

- **The Scandinavian welfare model
– a stable pioneering model?**

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The four main topics

- 1. What are the characteristics of the Scandinavian welfare model and how have the three countries 'reacted' to recent challenges?
- 2. Do we still have to do with a stable pioneering model for the economic and social inclusion of women and what about female immigrants?
- 3. Are the Scandinavian countries still very ambiguous when it comes to living up to ideals about solidarity, universalism, equality and redistribution, and do new citizenship ideals about recognition of cultural and political diversity act as a supplement or as an alternative to principles about universalism?
- 4. Do we still have to do with a distinct Scandinavian welfare model when we have to do with policies targeted at citizens with an immigrant background?

1. Defining a welfare state

- The three world of welfare capitalism: Frequently criticized and frequently used:
- Three qualitatively distinct welfare state regimes:
 - The Liberal: Rights based on need
 - The Conservative: Rights based on work and preservation of status
 - The Social democratic: Rights based on citizenship and universal policies
- Decommodification – the quality of social rights
- Stratification

1. The Scandinavian welfare state model

- Output: Central features:
 - Relatively high social protection and generous benefits
 - Universalistic welfare state arrangement, which are largely taxed financed (access to them depends not on contribution)
 - Many work/family policies – women friendly
 - The labour market is highly regulated, a comprised wage structure and strong involvement of labour unions
- Impact:
 - The three countries have been seen as very ambiguous when it comes to living up to ideals about solidarity, universalism, equality and redistribution.
 - High level of Decommodification and low levels of stratification
 - A comparatively high level of redistribution
 - Comparatively high employment rates among men and women
 - High equality – also gender equality.
 - High social trust
- One model or three different? What is the output and impact when we have to do with the ethnic dimension?

1. The Scandinavian welfare model and the ethnic dimension?

- *Has economic redistribution in the Scandinavian welfare states reduced inequality related to ethnicity?*
- *".....in order to analyse the special conditions of immigrants, this welfare regime typology needs to be complemented" (Sainsbury, 2006: 230).*
 - Immigration policy regimes – *"...consist of rules and norms that govern immigrant's possibilities to become a citizen, to acquire residence and work permits, and to participate in economic, cultural and political life" (Sainsbury, 230)*
 - Different entry categories

1. Is the Scandinavian model under an insurmountable pressure? A never-ending story!

- Several doomsday prophecies have been delivered during the years
- Measuring welfare state change: Retrenchment, restructuring etc.
- The four most frequently highlighted challenges:
 - *Globalization*
 - *Immigration*
 - *The ageing of societies*
 - **Europeanization**

1. Globalization

- Development in the free movement of capital and labour
 - Equality vs. Employment
 - Taxes: A race to the bottom
- Goul Andersen (2007): *“The negative effects are impossible to prove. Since the late 1990's, the Nordic countries have appeared as some of the most competitive countries of the world”.*
- *Predictions about convergence and divergence*

1. Immigration

- The Scandinavian countries have been highlighted as some of the countries facing the greatest challenges when it comes to immigration
 - Disincentives embedded in the social security system prevent immigrants from entering the labour market and tend to attract weak and disabled immigrants to the country.
 - A tension between the low level of qualifications among many immigrants and a labour market system characterised by high minimum wages and generous social security
 - immigration poses a threat to the cultural homogeneity in the Scandinavian countries, which is seen as an important precondition for solidarity and public support for universalistic welfare state provision (see e.g. Taylor, 1994: Alesina & Glaeser, 2004).

Labour market participation among foreign-born and native-born men and women in OECD countries

	Foreign-born employment rate relative to native-born employment rate (2004)	Employment rate foreign-born men	Employment rate foreign-born women	Employment rate native-born men	Employment rate native-born women
Denmark	0,66	59.8	49.2	83.7	75.5
Netherlands	0,78	69.4	50.5	84.2	65.0
Belgium	0,80	54.9	34.5	67.8	52.9
Finland	0,81	52.1	39.7	66.1	63.5
Sweden	0,82	54.4	50.5	75.2	72.0
Germany	0,83	68.8	52.0	74.2	60.4
Norway	0,87	59.6	51.6	75.4	68.9
United Kingdom	0,87	69.9	53.4	76.3	64.2
Czech Republic	0,89	68.3	52.2	74.1	60.9
France	0,89	65.2	46.4	67.2	54.8
Austria	0,91	75.0	56.8	76.5	61.7
Australia	0,91	72.5	54.8	76.6	64.0
Switzerland	0,91	83.3	62.7	87.6	69.5
Canada	0,91	78.1	62.5	77.8	68.5
Slovak Republic	0,92	61.5	46.0	59.7	48.4
Ireland	0,98	72.7	53.3	72.2	51.1
United States	0,99	73.3	54.6	78.1	68.4
Portugal	1,03	79.1	65.6	75.1	56.9
Greece	1,08	78.5	45.6	68.2	39.9
Hungary	1,08	63.3	46.9	58.6	47.6
Spain	1,09	68.1	47.0	67.2	39.7
Italy	1,10	75.4	42.6	67.1	42.4
Luxembourg	1,13	78.2	56.5	70.7	49.0

OECD 2008

1. Labour market integration policy as a 'crucial' policy field

- Labour market integration policy in all three countries have been pointed out as a very crucial policy field in order to maintain a voluntary and generous welfare state
 - Comparatively high employment rates among men and women in the Scandinavian countries.
 - The contribution to the welfare state from paying taxes has been seen as very fundamental for maintaining generous welfare benefits.
 - A distinctive high work ethic.
 - The employment figures for immigrants stand in stark contrast to these ambitions.

1. Immigration and recent policy changes in Denmark

- Since 2001, the social assistance level in Denmark has been reduced for immigrants and not for the ethnic majority; this has not been the case in Norway and Sweden.
- 2002: Introduction allowance – start help
 - Replaced Social assistance (law on immigration)
 - Is 35-50 percent lower than ordinary social assistance
- 2002: Reduction of the social assistance in a number of situations in order to ensure that people have an incentive to take a minimum-wage job (More People to work)
- 2005: The most controversial – the 300-hour rule (A New Chance for All).
 - Married recipients of welfare benefits lose the right to welfare payments if they work less than 300 hours during a two-year period
 - In November 2008, the requirement was increased to 450 work

1. The influence of the financial crisis

- The financial crisis:
 - Popular welfare arrangements have been up for discussion (early retirement pension, an universal health care system, elderly care etc.)
 - Recovery plan
 - The duration period for unemployment benefit reduced from 4 to 2 year
 - Economic support for families with children etc.

1. The influence of the European union

- Very much debated among scholars and politicians
- Directly and indirectly impact
- Soft law
- Free movements of labour – spillover effects

2. Why have the Scandinavian countries for several years been named as 'women friendly'?

- Day care for children, leaves schemes for parents and a high level compared to other welfare states of economic support for families with children.
- A dual breadwinner model
- Gender equality as a political issue in Denmark, Norway and Sweden
- The state (and not the family or the market) is the main responsible for organizing and financing the welfare state (Greve, 2007)

2. The economic and social inclusion of women in the Scandinavian countries today? (Borchorst & Siim)

- The positive side:
 - In forefront in terms of integration women in paid labour
 - Women in general get longer education than men
 - High national political presentation (lower in Denmark)
 - Low poverty among single mothers
 - Economic autonomy and independency of men and marriages (Borchorst, 2008)

2. The economic and social inclusion of women today?

- The negative side:
 - The labour market is strongly gender segregated
 - Relatively high gender pay gaps
 - The level of female managers is extremely low in Denmark
 - Etc.
- **Is the glass half empty or half full?**

2. The economic and social inclusion of female immigrants

- Do they also benefit from 'women friendly' policies?
- Lower participation on the labour market and political representation compared to natives
- Several improvements during recent years

Employment rate for men and women from non-western countries, western countries and for men and women with a Danish background: 1997-2008, age group 16-64 years. Per cent.

Year	Men from non-western countries	Men with a Danish background	Men from western countries	Women from non-western countries	Women with a Danish background	Women from western countries
1997	41,7	79,9	64,1	26,8	70,7	54,8
1998	45,2	80,6	65,1	29,1	71,7	55,6
1999	49,4	81,4	66,8	32,3	73,4	56,8
2000	50,6	81,4	66,9	34,4	74	57,5
2001	51,6	81,6	67,7	36,5	74,6	58,5
2002	52,6	81,6	67,4	38,1	75,2	59,2
2003	52,1	80,2	66,3	38,3	74,2	57,9
2004	51,7	79,1	64,3	38,4	73,5	57,1
2005	53,2	79,2	65,3	39,4	73,5	57,8
2006	56,1	80,1	66,2	42,1	74,4	58,9
2007	60,7	81,5	67,9	46,2	75,9	60,2
2008	62,6	81,9	68,6	49,5	76,7	61,1

Employment rate among men and women from selected countries: 1. January 2007, age group 16-64 years, percent

Ethnic origin	Women	Men	Difference (men – women)	Total number in the population
Somalia	22	45	23	8 431
Iraq	24	47	23	16 469
Lebanon	21	47	26	11 336
Afghanistan	33	60	27	6 795
Pakistan	34	67	33	9 421
Morocco	39	62	23	4 509
Iran	50	59	9	10 602
Turkey	47	67	20	28 719
Bosnia Herzegovina	53	62	9	14 978
Yugoslavian	48	63	15	9 959
Sri Lanka	59	74	15	6 113
Vietnam	60	73	13	7 751
Persons with a Danish background	77	81	4	3 191 038

2. The economic and social inclusion of female immigrants

- First-generation versus second-generation
- In 2007 second-generation female immigrants had the same activity level in the education system as among native Danes.
- A positive scenario for the future when it comes to second-generation female immigrants – but what about the men?
- Stigmatizing discourses

3. Are the Scandinavian countries still very ambiguous when it comes to living up to ideals about solidarity, universalism, equality and redistribution?
- For the population in general – yes
 - For immigrants we see different tendencies in the Scandinavian countries
 - Denmark as the outlier (the start assistance, the 300 hour rule etc.)
 - The number of persons facing long-term poverty in the period from 2001-2006 have increased from around 28.000 in 2001 to 43.000 in 2006.
 - Especially many immigrants have become long-term poor in this period.
 - Around 40 percent of the group of long-term poor were in 2006 people with an immigrant background (1. and 2. generation) –many were from non-western countries
 - It is well-documented that poverty among immigrants is much more widespread in Denmark than in Sweden

3. Are the Scandinavian countries still very ambiguous when it comes to living up to ideals about solidarity, universalism, equality and redistribution?
- A move towards a dual welfare state
 - Goul Andersen (2007): *“In many ways the Danish welfare state is also non-exclusive”* (childcare provision, health care, education, elderly care, disability pension etc.)
 - A rather small number of immigrants have been affected by the reductions:

Number of persons who have been subject to reduced social security benefits in the period 2004-2007				
	2004	2005	2006	2007
Introduction allowance	7.141	5.691	4.280	3.011
Start assistance	2.504	3.366	4.318	4.633
300 hour rule				599
Reduced social assistance level for people below 25 year	28.211	27.363	23.953	20.091

Source: Hansen et al 2009, p. 19

Comparative statistics

	Norway	Sweden	Denmark
Share of immigrants (foreign born) in the population. Percent. 2005	7.3 %	12.0 %	6.8 %
Employment rate – total (2008)	70.6 %	70.5 %	77.6 %
Employment rate: foreign-born men (2008)	59.6 %	54.4 %	59.8 %
Employment rate: foreign-born women (2008)	51.6 %	50.5 %	49.2 %
Employment rate: native-born men (2008)	75.4 %	75.2 %	83.7 %
Employment rate: native-born women (2008)	68.9 %	72.0 %	75.5 %
Unemployment rate: foreign-born men (2008)	9.6 %	8.6 %	8.2 %
Unemployment rate: foreign-born women (2008)	7.6 %	6.9 %	8.3 %
Source: OECD 2008: Statistics Denmark, 2008; Djuve & Kavli, 2007.			

3. The tension between equality and diversity: Conflicting ideals?

- Why have we seen these tendencies in Denmark and why are in particular immigrant women in stake?
- According to Jensen (2010) some would argue that ethnic diversity does not pose a problem for liberalistic welfare ideas (the utility-oriented understanding of welfare), but conversely represent a dramatic challenge to the social democratic understanding of welfare which has struggled with recognizing the cultural rights of ethnic minority groups.
- Should a welfare state recognize that some immigrant women might want to be homemakers? And if so, what about their social rights to welfare benefits? And what about ideals about gender equality?

3. Gender equality and diversity

- *“The countries (Scandinavian, red) have been labelled as women-friendly welfare states, but this has been criticized for glossing over inequalities between women in ethnic majorities and the immigrant minorities. Immigration has increased differences among women on the labour market and in society and has inspired public debates about the perceived oppression of immigrant women by their families, religion and cultures” (Siim & Borchorst, 2008). And they continue “A controversial issue has been, whether feminism and multiculturalism belong to two conflicting equality projects (Okin, 1999; Parehk, 1999), or whether they are overlapping projects allied in the struggle for equal rights and social justice (Phillips, 1995; Young, 2000; Kymlicka, 1999).” (Siim & Borchorst, 2008; 1-2).*

3. Gender equality and diversity

- Wearing a headscarf: What is most important? Upholding principles about gender equality or recognising cultural differences?
- Denmark: At the rhetorical level these two visions are articulated as conflicting
- Sweden and Norway: These tensions are emphasized, but in another way

4. Do we still have to do with a distinct Scandinavian welfare model when we have to do with policies targeted at citizens with an immigrant background?

- Depends what we are looking at:
 - The discursive level: Discursive convergence and practical divergence
 - Concrete policy instruments
 - The impact
 - The target group
 - Legal vs. substantial social rights

4. Do we still have to do with a distinct Scandinavian welfare model when we have to do with policies targeted at citizens with an immigrant background?

- Morissens & Sainsbury (2005):

- *“The decommodifying effects on social policies are different for citizens and migrants across welfare regimes” (p. 648).*
- *“When migrants are incorporated in the analysis the robustness of the welfare regime typology survives mainly in the case of the United States and Sweden” (p. 654).*

4. Do we still have to do with a distinct Scandinavian welfare model when we have to do with policies targeted at citizens with an immigrant background?

- Which of the Scandinavian countries have the most positive impact?
- Morissens & Sainsbury (2005): Sweden
- Koopmans (2010): Denmark

Concluding remarks

- Is the Scandinavian welfare model still a stable pioneering model? And have it ever been the case?
- Political strategies?