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## **Immigration, Solidarity and Citizenship**

Andersen, Jørgen Goul

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# **Immigration, Solidarity and Citizenship**

Jørgen Goul Andersen

Centre for Comparative Welfare Studies, CCWS

Department of Economics, Politics and Public Administration

Aalborg University

[www.ccws.dk](http://www.ccws.dk)

Overheads. See also 2004/2005 Paper on homepage

## **1. Culture hypothesis:**

- Cultural homogeneity = precondition of welfare solidarity

## **2. Institutional hypothesis:**

- Institutions matter
- Temporal order matters
  - may be difficult to build a welfare state
  - far less difficult to maintain a welfare state
- Welfare state may even mobilize solidarity
- Type of welfare state matters
  - residual welfare state targeted to the poor = vulnerable
  - institutional welfare state covering social risks and providing services for the entire population = much less vulnerable

Taylor-Gooby: No direct causal link between ethnic/racial diversity and social spending.

Politics is the intervening (mediating) variable

(and Politics is crystallized as welfare institutions)

## Denmark as test case - Why?

- (easy data access...)
  - can be legitimized as a “worst case”:
  - Unsuccessful labour market integration
  - Political mobilisation of anti-immigration sentiments
  - Attitudes to immigration at least as important for political identities and party choice as economic left-right position (2001 and 2005)
- If solidarity deteriorates anywhere, it should deteriorate in Denmark

## Worst case:

### Electoral support for the Progress Party and the Danish People's Party, 1973-2005.

#### Percentages.

	"tax protest party"						"anti-immigration party"						
	1973	1975	1977	1979	1981	1984	1987	1988	1990	1994	1998	2001	2005
Danish People's Party											7.4	12.0	13.3
Progress Party	15.9	13.6	14.6	11.0	8.9	3.6	4.8	9.0	6.4	6.4	2.4	0.6	-
New right, total	15.9	13.6	14.6	11.0	8.9	3.6	4.8	9.0	6.4	6.4	9.8	12.6	13.3

Source: Statistics Denmark, *Statistical Yearbook*, various issues.

*Percentages mentioning immigration among most important problems.*

1971-1984 (election surveys)	0
Feb.1986	4
Sep.1986	26
Aug.1987	11
Sep.1987 (election)	8
May 1988 (election)	3
May 1989	4
June 1989	5
Dec 1990 (election)	7
Oct. 1994 (election)	17
March 1998 (election)	35
Feb.2000 ('mid-term survey')	38
Feb.2001	32
Nov. 2001 (pre-election survey)	44
Nov.2001 (election)	51
Nov. 2003 ('mid-term survey')	21
Jan. 2005 (pre-election survey)	24

Question: Now I would like to ask which problems you think are the most important that the politicians should handle? (slightly different wording in 1986-88)

Sources: Tøgeby (1997:67), Tonsgaard (1989), Election surveys, and surveys conducted by Goul Andersen in cooperation with Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen. Election surveys refer to the month of the election even though many of the interviews were recorded 1-3 months later.

## Does multiculturalism lead to erosion of solidarity?

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### overview of plausible arguments:

- Culture argument: Multiculturalism negative impact on solidarity
- Culture/institutions argument:  
Differences in work ethics - undermine system with weak economic incentives?
- Rational self interest argument: Competition over jobs?
- Rational self interest argument: Competition over welfare?
- Demobilisation argument: Indirect effect via demobilisation of labour movement and mobilisation of anti-immigration parties?  
("collateral damage")

## Welfare State Attitudes, 1994-2005. Percentages and PDI's (percentage difference indexes) in favour of the welfare state.

		Agree mostly with A	Agree mostly with B	Indif- ferent/ Don't know	Total	PDI (in favour of welfare state)	
A: Social reforms have gone too far	1994	28	63	9	100	35	
	1998	30	63	7	100	33	
	2000	25	69	6	100	44	
	B: Social reforms maintained	2001	34	58	8	100	24
		2005	20	74	7	100	54
A: Prefer tax relief B: Prefer improved welfare services	1994	47	44	9	100	-3	
	1998	41	54	5	100	13	
	2000	40	55	5	100	15	
	2001	45	51	4	100	6	
	2003	34	61	5	100	27	
	2005	35	61	4	100	26	

\*) Wordings:

1. "First a question about government spending on social programs.

A says: 'Social reforms have gone too far. More than now, people should manage without social security and contributions from society'

B says: 'The social reforms that have been carried through in this country, should be maintained at least at the present level'.

- Do you agree mostly with A or with B?"

2. "If it becomes possible in the long run to lower taxation, what would you prefer. ...

A: Tax relief or B: Improved public services?"

Source: 1994, 1998, 2001: Election surveys (N=2000); 2000: Welfare survey (N=1235); 2003: Mid-term survey; 2005: Pre-election survey (N=560). The 2003 and 2005 surveys were conducted by the author in cooperation with Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen and AC Nielsen AIM A/S.



**Attitudes towards welfare spending, 1979-2005. Percentages and Balance of opinion (percentage points).**

	2005: The state spends			balance of opinion: spends too little minus too much					
	too little	appropriate	too much	1990	1994	1998	2001	2003	2005
Health care	68	30	2	61	73	77	67	49	66
Old age pension	38	60	2	57	51	42	46	38	36
Education	61	38	1	45	42	39	46	46	60
Unempl.benefits (level)	17	74	9	2	0	-7	-1	.	8
Soc assistance (level)	18	66	16	-11	-11	-19	-13	.	2
Aid to developing countries	25	54	21	-26	-35	-40	-32	-12	4
Immigrants/refugees	20	49	31	-30	-35	-41	-33	-13	-11

Wording: “Now, I’ll ask about your view on public expenditures for various purposes. I should like to know whether you think, government spends 1) too much, 2) appropriate, or 3) too little money on these tasks.”

Source: Election surveys (1985-2005); 2003: Mid-term survey, conducted in cooperation with *Mandag Morgen*

- No decline in support for Social Assistance, even though immigrants constitute a rapidly increasing proportion.
- Decline in support for Public Pensions, even though these are received almost exclusively by Danes.
- Policy-dependent attitudes to spending for immigrants

**Attitudes towards the scope of government, 2000. Percentages and average index values on a scale 1-4.**

To what extent should it be the responsibility of government to ...	Definitely	Probably	Probably not	Definitely not	DK	Index 2000 (1-4)
Provide health care for the sick	83	14	2	1	0	1.19
Provide a decent standard of living for the old	71	26	3	0	0	1.33
Provide child care for everybody who need it	53	35	8	4	0	1.62
Provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed	33	48	16	2	1	1.88
Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it	39	45	12	3	1	1.78
Integrate immigrants	38	40	13	7	2	1.90
Provide good leisure facilities for children and young people	32	46	18	3	1	1.93
Provide leave arrangements for families with small children	30	46	15	8	1	2.00
Provide leisure facilities for pensioners	28	46	19	6	1	2.03
Provide a job for everyone who wants one	19	44	25	10	2	2.26
Reduce income differences between the rich and the poor	19	27	27	25	2	2.60
Welfare Values Survey (2000) (ISSP format); Nationwide representative survey. N=1235.						

**Association between considering immigration a salient problem and attitudes to immigration, 1998-2005. Percentages.**

Year	immigrati on salient problem	“Immigration constitutes a serious threat to our national character”			Balance of opinion: Disagree minus agree
		Agree	don’t know	Disagree	
1998	yes	53	14	33	-20
	no	34	15	51	17
	effect				37
2001	yes	46	13	41	-5
	no	34	18	48	14
	effect				19
2003	yes	37	11	52	15
	no	45	3	52	7
	effect				8
2005	yes	42	4	54	12
	no	40	9	51	11
	effect				-1

Source: 1998-2001. Election survey. 2003: Mid-term survey. 2005: Pre-election survey

**Silent revolution: Mobilization of support for immigrants**

(2005 Post-Election survey: In-between 2001 and 2003)

Implication of culture hypothesis:

Most generous welfare states should be most reluctant to grant equal rights to immigrants,

or requirements about cultural conformity should be higher:

The more people pay, the more they should expect recipients to be like themselves.

**Attitudes towards equal treatment and assimilation requirements. 2002.**

	Should immigrants be treated equally 1= fully agree 5=fully disagree	better for a country if almost everyone share customs & traditions 1= fully disagree 5=fully agree	Important (0-10) that immigrants are committed to way of life in society
Sweden	1.97	2.07	7.77
Norway	2.10	2.21	6.64
Denmark	2.14	2.17	6.84
Finland	2.18	2.41	8.16
Average Scandinavia	2.10	2.22	7.35
Netherlands	2.01	2.13	7.88
Germany	2.57	2.11	7.86
UK	2.44	2.15	7.37
Italy	2.22	2.38	7.25
all countries	2.36	2.39	7.54

Source: European Social Survey (2002)

### **Alternative Hypothesis:**

**Does difference in work ethic undermine welfare arrangements with weak incentives to work ?**

Very little evidence. Small N.

### **Work orientations, by mother tongue.**

	Danish or language spoken in EU	Others (N=62)
Want a job	81 %	85 %
Looked actively for a job	71 %	73 %
Willing to move for a job	25 %	37 %
Willing to job in another industry	20 %	36 %

Source: Marginalisation survey 1999 (Goul Andersen et al, 2003: 204).

## Alternative Hypothesis: The costs of immigration

- Competition over jobs?

Competition on the labour market / competition over welfare. Average values on scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).

	average wages brought down by immigrants	immigration harm econ. prospects of the poor	unemployed immigrants should be sent home
Sweden	3.41	3.25	3.69
Norway	3.56	3.11	3.03
Denmark	3.47	3.15	3.43
Finland	2.93	2.69	3.03
Average Scandinavia	3.34	3.05	3.29
Netherlands	3.36	2.96	2.87
Germany	2.95	2.60	2.72
UK	2.93	2.70	2.64
Italy	3.08	2.92	2.61
mean all countries	2.94	2.68	2.82

Source: European Social Survey (ESS), 2002.

## Competition over welfare?

- until 2005 election no indications whatsoever
- In 2005 overrepresentation of Danish People's Party among disability pensioners (som 25 per cent) and unemployed (> 15 per cent)

Apart from over-representation of disability pensioners: social profile equivalent to Social Democrats, reflecting educational composition.

But general concern among the Danish people about costs of immigration

## **Alternative hypothesis:**

**Erosion of welfare due to**

**Demobilisation of the labour movement**

**Proportion voting socialist and on parties to the right, by occupation.**

**Denmark 1966-2001. <sup>1)</sup>Percentages.**

	Socialist parties			Liberals, Conservatives, New Right	
	1966	1990	2001	1966	2001
Manual workers	81	71	42	14	52
White collars	42	48	39	42	49
Self-employed	14	13	11	73	83
All voters	50	50	38	40	53

Source: Election Surveys. N > 10000 in 1966, > 3000 in 1990, > 4000 in 2001.

Similar figures in 2005



**Attitudes to welfare, equality and immigration, 1979/1990 - 2001.**

**Balances of opinion: Left attitude minus right attitude. Percentage points.**

	Maintain social reforms at least as now			Increase economic equality			Immigration a threat		
	1979	1994	2001	1979	1994	2001	1990	1994	2001
manual workers	35	53	34	42	28	27	-21	-17	-16
white collar	33	44	25	17	4	0	23	29	34
difference	1	11	9	25	24	27	44	46	50

Source: Election surveys (N about 2000).

- No changes in opinion structure
- But changes in saliency

**Proportion of workers among the supporters of various party groups.**

**Deviations from sample means. Percentage points.**

	1966	1973	1979	1987	1988	1990	1994	1998	2001
				7	8			8	
Progress Party/DPP		-4	+2	+4	+14	+15	+16	+13	+21
Other bourg. part.	-26	-15	-17	-12	-15	-16	-11	-10	-8
Social demcr. part.	+27	+26	+15	+19	+16	+16	+13	+9	+8
Left Wing	+26	+17	+3	+2	+4	+1	-3	-3	-9
Normal	40	37	36	32	36	31	34	38	35

Source: Bjørklund & Andersen (2002). Election surveys, Danish Election Programme. Except for 1979 (N about 2000), 1988 and 1990 (N >3000), N is >4000).

Note. Entries are deviations between the proportion of manual workers among the supporters of various party groups and in the entire sample ("normal").

## **Postindustrial marginalisation?**

### **What characterizes the voters of Danish People's Party?**

- Negative attitudes to immigrants
- Authoritarian values in general
- Low social trust
- Low educational levels
  
- Less inclined to see globalisation as advantage

### **BUT NOT**

- Negative economic experience
- Economic insecurity in the future
- Low overall life satisfaction
- Or any other sign of marginalisation
- Negative attitudes to welfare  
(centrist or even left of centre)

Same for people with negative attitudes to immigrants

Not marginalisation but low education (in particular high school  
“gymnasium”)

## Logic of Party Competition

New stable conflict structure in Denmark:

(1) Value Conflict: Libertarian left vs. Authoritarian right

(2) Distributional Conflict: Traditional Left-Right

Party strategies: change policy positions on welfare

Deliberately exploited by Danish People's Party

- AND by the governing Liberal Party

to compete for working class voters alienated by Soc.Dem.'s stand on immigration

Liberal Party turned rightwards on the Libertarian-Authoritarian dimension. Closer to Danish People's Party

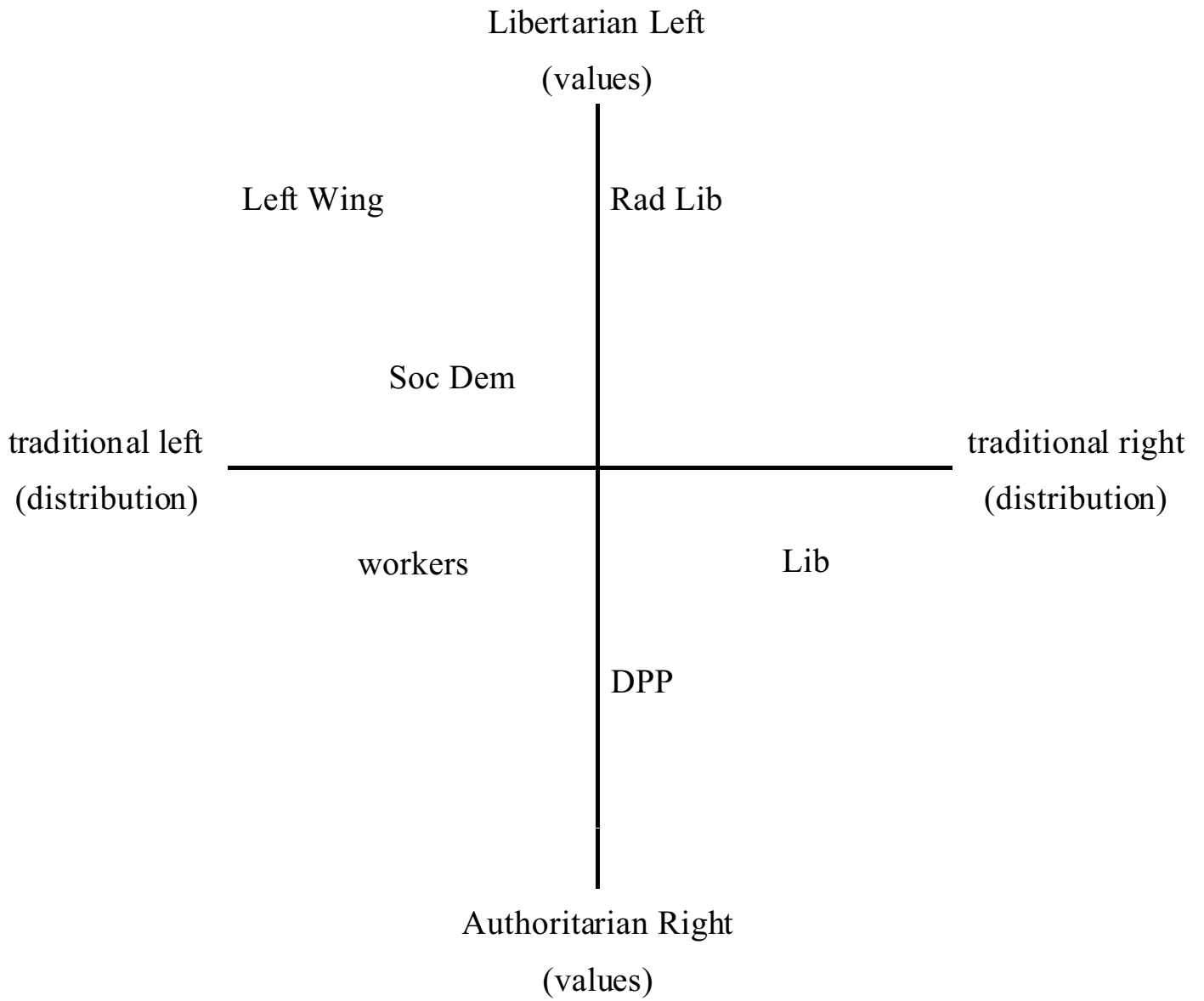
But there was a price to be paid:

- Liberal Party turned significantly to the left on welfare

- Danish People's Party image as "true" Social Democrats, protecting old-age pensioners, disability pensioners etc.

→ Little collateral damage on welfare

## The New political conflict structure



**Attitudes to welfare expenditures in Denmark 2005, by party choice.**  
**Percentage Difference Index: Proportions wanting to spend more**  
**minus proportions wanting to spend less. Percentage Points.**

party	old- age pen- sions	health care	home help	early retire ment allowa nce	index (avera ge)	immi- grants and refuge es	(N)
Left wing	36	64	60	0	40	63	37
Social Dem.	52	56	79	18	51	10	117
Centre Parties	19	46	55	-34	22	37	51
Lib. + Cons.	38	46	71	-12	36	-13	193
Danish People's Party	67	66	79	36	62	-58	47

Source: Pre-election survey conducted by the author in cooperation with Ugebrevet Mandag Morgen, jan.2005

(this extreme picture emerges when we focus on “classical” welfare issues)

**Alternative to erosion of welfare for all:  
Change in Social Citizenship for foreigners  
de facto - or de jure**

**2002: “Immigration Package “**

- married partners allowed to be reunited only if both are more than 24 years**
- and if they jointly have stronger affiliation with Denmark than with another country**
- Social assistance replaced by much lower “start help” for the first 7 years**  
reduction by 15-60 per cent, depending on family type  
from 7919DKK → 5103 for single person  
from 11400 DKK → 8200 for family with two children
- incentive to seek a job**
- incentive to stay away!!**

## Effect on population prognosis

year (prognosis)	whole population	0-19 y	20-64 y	65 y +	old age dep.ratio 65y + as % of 20-64 y	total dep.ratio 0-19 y and 65y+ as % of 20-64 y
2003 actual figure	5.383.507	1.299.812	3.285.344	798.351	24.3	63.9
2040 (2001 prognosis)	6.213.033	1.536.012	3.317.950	1.359.071	41.0	87.3
2050 (2003 prognosis)	5.261.187	1.163.485	2.838.407	1.259.295	44.4	85.4

(change in net immigration; no change in fertility or mortality assumptions)



## Changes in labour market policy de facto affecting immigrants

Unemployment Policy	Immigration/integration Policy
<p><b>2002: “More People to Work”</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lower social assistance after 6 months for families where both spouses receive Social Assistance</li> <li>- lower ceiling to social assistance for families with high expenses</li> <li>- social assistance replaced by spouse supplement if spouse is not considered available for the labour market</li> </ul>	<p><b>2002: Immigration package</b></p>
	<p><b>2005 “A new chance for all” - integration agreement</b>  <small>(formally applies to both Danes and foreigners!)</small></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- minimum requirement of 300 hours of work in two years (2006-07: 150 hours in one year) for a family where both spouses receive SA. Otherwise regarded as a homemaker not eligible for SA.</li> </ul> <p>5 matching groups; full requirements for matching group 1-4</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>gr. 1: good match</li> <li>gr. 3: partial match: some relevant qualifications</li> <li>gr. 4: low match: only very limited job functions possible</li> <li>gr. 5: no match: no job functions possible (no requirements of job)</li> </ul>

**Other policy changes:**

**e.g. Liberal Party's idea of "letting the money follow the child"**

**De facto dropped:**

→ → **Would be exploited mainly by immigrants**

## **Differentiation of social rights = project of policy makers**

- **Strong popular pressure for limiting the number of immigrants**
- **Other attitudes relatively tolerant (by comparative standards)**
- **Some legitimacy for differentiation of social rights, but no pressure for this**