

Pauli Kettunen, Sonya Michel and Klaus Petersen (eds): *Race, Ethnicity, and Welfare States: An American Dilemma?*

Cheltenham 2015: Edward Elgar Publishing, 288 pp.

The International Organization for Migration recently reported that over one million people migrated to Europe in the year 2015.¹ While last year was a record-breaking year for migration to Europe, due in large part to the ongoing war in Syria, Europe has increasingly become a migrant destination over the past several decades. Seventeen of the twenty-eight member states of the EU now have populations that are over ten percent foreign-born, and Norway, Switzerland, and Iceland, which are not EU member states, also have large foreign-born populations. Much of the migration is internal to Europe, thanks to its open border policy. However, a substantial proportion of the new migrants to Europe are from the global south and Middle East. Further, many of the most ethnically and culturally homogeneous states in Europe have the fastest growing migrant populations.

Part of what makes European countries attractive immigrant destinations is their generous social welfare policies. Thus, the time is ripe for scholarly examination of the impact of migration on domestic policymaking. Will Europe's commitment to redistribution be sustained in the face of rapid demographic change? *Race, Ethnicity, and Welfare States* is an extremely timely book with an exciting premise. It aims to revisit the classic work of sociology by Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944), in which the Swedish scholar argued that America's lack of commitment to a thick welfare state stemmed in part from its deep racial divides. This edited volume contains eleven substantive chapters by various experts from both sides of the Atlantic, exploring whether diversification is leading to the erosion of commitment to

generous social welfare policies in Europe, and if so, whether lessons from the American context can be applied to Europe.

The book is organised into four sections. In the first, there are two chapters about Myrdal and the development of his thesis in *An American Dilemma*. Maribel Morey provides a fascinating account of Myrdal and his wife's larger body of work studying social and income inequality in Sweden. Morey convincingly demonstrates that although the Carnegie Corporation had deliberately selected Myrdal to lead a study of American life because he was a foreign outsider from a country with little diversity, he was not a neutral choice to head the project. In fact, he arrived with a strong record of defending institutional and political explanations for poverty and marginalisation, as opposed to biological ones. Morey's chapter is a thought-provoking opening to the rest of the book, highlighting an interesting irony. One of the book's central aims is to turn Myrdal's theory around and apply it to Europe, but the original theory was generated largely out of Myrdal's work on Swedish wealth inequality.

In the next chapter, Alice O'Connor critiques Myrdal's 'assumption that the "problem" of race in the United States could be resolved through the combined forces of moral awakening and sound policymaking' (p. 39). O'Connor argues that because the African-American community still faces widespread economic marginalisation and racial oppression, Myrdal underestimated the American commitment to laissez-faire capitalism and mistrust of the state. While she does not make the point explicitly, O'Connor seems to be questioning Myrdal's core premise that racial diversity is the root of American resistance to redistributive policy. This question is central to the rest of the book, and remains a point of disagreement among the authors.

The second section of the book provides several accounts of the role race has

played in the development of welfare states. First, Desmond King provides a detailed and sobering account of the US federal government's role in perpetuating racial segregation over many decades. Through this discussion, King seems to be suggesting that America has failed to live up to the creed of equality that Myrdal observed was a powerful strain in American political life. Next is a very short chapter by Dorothy Roberts, arguing convincingly that welfare provision and child protection services in the US continue to be highly racialised and, therefore, punitive in their orientation. This section is rounded out by a chapter by Grete Brochmann comparing the development of welfare states across Scandinavia. While Brochmann does not engage in a comparison with the United States, the juxtaposition with the two previous chapters is striking. The Scandinavian model of welfare provision arose as a core feature of nation-building, focusing on the idea of the country as a family, and the goal of policy as communal well-being. As a result, social policy in the post-war period was extremely zealous and bureaucratic, in sharp contrast to the United States. She concludes by suggesting that consensus in Scandinavia about the basis of the welfare state is 'currently eroding' (p. 101), but her argument is mainly historical and developmental.

The third section, consisting of four chapters about Europe's current dilemma, struck this reader as the real meat of the book. These chapters are engaging with the core questions raised by the first two sections: whether European support for redistributive policies is in fact eroding, and if so, whether that erosion is racially motivated. First, Saara Pellander provides an analysis of parliamentary debates on immigration policy in Finland and finds a dominant discourse focused on the security threat from different cultures. Second, Romana Careja, Patrick Emmenegger, and Jon Kvist compare the UK's and Den-

mark's reactions to immigration. They find that in both countries public opinion shows lower levels of solidarity with immigrants than with other groups and a belief that immigrants take more from the welfare state than they put into it. They describe a wide range of ways in which these states have restricted access to social benefits for immigrants, starting by restricting admission to immigrants who might need welfare assistance. Taken together, these two chapters strongly suggest that immigration is a major challenge to continued European support for social welfare policy.

In contrast, the next chapter by Helena Blomberg-Kroll argues that, at least in the Nordic countries, increasing ethnic heterogeneity has not undermined support for the welfare state. She provides data from a large-scale European public opinion survey and concludes that there is no evidence for welfare chauvinism or a decline in welfare state support in the Nordic countries as immigration has increased. She suggests that perhaps support endures because strong welfare states were entrenched in these countries before the dawn of mass immigration. Section three concludes with a chapter by Abdulkarder H. Sinno, Eren Tatari, Scott Williamson, Anjete Schwennicke, and Hicham Bou Nasrif, based on a large-scale analysis of media discourse related to Muslim immigrants in the US, the UK, and Canada. These authors found that UK newspapers were six times as likely as papers in the US and Canada to use 'hostile frames' that focused on welfare abuse, whereas in North America, hostile frames equated Muslims with terrorists (p. 191). These authors conclude that while such discourses are most frequently found in the right-wing press and picked up by right-wing politicians, they have wide-ranging policy impacts.

The last section of the book is made up of two chapters purporting to provide a global perspective on the questions of the book. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas provides

a very interesting and theoretically rich discussion of the precarious status of migrant Filipina domestic workers in multiple national contexts, reminding us that even liberal welfare states often use migrant labour without providing them with access to the rights, benefits, and services we associate with those states. Thomas Faist reminds us that while there are increasingly transnational dimensions to the rights of migrants, most rights protection still occurs (or not) at the local and national levels.

Each individual chapter of *Race, Ethnicity, and Welfare States* is interesting and well argued. Taken together, they raise many fascinating and pressing questions. However, the book does not entirely succeed as an edited volume because the chapters do not speak to one another. There are many points of synergy that are left unexplored in each chapter, and some contradictory findings that go unaddressed. The introduction, which is co-authored by the editors, Pauli Kettunen, Sonya Michel, and Klaus Petersen, is only thirteen pages long, and while it sets the scene nicely and briefly previews each of the eleven chapters to come, it does not take up the common themes and questions of the book in a rigorous way. The book also has no conclusion, which would have provided another opportunity for synthesis and dialogue. Thus, my biggest frustration after reading this book is one of unrealised potential. With more active curating of the project by the editors, the chapters could have formed a really exciting conversation with one another. As it stands, the reader has to do much of this legwork independently.

The ultimate question left unanswered here is whether there is a link between ethnic heterogeneity and support for expansive redistributive policies. The book does not come to a clear assessment of this, Myrdal's main thesis. Some authors suggest that race has played a central role in limiting American social policy, others think that American fear of socialism and

government intervention is a more basic driver of reluctance. The suggestion made by Blomberg-Kroll that timing matters is an important one. If diversification happens after the nation-building project of welfare state development is entrenched, perhaps it has a different impact on politics than diversity at an earlier stage of state formation. Another unanswered question is whether there is a racialisation of welfare policies occurring in Europe. While I do not expect the chapter authors to necessarily come to the same conclusions, the book provides evidence that both supports and contradicts that thesis. Even within Scandinavia, there is conflicting evidence presented. One wonders, then, how to understand the continued support for social welfare policy in public opinion that Blomberg-Kroll reports, when it is coupled with the anti-immigrant discourse of media and policy-makers found by so many of the other authors. Is it simply that right-wing politicians have captured a disproportionate share of the discourse and are expressing sentiments not shared by the majority of the population?

If we measure erosion of support for redistributive policy not by public opinion but by concrete policy innovation that restricts immigrant access to rights and services, it seems undeniable that Europe's welfare states are under duress. For example, Denmark, Switzerland, Germany, and the Czech Republic are all currently debating, or have voted, laws that would seize the property of arriving migrants in order to pay for resettlement services.² As this uncharitable politics indicates, and as the Careja, Emmenegger, and Kvist, and the Parreñas chapters suggest, perhaps the new European model of welfare policy-making is to find increasingly creative ways to limit access to the full benefits of state membership to those who are racial outsiders. As King, O'Connor, and Roberts point out, the United States has a long tradition of that kind of politics. Future research could very

usefully explore the mechanisms driving that kind of a shift in Europe and more carefully parse out the precise ways in which welfare state retrenchment may be occurring. This book sets an excellent example illustrating why cross-national comparison is important, and future research could fruitfully continue this project with more explicit comparison of the US with various European states, and by bringing Canada and Australia into the comparative analysis of welfare states and immigration.

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Notes

¹ <https://www.iom.int/news/irregular-migrant-refugee-arrivals-europe-top-one-million-2015-iom>

² https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/01/25/the-ever-expanding-list-of-european-policies-that-target-refugees/?postshare=3901453811004735&tid=ss_fb

Max Haller and Anja Eder: *Ethnic Stratification and Economic Inequality around the World: The End of Exploitation and Exclusion?*

Abingdon 2016: Routledge, 418 pp.

This substantial book takes on an ambitious task. Haller argues that, although the topic is certainly not unstudied, existing literature has not fully theorised, nor rigorously empirically demonstrated, the connection between ethnic differentiation and economic inequality within nations around the world. The book contains two main parts. Part one lays out Haller's theory of ethnic stratification's contribution to economic inequality. It also contains a quantitative cross-national analysis testing of various hypotheses derived from the theory. The second part develops an exhaustive typology of socio-historical approaches for

dealing with ethnic heterogeneity. Haller further elaborates on the typology with an extensive series of country-specific case studies.

The first chapter evaluates existing literature in economics and sociology seeking to explain cross-national differences in within-nation poverty and inequality. Citing a diverse and extensive array of literature, Haller argues that there has been fairly little research that adequately explains the diversity of national patterns of inequality or poverty, despite notable exceptions. Haller further argues that the inability to fully address these patterns results from omission of differences in ethnic stratification between countries as an explanatory factor. Though the review is fairly thorough, one could extend the argument to how ethnic stratification may affect fundamental dynamics of capital accumulation, touching on research in economics, or of politics and power resources, touching on research in sociology and political science. The next chapter takes a Weberian approach to analysing this relationship. Alongside class formation and social stratification, referring to Weber's 'status', ethnic differentiation forms the third leg of the triad explaining economic inequality. This triad is embedded within ideologies legitimating inequality, political systems, and other structural conditions.

Following theories on imagined communities, Haller defines an ethnic group as having a biologically or socially defined common ancestry, as well as distinctions from the larger society with respect to language or religion. An additive index measures ethnic differentiation with data from a variety of sources. The index is based on the size of the largest minority groups in terms of descent, language, and religion each. Haller estimates that ethnic heterogeneity is quite high around the world, particularly relative to his assessment of its prominence in existing research. Heterogeneity is highest in Africa and lowest in Eu-