocated pulling out of the EU because

91 See Ni Laoire, C. (2008) 'Complicating host-newcomer dualisms: Irish return migrants as home-comers or newcomers? Translocations: Migration and Social Change, Vol 4. No. 1, 35–50 (39).

92 Howard and Hayward, Cherry-picking the Diaspora, 57–8.

93 McWilliams, D. (2007) *The Generation Game*, Dublin: Gill and McMillan, 60.

94 The term Hibernians 'refers to those Irish people who regard themselves as Irish first, expressed by the Catholic religion, Irish culture, history and language.' McWilliams, David (2005) *The Pope's Children*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 216.

95 McWilliams, *Generation Game*, 243.

of treaty requirements to accept EU migrants.⁹⁶ It is noteworthy that anti-immigration did not feature in any of the no campaigns prior to the 2007 Referendum that rejected the Treaty of Nice and that the fundamentalist anti-immigration ethnic nepotism McWilliams advocated found no support in the political mainstream. This indifference suggests the limits of ethnic nepotism theory in the Irish case. Large-scale immigration was justified by 'a national interest discourse' after the numbers of available co-ethnic migrants went into decline.⁹⁷ This 'national interest' was distinct from ethnic interest as defined by Salter and McWilliams insofar some co-ethnics were less desired than some migrants. Arguably, McWilliams's ideas met with indifference because these were deliberately framed as a recovery of a kind essentialist nationalism that had long been displaced from the Irish rules of belonging.

The second historical contingency emphasised in *Migration Nation* was the emergence of developmental nation-building (aka developmentalism) which won out over an earlier 'Irish Ireland' cultural phase. The preoccupations of the latter were the cultural reproduction of the Irish language and of Catholicism (Hibernicism as described by McWilliams).⁹⁸ From the 1950s a new developmental nation-building de-emphasised the cultural reproduction of Irish national identity in favour of economic growth, social liberalism and the individualisation of Irish life. The origins of a developmental nation-building project

96 McWilliams' conception of Hibernicism resembles that of *The Hibernian* a xenophobic fringe nationalist periodical that presents immigration as a threat to the survival of the Irish nation. See 'Save our National Birthright', *The Hibernian*, July 2006 www.hibernianmedia.com.

97 Boucher, G. (2007) 'Ireland's Lack of a Coherent Integration Policy' *Translocations: Migration and social change*, Vol. 3, No. 1 www.translocations.ie.

98 O Tuathaigh, G (1991) 'The Irish-Ireland Idea: Rationale and Relevance' in (ed.) Longley E *Culture in Ireland: Division or Diversity*, Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies.

trace back to the publication of the influential *Economic Development* in 1957. Under Sean Lemass, and influenced heavily by the 1965 OECD/Irish government report *Investment in Education*, developmental social reproduction goals came to the fore.⁹⁹ *Investment in Education* amounted to a paradigm shift, whereby a combined mercantile and human capital paradigm broke with an earlier dominant theocentric one. Developmental secular liberalism clashed with Catholic conservatism as well as the primacy of cultural liberalism. Within education policy, religious expertise, epitomised by Papal Encyclicals and Episcopal pronouncements, was displaced from the 1960s onwards by the World Bank, OECD and EU reports and policies.¹⁰⁰ Human capital itself became understood as a key requirement for economic growth.

Developmental modernity (precipitated by the expansion of education and urbanisation) was accompanied by ontological shifts in rules of belonging (social liberalism, secularism and individualism). In the standard Celtic Tiger era accounts, exemplified by Tom Garvin's *Preventing the Future: Why was Ireland so poor for so long?*, developmentalists had triumphed over a history of economic failure, emigration and cultural stagnation.¹⁰¹ Or as earlier depicted by Joseph Lee, developmental liberalism was a visceral psychological and emotional response to post-colonial underdevelopment¹⁰² Developmentalism de-traditionalised Irishness but it did not de-ethnicise it.¹⁰³ The state continued to constitutionally reflect the Catholic culture of the dominant

99 Government of Ireland (1965) *Investment in Education*, Stationary Office/OECD.

100 O'Sullivan, D (2005) *Cultural Politics and Irish Education since the 1950's: Policies, paradigms and power*, Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 105–115.

101 Garvin, T. (2004) *Preventing the Future: Why was Ireland So Poor for So Long?*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 170–198.

102 Lee, Ireland: Culture and society, 647.

103 Frost, C. (2006) 'Is Post-nationalism or Liberal-culturalism behind the transformation of Irish Nationalism?', *Irish Political Studies*, 21, 3, 277–295 (280–81).

ethnic group. At the same time it defined the national interest in primarily economic terms as the pursuit of growth. Insofar as optimum economic development was in the national interest, so too was large-scale immigration. As justified in *Migration Nation*:

The important point for all Irish citizens to understand is that immigration is happening in Ireland because of enormous recent societal and economic improvement, beginning in the 1990s, but is built on an opening to the world created by the late Sean Lemass as Taoiseach in the 1960s.¹⁰⁴

Irish modernity had arguably become a generic one where the rules of belonging had become de-traditionalised, human capital-centred, determined by educational attainments and by the labour market. In 2005 the National Economic and Social Council (NESC) influentially proposed the extension of developmentalism to all aspects of social policy.¹⁰⁵ *The Developmental Welfare State* (DWS) echoed the notions of reflexive modernity and of an individualised risk society developed by Giddens and Beck. In policy terms the parallels here were with the Third Way reconfiguration of social policy proposed by Giddens in the United Kingdom. As applied by Beck to the British case it identified an institutionalised individualism in opposition to neo-liberal market individualism. Beck argued that most rights and entitlements associated with the British welfare state were designed for individuals engaged in paid-employment: 'In many cases they presuppose employment. Employment in turn implied education and both of these presuppose mobility. By all these requirements people are invited to constitute themselves as individuals: to plan, understand, design themselves as

104 *Migration Nation*, 8.

105 The National Economic and Social Council is the policy arm of social partnership.

individuals.¹⁰⁶ According to Giddens's *The Third Way*, the developmental role of the state was to support individual reflexivity in managing risks and hazards across the human lifecycle.¹⁰⁷

As outlined in *DWS*: 'A fundamental standpoint from which to judge the adequacy and effectiveness of overall social protection is to access the risks and hazards which the individual person in Irish society faces and the supports available to them at different stages of the lifecycle'¹⁰⁸ *DWS* exemplified an ontological modernisation of belonging that had come to discount low-skilled Irish citizens lacking in flexibility and reflexivity. It emphasised that these would have to compete with immigrants in possession of both.¹⁰⁹ Whilst some migrants are exempted from social inclusion partly because of ethnic nepotism, some citizens experience a delimited ethnic altruism. Arguably, many of those most likely to experience developmental liberalism as ethnocentric are residual citizen groups. In particular, the Travelling community dislocated from rural society from the 1960s experienced increasing ontological social distance from the sedentary population, ongoing increases in political hostility over time and exclusion from anti-discriminatory norms.¹¹⁰ Arguably their experience as a population out of sync with reflexive modernity more closely resembles that of Dutch Muslims than the predominantly well educated and employed Irish Muslim population, which has not been the focus

106 Beck, U. (20 March 1998) 'The cosmopolitan manifesto', *New Statesman*.

107 Giddens, A. *The Third Way*, 99–118.

108 National Economic and Social Council (2005) *The Developmental Welfare State*, Dublin: Stationary Office, xxiv.

109 *Ibid.*, 57.

110 Bhreatnach, A. (2007) *Becoming Conspicuous: Irish Travellers, Society and the State 1922–70*, Dublin: University College Dublin.

of state-sanctioned ethnocentrism.¹¹¹ But from an ethnocentric liberal perspective, this observation can be seen to vindicate CDP and Irish policy preferences for immigrants capable of self-integration.

Conclusion

Arguably, what is being harmonised through the EU is no single integration paradigm, but a number of social, institutional and political ones. From a convergence perspective, harmonisation of integration exemplifies a new chapter in the parallel modernisation of belonging within Member States. The harmonisation of integration has emerged in a context of multiculturalism written largely where the politics of incommensurability – the Europe of continual wars and, in Ireland, sectarian conflict predicated on the religious and political divisions of the Reformation – has been tamed but by no means eliminated. In this context Member States extend cosmopolitan reciprocal welfare altruism towards one another and welfare ethnic nepotism towards outsiders. As presented in the *Common Basic Principles*, harmonisation preserves the linguistic claims to incommensurable national identities characteristic of essentialist nationalism. Ireland is something of an exception here insofar as the nationalist Gaelic revival was only a partial success. English flourished after independence for utilitarian reasons, a harbinger of the developmental nation-building project that began to displace cultural nationalism from the Irish rules of belonging from

111 In socio-economic and educational terms the extreme marginalisation of Irish Travellers resembles that of Dutch Muslims. Hayes, M. (2006) *Irish Travellers: Representations and Realities*, Dublin: Liffey Press; Spiecker S. and Steutel J. (2001) 'Multiculturalism, pillarization and liberal civic education in the Netherlands', *International Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 293–304 (296–7).

the mid-twentieth century. EU integration norms posit a 'generic' modernisation of belonging. Insofar as the Irish case validates Joppke's harmonisation thesis, it does so because of an underlying cultural convergence characterised in the Irish case as developmental modernity.

Irish integration policy debates have come to be defined by a national interest developmental liberalism open to mass immigration with minimal commitment to integration. Whilst Irish social policy is considerably influenced by EU social inclusion debates, Irish ambivalence to integration-as-social inclusion exemplifies the civic integration harmonisation, with its accompanying welfare stratifications identified by Joppke. As put by Boucher, Irish integration policy ultimately defines the national interest in neo-liberal terms and privatises responsibility for integration to individual migrants.¹¹² While Joppke is dismissive of the 'rhetoric' of social inclusion, integration-as-social inclusion is posited here as the functionally viable alternative to neo-liberal civic integration. It is viable insofar as it is predicted upon transferable commonsense understandings of and institutionalised knowledge about the dangers of social exclusion to social cohesion. The EU has successfully promoted welfare reciprocities between Member States. It overruled Irish legislation introduced in 2004 to curtail the welfare entitlements of migrants from Member States. But the political problems of extending welfare solidarities beyond citizens of Member States and co-ethnics tend to be de-emphasised in what is described here as apolitical integration, and in EU documents as soft harmonisation. Yet, the EU policy game of repetitively commending social inclusion norms to Member States can be seen as a cosmopolitan challenge

112 Boucher, Ireland's Lack of a Coherent Integration Policy, 6.

to welfare ethnic nepotism. In the Irish case an embryonic and very much beleaguered integration-as-social model has a national interest case to make against integration defined in neo-liberal terms. In this context integration-as-social inclusion offers a case for solidarity between migrants and citizens of the nation-state that may only be politically realised partially and retrospectively.

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