

Migration incorporation regimes and institutionalised forms of solidarity: between unconditional institutional solidarity and welfare chauvinism

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ABSTRACT

Despite compelling literature, research has so far failed to provide substantive empirical evidence on the relationship between individual preferences on the inclusion of immigrants into institutionalised forms of solidarity and migration incorporation regimes. I argue that, apart from individual factors and welfare state generosity, citizenship models shape citizen's attitudes on immigrant social rights. Concretely, I examine the effect of the civic and cultural dimensions of the models of citizenship relative to attitudes of unconditional institutional solidarity toward immigrants and welfare chauvinism. The results show that individual attitudes about welfare eligibility of migrants differ among socio-demographic characteristics, political economic orientations and social depositions of deservingness but at the same time yield from the cultural barriers to the access of immigrants to the political community.

Keywords: Welfare chauvinism, unconditional institutional solidarity, immigration, citizenship models, deservingness, multiculturalism

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INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that most western societies continue to rely on a steady supply of immigrant workers, one of the most contentious issues in modern welfare states concerns granting social rights to immigrants. Much of the existing literature on comparative social policy and welfare regimes focuses on integration of immigrants into their host societies (Emmenegger and Careja 2012; Van der Waal et al. 2013). Research has examined popular preferences of high-skilled over low-skilled immigrants in western societies (Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010); and the undermining effect of social heterogeneity upon the support for redistribution (Alesina and Glaeser 2004). The literature on why immigration might represent a threat to welfare states often suggests that economic self-interest and cultural distance enhance hostile attitudes toward immigrants (van Oorschot and Uunk 2007). In addition, scholars have combined individual factors with contextual factors like welfare state type and welfare state generosity, to explain support for institutional solidarity. Broadly, literature suggests that individual attitudes toward immigrant welfare rights are sensitive to the dualisation process and generosity of the welfare state (Emmenegger et al. 2012). Conversely, this paper contributes to current literature by looking into the institutional barriers -migration incorporation regimes- that define how immigrants access the political community and shape attitudes about institutionalised forms of solidarity toward immigrants. In this paper, I argue that citizenship models prescribe to whom we might be bounded in solidarity with, influencing individual redistributive preferences about immigrant social rights.

How do citizenship models relate to individual institutional solidarity preferences? Even though we might agree upon the idea that in Western societies immigrants benefit from most welfare schemes, still, we might argue that the welfare state has given a substantive social content to citizenship, situating citizenship at the core of most Western-European welfare state formation (Kymlicka 2015; Wright 2011). Citizenship as a legal and cultural notion refers to a civic dimension mostly based on individual rights and duties, and to a cultural dimension, which prescribes a sense of belonging, influencing the relationship between immigrants and their host society (Koopmans et al. 2005). As Crepaz (2008: 2) indicates: 'no other marker embodies this dichotomy more powerfully, being a citizen means to be endowed with a repertoire of rights and obligations that is not, by definition, available to outsiders'. Citizenship is a socio-political boundary that separates in-group from out-group, and I show that cross-national variation between individual attitudes on welfare redistribution and immigrant social rights depend upon

conceptions of national identity and nation specific integration policies. Thus, the cultural homogeneity issued from a common citizenship becomes a key factor for sharing social risks.

In addition to the structural component of the migration incorporation regimes, I also complement this study by investigating the role of social dispositions embodied in perceptions of deservingness as determinants of individual preferences of institutionalised solidarity when oriented toward immigrants. Research evidence indicates that across different welfare models, individuals consider immigrants the least deserving when compared to other vulnerable groups (van Oorschot et al. 2017). To explain individual attitudes about immigrants as the most undeserving beneficiaries of institutional solidarity, Van Oorschot (2006: 26) examines five criteria conditioning perceptions of deservingness, two of which are strongly related to the models of citizenship as they embodied a sense of belonging and shared obligations to the community. These criteria correspond to, 'identity: needy people who are closer to 'us' are seen as more deserving', and 'reciprocity: needy people who have contributed to our group before (who have 'earned' our support), or who may be expected to be able to contribute in future'. Following T. H. Marshall's claim that welfare state bears from and upholds 'a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilisation that is a common possession' (Marshall 1950: 24), perhaps it is not surprising that migrants are ranked as the least deserving institutional solidarity recipient (Kymlicka 2015; Banting and Kymlicka 2017).

How should we understand the public divide over preferences of unconditional access to social benefits to non-citizens and welfare chauvinism? Moreover, how do migration incorporation regimes correlate to these attitudes about immigrants' welfare eligibility among citizens? This study contributes to the comparative literature on welfare attitudes and integration of immigrants in a number of ways. It elaborates the connection between citizenship models and individual redistributive preferences on immigrant social rights. It provides key insights to understand fully inclusive and exclusionary institutional solidarity preferences. My argument situates models of citizenship as a relevant factor prescribing the boundaries and ways in which immigrants are included into the community. A central finding of this study shows that citizenship models, measured using a broad range of policy indicators that account for the two main dimensions of citizenship (civic and cultural), are relevant predictors of individual preferences toward immigrant social rights. In addition, the study benefits from an individual survey that allows investigating attitudinal differences and, in particular, social dispositions of deservingness upon immigrant access to institutional solidarity among five European immigrant-receiving countries. Ultimately, the paper links the theoretical literature on welfare

preferences to the political opportunity structure literature that examines the impact of the institutional contexts on political participation (Kriesi 2004), and provides new empirical findings on attitudes toward immigrant social rights. Likewise, it further develops the conceptualisation of structural factors as covariates to individual preferences of institutional solidarity, under control of individual characteristics. This paper is organised as follows: next section presents the theoretical framework based on previous research. Then I introduce the data and methodological approach, followed by the empirical findings and concluding remarks.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

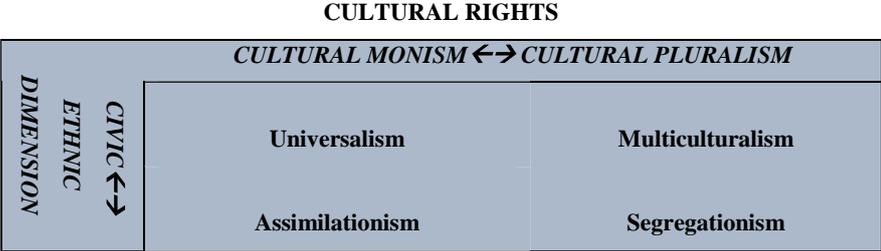
Institutional solidarity refers to institutional welfare schemes that protect citizens against vulnerabilities; it assumes the interdependence between citizens and the community embodied in institutionalised forms of social protection. Institutional solidarity accounts for attitudes of support for redistribution toward the poor and vulnerable groups (Stjernø 2008). However, as Western immigrant-receiving countries become more diverse, immigration raises the thorny issue of conceiving institutional solidarity as inclusively or not to people of all backgrounds (Banting and Kymlicka 2017). In this paper, I analyse institutional solidarity preferencesⁱ toward migrants in a continuum between inclusive and exclusive welfare preferences, as unconditional, conditional and welfare chauvinism. Unconditional institutional solidarity in terms of attitudinal preferences refers to unconditional and fully inclusion of immigrants into social schemes. Conditional forms of institutional solidarity refers to preferences of full welfare access to immigrants based upon reciprocity in form of tax contributions by immigrants to the community, or based on reciprocity upon citizenship acquisition by immigrants (Reeskeens and van Oorschot 2012). In opposition to these inclusive and conditional forms of solidarity, welfare chauvinism supposes the exclusion of immigrants from 'a system of social protection' as it is 'only for those who belong to the ethnically defined community and who have contributed to it' (Kitschelt and McGann 1997). Thus, welfare chauvinism refers to nation-based institutional solidarity preference at the expenses of immigrants (Kymlicka 2015).

STRUCTURAL FACTORS OF INSTITUTIONAL SOLIDARITY

Comparative studies investigating migration incorporation regimes often focus on normative understanding of integration, as equality of opportunities and a formal understanding of citizenship in terms of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* (Brubaker 1992). However, building upon

the theoretical debate on multiculturalism and the importance attached to cultural rights, this formal idea of citizenship seems increasingly ill-fitted to investigate integration policies and immigrant social rights (Banting and Kymlicka 2017). Literature showed that by neglecting the cultural rights dimension of the migration incorporation regimes, scholars have overestimated the openness of citizenship regimes (Koopmans et al. 2005). A more comprehensive notion of citizenship covers both civic and cultural aspects. The civic dimension refers to naturalisation process and individual rights. The cultural dimension captures cultural rights attributed to immigrants as a group as well as cultural obligations that immigrants should meet to obtain full citizenry. Likewise, settlement duration and tax contributions are key determinants for immigrants to benefit from social schemes, settlement requirements are also subjected to migration incorporation regimes. Studies suggest that 'systematic prolongation of legal differences between citizens and immigrants reinforces discrimination against the latter' (Waldrauch and Hofinger 1997); similarly, the formal access to social rights does not translate into substantive social right access for immigrants (Morissens and Sainsbury 2005). Thus, citizenship as membership denotes a form of inclusion and exclusion.

Figure 1. Civic and cultural dimensions of the models of citizenship



The two-dimensional framework to seize the models of citizenship developed by Koopmans et al. (2005) conjugates the civic individual dimension of equality of rights with the cultural dimension capturing the obligations and differentiation between groups (see, figure 1). Assuming that the models of citizenship can be more or less inclusive or exclusive, the variations between the integration policies inform us of the interactions between minority and majority (Statham and Tillie 2016). Models of citizenship refer to predominant understandings of boundaries and rules to access the community and full citizenry rights. They elucidate the complex relationship between policies and legal corpus, defining relevant features of citizenship and settlement requirements (Koopmans 2013). Concretely, through the mutual interaction between groups within specific legal institutional settings (e.g. models of

citizenship), citizens and non-citizens shape their behaviour, attitudes and values. The political opportunity structure (POS) within the models of citizenships accounts for the variation between institutional requirements intended for citizenship and the integration of immigrants into the community. First, it opposes ethnic conceptions of national identity -jus-sanguinis – against civic-territorial ones – jus-soli. Second, it considers the differentiation between cultural requirements, as cultural monism – full assimilation to the unitary national culture, against cultural pluralism – recognition and promotion of cultural diversity. The migration incorporation regimes bridge contextual determinants and individual attitudes toward immigrants. Scholars have examined various combinations of these two dimension as relevant covariates of the political participation of immigrants (Cinalli and Giugni 2016; Eggert 2014). Scholars have confirmed the negative correlation between inclusive citizenship regimes and xenophobic attitudes related to economy, tolerance and trust (Weldon 2006; Ariely 2012; Schlueter et al. 2012). These studies suggest that migration incorporation regimes moderate solidarity attitudes toward immigrants. More specifically, Wright (2011) showed that normative conceptions of the national community boundaries related to 'ascriptive' nationalism features more than to achievable ones enhance perceptions about immigrants as economic and cultural threat. Exclusionary definitions of national identity enclosed in 'ascriptive' characteristics sharply distinguish between immigrants and constituencies that could truly qualify as members of the community. Knowingly, the civic dimension of the migration incorporation regimes influences individual solidarity attitudes toward immigrants, suggesting that ethnic-based conceptions of citizenship correlate positively to nation-based institutional solidarity preferences at the expenses of immigrants. Thus:

Civic dimension hypothesis: Individual preferences relative to welfare chauvinism are more likely to increase in ethnic oriented models of citizenship, as norms of reciprocity are mainly defined in ascriptive terms, shaping strong in-group boundaries.

Additionally, as highlighted before individual attitudes toward immigrant are also shaped through the mutual interaction between groups within specific legal institutional environments. Through the institutional opportunity structures, predominant multicultural institutional discourses give visibility and legitimise immigrant identities in the public domain (Koopmans et al. 2005). The cultural dimension of the migration incorporation regimes gives the opportunity to promote or enclosed cultural issues within daily interactions. This suggests that citizens shaping their behaviour, attitudes and values within migrant incorporation regimes,

which promote the cultural recognition of immigrants rather than cultural assimilation, should display unconditional preferences for institutional solidarity. Thus:

Cultural dimension hypothesis: Individuals within pluralist cultural models of citizenship are more likely to support unconditional access of immigrants to the institutional solidarity, as inclusive incorporation regimes promote cultural recognition of immigrants by institutions which, positively influence preferences of unconditional solidarity

INDIVIDUAL PREFERENCES OF INSTITUTIONAL SOLIDARITY ORIENTED TOWARD IMMIGRANTS

In the current context of welfare retrenchment, tensions concerning immigration and institutional solidarity suggest a public divide on the allocations of social schemes among needy groups. It seems self-evident that these tensions are interrelated to the public image of the welfare beneficiaries, which are key to understand perceptions of deservingness of welfare recipients (van Oorschot et al. 2017). Recent literature examines the relationships between institutional designs and public images to explain how perceptions of deservingness influence the social legitimacy of needy groups' welfare entitlements (van Oorschot et al. 2017). Beyond cultural and contextual factors, van Oorschot (2000) showed that in Europe – controlling for social categories and welfare state models – migrants ranked as the least deserving vulnerable group. Scholars have confirmed that perceptions of deservingness toward needy groups are subject to individuals' ranked-preferences, by which immigrants are considered the least genuine recipient of social entitlements (van Oorschot and Uunk 2007; van Oorschot 2006). Public preferences about deservingness of groups inform us about conditional institutional solidarity toward targeted social recipients – defined in relation with their exposition to social needs and risks (van Oorschot et al. 2017).

The studies of the hardening attitudes toward immigrants as welfare recipients suggest that institutional solidarity when oriented toward immigrants depends mainly on criteria of identity – needy people who seem like ‘us’ – and reciprocity – needy people who contribute to the community (van Oorschot 2006:26). Individuals are more willing to provide solidarity-based support to whom they identify and shared obligations to the community. Moreover, Maggini and Fernandez (forthcoming) assessed perceptions of deservingness influencing informal forms of solidarity -willingness to use private means to help improve the conditions of needy groups- and showed that social dispositions of deservingness are stronger vis-à-vis needy native groups in comparison to immigrants. Thus, social dispositions of deservingness

concerning informal forms of solidarity also situates immigrants as the least deserving group. This indicates that the cultural homogeneity propounded by a common citizenship contributes to the willingness to share social risks, first among the members of the community, and to differentiate between the well-being of needy groups. So the degree foreigners deserve social and political rights correlates with the immigrants' perceived welfare deservingness vis-à-vis other groups. However, high levels of perceived deservingness across vulnerable could particularly increase institutional solidarity preferences toward non-citizens, as there is less differentiation between in-groups and out-groups well-being. Thus:

Deservingness hypothesis: Individuals reporting high levels of perceptions of deservingness across needy groups have an increased likelihood to favour unconditional institutional solidarity. In contrast, low levels of perceptions of deservingness are most likely to increase conditional and chauvinist forms of institutional solidarity, as the norms of reciprocity are stronger within groups than between groups.

OTHER EXPLANATORY FACTORS

A common claim in social sciences holds that behaviour and preferences of individuals depend on the expected outcome of their well-being, these self-interest based theories suggest that immigrants represent an additional source of competition over scarce resources. Scholars have linked welfare chauvinism to individual's competing vulnerabilities. Economic self-interest arguments imply that individuals who personally expect to gain from a given welfare policy support it and oppose to immigration (Crepaz and Damron 2009; van Oorschot and Uunk 2007). The material self-interest of the constituents suggest that support for redistribution and immigration depend on individual's economic standing (Alesina and Glaeser 2004). I control for the possible differentiated effect of individuals objective economic threat – as social beneficiaries – and individuals' perceived economic threat due to their constituency to a vulnerable group and individual relative deprivation grievances. Likewise, I control for the generalised distrust effect issued by the social heterogeneity immigration might entail (Alesina and Glaeser 2004); and other socio-demographic characteristics like age, gender, education, income, skills and citizenship. Younger and highly educated people have showed higher support toward immigration social rights, similarly high-skilled people are expected to support redistribution in terms of reciprocity (Helbling and Kriesi 2014). Additionally, due to the contentiousness of the immigration field I control for ideological divide between economic left-right orientations and attitudes toward economic immigration (Beramendi et al. 2015). Whereas social disposition controls regarding the degree of cosmopolitanism and religiosity of

individuals are expected to positively influence attitudes on economic openness and immigration (Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010). Finally, I control for structural factors such as the generosity of social programmes that could negatively influence unconditional inclusion of immigrants into social schemes (Emmenegger et al. 2012). Yet, other studies have shown that generous welfare states favour lower income inequality and decrease hostility toward immigrants, due to well-developed de-commodification policies (Van der Waal et al. 2013).

DATA AND METHODS

This study uses a subset of TransSOL EU-project 2015 pooled survey dataset with 10,649 individual cases among five European countries: United Kingdom, France, Denmark, Switzerland and Germany. The sample of countries was chosen because of theoretical and practical reasons. These countries are immigrant-receiving countries with an extended immigration history. Scholars maintain that within these countries cultural and migrant incorporation regimes have been largely debated and implemented (Koopmans 2013). Likewise, they also benefited from the naturalisation of several generations of immigrant population. Besides, the other three remaining countries in the pooled dataset strongly differ from the selected sample in terms of the cultural and integration policies implementation. Since these countries (Italy, Greece and Poland) are mainly characterised as emigrants-countries with residual welfare states. The survey questionnaire contains standardised cross-national measures of people's behaviours, attitudes and beliefs about important societal issues. The country samples consisted of at least 2,064 to 2,221 respondents each. The survey data were complemented with the Leiden LIS Budget Incidence Fiscal Redistribution (Wang and Caminada 2017) and Migration Integration Policy Index – MIPEX – (Huddleston et al. 2015). To test the hypotheses, I included variables in stepwise models to assess and examine underlying effects of my key independent covariates. I employed a multinomial logistic regression model with various robust checks. These robust checks account for the nested structure of the data which, supposes the possible bias of the generalized linear models estimation. I ran a multinomial multilevel regression among the 5-country with restricted maximum likelihood (REML) estimation (Elff et al. forthcoming). The results are in line with the multinomial logistic regression model, after comparison between models, estimators and standard errors behave similarly (see Appendix A4).

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

The dependent variable, preferences about institutional solidarity, is measured by using the item: 'Thinking of people coming to live in [COUNTRY] from other countries, when do you think they should obtain the same rights to social benefits and services as citizens already living here?' The answer options are: (1) 'immediately on arrival,' (2) 'after living in [country] for a year, whether or not they have worked,' (3) 'only after they have worked and paid taxes for at least a year,' (4) 'once they have become a [country] citizen,' or (5) 'they should never get the same rights. I recoded the dependent variable as follows: answer categories (1) and (2) were merged together to measure unconditional institutional solidarity (no reciprocity involved); answer category (3) corresponds to institutional conditional solidarity upon taxes; answer category (4) corresponds to institutional conditional solidarity upon citizenship; and answer category (5) corresponds to welfare chauvinism.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

I measured the civic and cultural dimension of the models of citizenship using the MIPEX indicators. Each of these dimensions correspond to a 5-year (2010-2014) mean score of standardised institutional policy and legal country features defining migration incorporation regimes. Each dimension consists of multiple group indicators with respect to nationality, residency, political participation, anti-discrimination laws, cultural rights, cultural requirements for family reunification and naturalisation, and multicultural education policies (see Appendix A2 for detailed information about dimensions and indicators).

With respect to social dispositions of deservingness, the survey includes a battery of items measuring respondents' willingness to improve the conditions of the selected target groups on 5-item scales (1—Not at all, 2—Not very, 3—Neither, 4—Quite, 5—Very much), which are highly correlated (Cronbach $\alpha=0.82$). Hence, following Magni and Fernandez (forthcoming) I created an additive scale of deservingness to mirror the operationalisation adopted by van Oorschot (2006), under the assumption that respondents' concerns about groups' conditions reflect their perception of the deservingness, rank-order preferences of solidarity recipients. In order not to blur the independent and dependant variable effect between individuals' perception of deservingness and attitudes of institutional solidarity conditionality, I use a quasi-behavioural measure of perceptions of deservingness relative to informal forms of solidarity – willingness to use private means to help improve the conditions of needy groups.

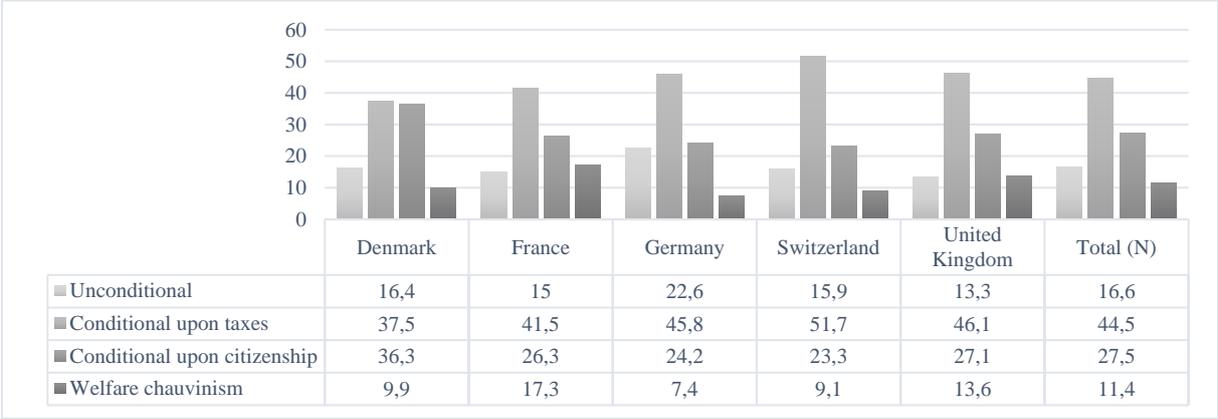
The models include a number of controls: age as a continuous variable, four dummy variables that account for gender, citizenship, receiving social benefits and membership to a

vulnerable group. Additionally, the models include other socio-demographic covariates like income and education as categorical variables; and a number of standard controls for respondents' possible immigrant origins, political orientations about economic left-right preferences, cosmopolitan attitudes, country attachment, attitudes about economic immigrant groups, social trust and the Income Inequality Index (LIS) as a proxy of welfare state generosity. Appendix A1 and A2 contain all the variables descriptive, normalisations and distributions.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows outcome variable responses by country. A majority of the respondents are in favour of immigrants' social rights as conditional upon taxes (44.5%) and secondly upon citizenship (27.5%). The conditional categories are the most populated ones while welfare chauvinism is fairly relevant in UK (13.6%) and France (17.3%). Taken together, these results indicate that independently of exclusionary discourses about immigration, on average individuals in immigrant-receiving countries tend to favour immigrants' access to institutional solidarity upon reciprocity of taxes and citizenship.

Table 1. Institutional solidarity attitudes toward immigrants by country

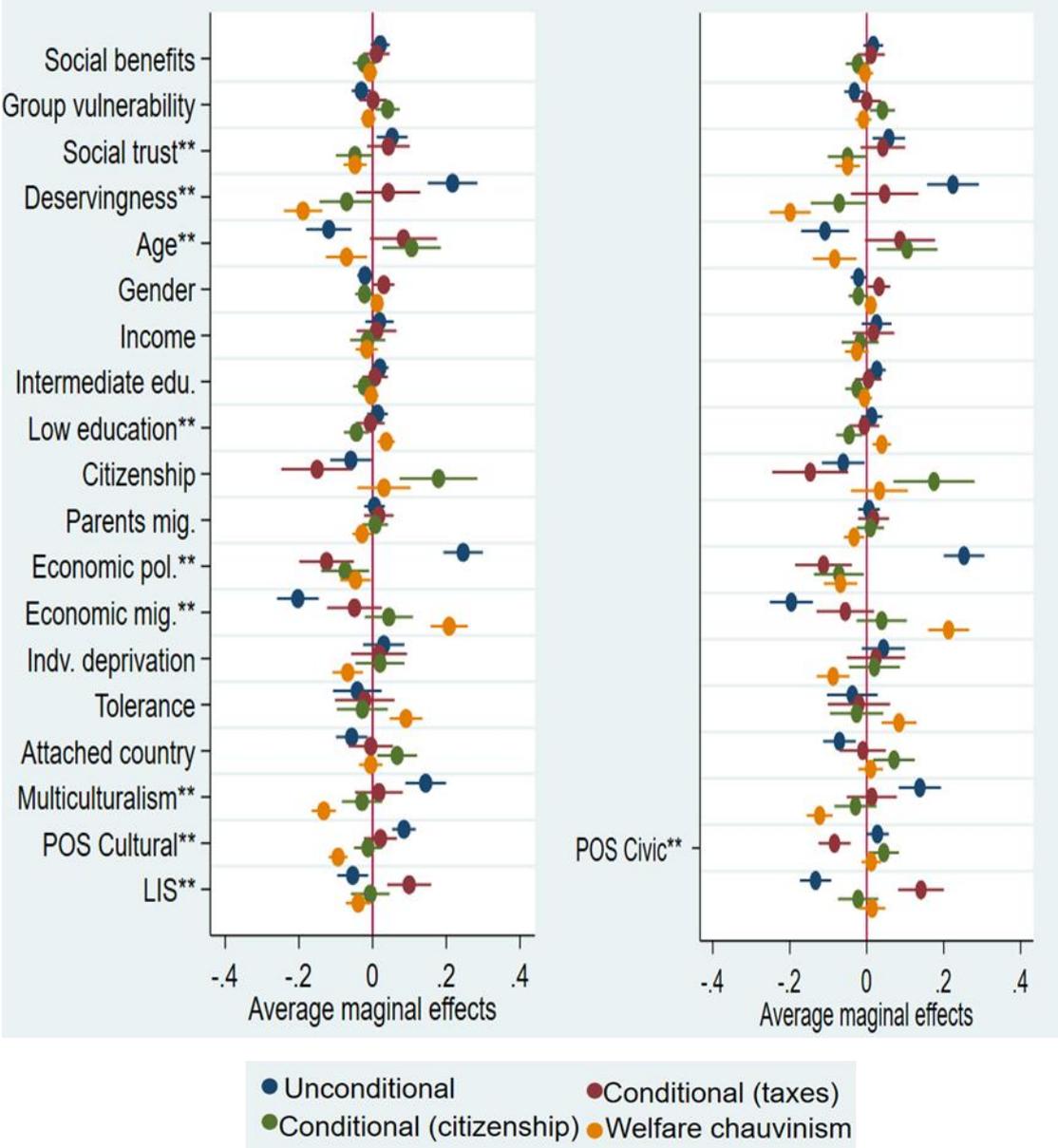


The main results are presented in Figure 2 and in the Appendix Regression Table A3. Figure 2 shows marginal effects with respect to individual and structural covariates upon the 4-outcome dependant variable with .95 confidence intervals. Results confirm that independent covariates keep their statistical significance and underlying effects after full stepwise model assessment (see Appendix A3: Models-2 against Models-5 and Models-2 against Models-8).

Control variables age, gender and education results confirm well-established literature findings on welfare deservingness and immigration related attitudes. Older people, women and the lower educated are less likely to support unconditional forms of institutional solidarity.

Likewise, citizenship and country attachment increase conditional and exclusionary institutional forms of solidarity. Contrarily, economic self-interest covariates - receiving social benefits or being part of a vulnerable group- do not influence preferences on immigrants' social rights.

Figure 2. Marginal effects of individual covariates and models of citizenship dimensions (cultural and civic) on forms of institutional solidarity toward immigrants



Note: Marginal effects for each full model in Online Appendix Tables A3. The horizontal lines indicate .95 confidence intervals.

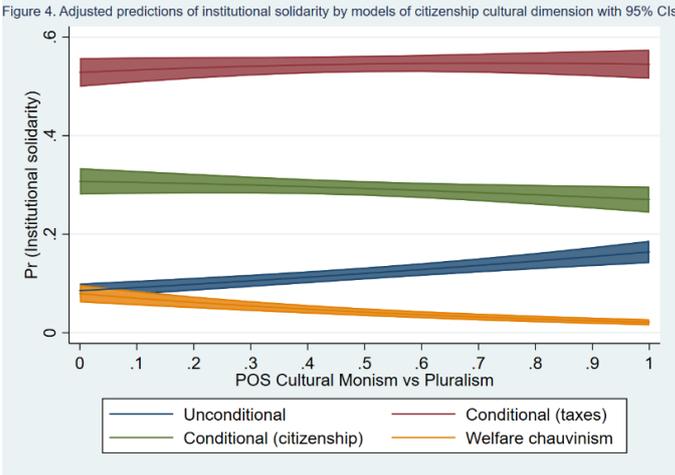
The findings suggest that individual access to de-commodification resources does not affect preferences of institutional solidarity toward immigrants. Nevertheless, results show that after controlling for subjective grievances, individual relative deprivation has a positive

statically significant impact on welfare chauvinism. This indicates that relative to welfare chauvinism, subjective grievances are more relevant than purely economic driven objective grievances. Additionally, as shown by previous literature individuals' left-oriented political economic preferences are statistically significant to explain unconditional solidarity attitudes and correlate negatively to welfare chauvinism. Likewise, findings confirm that independently of immigrant incoming regions (EU, non-EU, LAC, middle East, Asia or Africa) negative economic attitudes about immigration are positively related and statistically significant to explain welfare chauvinism. Moreover, results confirm the positive effect of generalised trust against welfare chauvinism (Crepaz 2008). Factors related to cultural resources such as multiculturalism and religiosity are statistically significant to explain unconditional solidarity while reducing welfare chauvinism. These results along with social tolerance covariate confirm that a lack of cultural resources decreases progressive attitudes toward immigrants.

On the contextual level, I examine the effect of the citizenship models on individual institutional solidarity preferences toward immigrants. I first assess the civic dimension relative to individual rights and formal access to nationality (see Appendix A3: Models-8). This particular dimension of the migration incorporation regimes has been largely study suggesting a positive effect of civic oriented models on progressive social attitudes toward immigrants. However, a key finding of the current analysis indicates that formal access to citizenship in relationship with civic vs ethnical indicators has no constant statistical significant effect among inclusive welfare preferences. Besides, the effects of the civic dimension tend to vary after applying structural controls, such as the Income Inequality Indicator (see Appendix A3 model-7 against model-8). The results advance that the effect of the legal formal access to citizenship in terms of individual rights is moderated by de-commodification effect of the welfare policies. This argument supports the generosity hypothesis (van der Waal et al. 2013), which specifies that in welfare state regimes where workers benefit of less inequality, welfare chauvinism decreases due to the generous welfare state transfers and taxes. So independently of immigrants' formal access to citizenship, individuals in less unequal states are more protected from market insecurity and less hostile to compete against immigrant workers and to their access to social entitlements. While the civic dimension hypothesis cannot be confirmed, the cultural dimension of the model of citizenship has a statistical significant effect to differentiate between fully inclusive and exclusionary preferences of institutional solidarity toward immigrants (see Appendix A3 models-5), confirming the cultural dimension hypothesis. Figure 4 compares predicted probabilities for institutional solidarity preferences toward immigrants while

distinguishing between monist and pluralist cultural environments. There is reason to believe that inclusive incorporation regimes, promoting the cultural recognition of immigrant by institutions, positively influence preferences of unconditional solidarity. Unsurprisingly, after controlling for welfare state generosity – redistribution effect – the cultural dimension of the models of citizenship holds constant its statistical significance. Therefore, besides the well-known beneficial impact of extensive cultural rights on the political participation of immigrants, these results contribute to assess the positive effect of the recognition of cultural diversity upon progressive institutional solidarity preferences toward immigrants. Against multiculturalist detractors, inclusive cultural models of citizenships erode welfare chauvinism while increase inter-group solidarity. As described by Banting and Kymlicka (2017:32) 'solidarity matters to building and sustaining just societies' and 'the tension between diversity and solidarity is mediated by the larger political context in which it unfolds'. Thus, POSs related to the cultural dimension of the migration incorporation regimes when promoting pluralism, influence identity dynamics by shaping national conceptions with the recognition of immigrants' culture. Indeed, these results advance that multicultural integration policies – as they give visibility and legitimise immigrant related issues – influence individual attitudes about institutional solidarity beyond constituency to the political community.

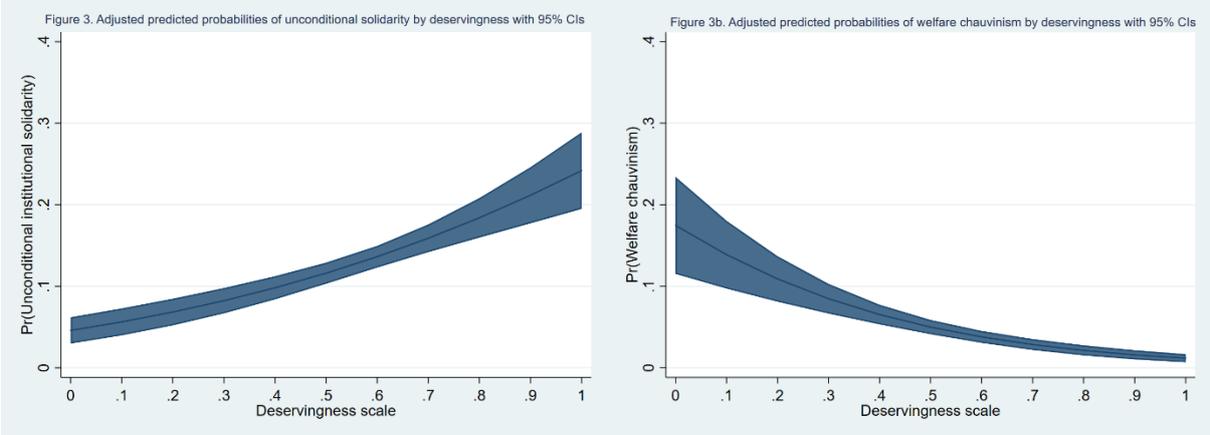
Figure 3. Adjusted predictions of institutional solidarity by model of citizenship cultural dimension



Lastly to examine how public attitudes with respect to perceptions of deservingness among needy groups affect attitudes toward immigrant social rights. I test whether people reporting high levels of deservingness across needy groups have an increased likelihood in favour unconditional forms institutional solidarity, as they do not differentiate between the needy groups as genuine solidarity recipients. Results in Figure 4 show that while keeping all

variables constant and assessing the maximum score of perception of deservingness among all needy groups, the probability of displaying unconditional solidarity toward immigrants increases by almost 30%. Whereas, predicted probabilities of welfare chauvinism decrease as individuals differentiate less among needy groups' deservingness. The increased perception of the social legitimacy across needy groups' welfare entitlements appears to overcome citizenship boundaries and particularly contributes to the willingness to share social risks among all community members (citizens and non-citizens).

Figure 4. Adjusted predicted probabilities of unconditional institutional solidarity and welfare chauvinism by deservingness



Additionally, as for the cultural dimension hypothesis, the perception of deservingness hypothesis also advances that institutional designs and public images of needy groups are strongly conditioned on symbolic boundaries of 'us' and 'them'. Recent literature suggest individual orientations along the state market relationship also depend on universalistic and particularistic concerns (Beramendi et al. 2015), which also seem to redefine deservingness perceptions toward immigrants. This finding is particularly revealing as tensions concerning immigration and institutional solidarity yield upon the rising salience of cultural issues in the political domain.

CONCLUSION

Starting from the observation that, in general, people's attitudes on immigrant social rights are mainly driven by conditional reciprocity upon taxes and citizenship, this paper provides insights on the boundaries of institutional solidarity, between unconditional and fully inclusion of immigrants into social schemes and welfare chauvinism. While the literature has paid attention to the tension between diversity from immigration and institutional solidarity,

depicting this tension as an inverse relationship, I argue that, rather than considering a trade-off between diversity and inclusive solidarity, we need to better understand how institutional regimes shape symbolic boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. Through the analysis of the cultural dimension of the migration incorporation regimes and social dispositions of deservingness, I elaborated the connection between citizenship models and individual redistributive preferences on immigrant social rights. I showed that institutional solidarity toward immigrants is dependant to the individual and structural factors conditioning to whom we might feel bounded in solidarity with. Indeed, migrant incorporation regimes illustrate predominant understandings of boundaries and rules to access the community, while influencing people's behaviour, attitudes and values.

With respect to the question of what explains individual attitudes toward the inclusion or exclusion of immigrants as recipients of institutional solidarity, the results confirm that progressive individual attitudes on immigrant social rights correlate positively to individual political covariates and cultural resources. Additionally, a closer look at the individual factors showed that dispositions of deservingness shape unconditional solidarity toward immigrants when there is less differentiation between the needy groups as genuine solidarity recipients. So, the social legitimacy of immigrants' welfare entitlements is dependant to the perception of deservingness of immigrants vis-a-vis needy native groups. These results contribute to the literature on the public divide between universalistic and particularistic concerns, which situates cultural issues and the integration of immigrants to welfare schemes at core at the public debate.

Finally, even though access to citizenship rights neither starts nor ends with the acquisition of nationality, pluralist incorporation regimes broaden institutional solidarity by recognising immigrants' cultural expressions as complementary to national identity. The effect of the cultural dimension of the citizenship models represents a relevant tool to understand progressive institutional solidarity preferences toward immigrants.

Further research should broaden the spectrum of analysed countries to assess structural factors interactions and model the nested structure of the data. However, With respect to structural findings, this article provides new empirical evidence on solidarity and diversity, while it develops venues for research on citizenship and immigrants' social rights, by conceptualising migration incorporation regimes as contextual determinants of individual preferences of institutional solidarity.

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¹I use the terms institutional solidarity preferences and institutional solidarity as interchangeable, as the focus of the paper targets attitudes on institutional form of solidarity.