

Solidarity Beyond the Nation State

Diversity, Solidarity and Redistribution

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My agenda

- Two underlying questions
 - Is there a tension between diversity and social solidarity?
 - Do the policies deployed by the state matter?
- Conclusions
 - In search of broader frameworks

PART ONE

Migration, Ethnic Diversity and Redistribution

The arguments and the evidence

- The basic arguments
 - Crowding out / corroding / collateral damage
- US evidence
 - Politics of race: Quadagno; Gilens; Putnam; Alesina
 - US-Europe comparison: Freeman; Alesina and Glaesar
- Canadian evidence
 - Trust, neighbourhood, national identity: Soroka et al
- European evidence
 - Senik at al; Finseraas; van Oorshot
 - Scandinavia: Gerdes-Wadensjö; Brochmann; Koning

Emerging patterns?

- Evidence is mixed
- Impacts generally small?
- Context matters
- Rates of change and tipping points
- Cultural anxieties trump economic anxieties
- Europe vs US: adjusting as mature welfare states
- Retrenchment vs welfare chauvinism
- Politics of framing: elites/parties/media

Implications

- Implications for the study of the welfare state
 - Are the effects small? If so, what then?
 - Where does diversity sit in a list of the factors shaping the welfare state?
 - Why has diversity emerged so forcefully in last decade?
- Need to integrate ethnic diversity into broader frameworks?
 - See diversity as part of the larger combination of factors at work

Part Two

Role of state policies

Role of state policies

- Do state choices matter?
 - Does state's approach mitigate or worsen tensions
 - Tendency to analyze one policy at a time
- Welfare state regime
 - Debate over implications of welfare state regime
- Diversity policy
 - Debate over multiculturalism policies
- Need to analyze policy packages
 - Need for a more comprehensive framework

Welfare state regime

- Distinctive vulnerabilities?
 - Liberal welfare states
 - Selective programs more vulnerable to political backlash
 - Conservative welfare states
 - Interaction with insider-outsider divide
 - Social democratic welfare states
 - Interaction with regulation of low-wage sector

Diversity policy

- Critiques of multiculturalism policies
 - Academic critique: Barry, Goodhart
 - Political backlash: Merkel, Cameron
 - Multiculturalism → segregation and poor social outcomes
 - Sharp turn to civic integration
- Empirical findings
 - No evidence that MCPs weaken welfare state
 - Banting and Kymlicka 2006; Kesler and Bloemraad 2010; Wright and Bloemraad 2012; Hooghe, Reeskens and Stolle 2007.
 - No general retreat from MCPs: Banting- Kymlicka; Koopmans
 - Layering of civic integration over previous MCPs
 - Different combinations emerging in European countries

Toward a comprehensive view integration policy regimes

- Integration regimes
 - Freeman: complex, weakly coordinated
- Component systems
 - Migration policies (composition of migrant flow)
 - Integration policies (civic integration)
 - Diversity policies (multiculturalism policies)
 - Naturalization policies
 - Welfare state

Analyzing policy packages

- Diversity policies and welfare state regime
 - Koopmans: combines diversity policy and welfare state
 - Problem: nature of migration policies / migrant groups
- Research agenda
 - Implications of different packages for
 - socio-economic integration
 - public support for social programs
 - Different welfare state regimes

Part Three: Conclusions

- Conclusions
 - Major expansion of knowledge in this field
 - Migration, ethnic diversity and redistribution
 - Small effects?
 - Need to broaden the frame of reference?
 - Role of state policy approaches
 - Problem of studying separate policies in isolation
 - Need to analyze policy as well as discourse
 - Need for more comprehensive frameworks