

The established outsider and the welfare state. Explaining welfare state attitudes from the dual perspective of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians.

Jolien GALLE

Proefschrift aangeboden tot het verkrijgen van de
graad van Doctor in de Sociale Wetenschappen

Promotor: Prof. Dr. Marc Swyngedouw
Copromotor: Prof. Dr. Bart Meuleman
Copromotor: Dr. Koen Abts

Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek (CeSO)

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Samenstelling van de examencommissie:

Prof. Dr. Marc Swyngedouw [KU Leuven], promotor
Prof. Dr. Bart Meuleman [KU Leuven], copromotor
Dr. Koen Abts [KU Leuven], copromotor
Prof. Dr. Dick Houtman [KU Leuven]
Prof. Dr. Hassan Bousetta [Cedem, Université de Liège]
Prof. Dr. Monique Kremer [Universiteit van Amsterdam, NL]
Prof. Dr. Fenella Fleischmann [ERCOMER, Universiteit Utrecht, NL]

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

Modern welfare states in Western Europe are nationally organized and highly institutionalized systems of solidarity that were developed in the 19th and 20th century with the purpose of pacifying the conflicts between social classes and consolidating the nation state. Social rights and benefits are provided for national citizens, whereas non-citizens or outsiders are by design excluded for the purpose of internal structuring (Ferrera, 2005; Marshall, 1950). Since the 1960s, European societies are faced with unprecedented migration flows and subsequent ethnic diversity (S. Castles & Miller, 2009). Despite these transformations, welfare state theory for a long time remained blind for issues related to migration and ethnic diversity (F. G. Castles & Schierup, 2010). However, over the two last decades, social scientists turned their attention to the immigration-welfare nexus. So far, the majority of this literature either addresses the effect of increased ethnic diversity on welfare institutions and their legitimacy (e.g. Alesina & Glaeser, 2004; Taylor-Gooby, 2005) or solidarity toward immigrants in terms of public support for immigrants' access to social rights (e.g. Mewes & Mau, 2012; van Oorschot, 2008). Yet, in both instances the focus is predominantly on the opinions held by native citizens residing within the nation state. Whereas the welfare state attitudes of native citizens are investigated in all their dimensions (see, for instance, Coughlin, 1980; Crepaz, 2008; Svallfors, 2012), little is known about the attitudes of people with a migration background.

For politicians and social scientists alike, the legitimacy of the welfare state and its development in times of increasing diversity is a matter of great concern. Because the persistence of the welfare state is dependent upon the policy preferences of its population (Brooks & Manza, 2007), a better understanding of the attitudes of people with a migration background is necessary given their growing political weight (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006). Recently, some authors explored the welfare state attitudes of immigrants (e.g. Kremer, 2016; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015; Renema & Lubbers, 2018), however, this unfolding field of study is confronted with several limitations. Most importantly, the existing studies tend to overestimate the homogeneity among people with a migration background and pay little attention to their specific position and experiences as minority

group members in the native society. In order to take into account the growing diversity within diversity (Vertovec, 2007), this dissertation focuses on the welfare state attitudes of permanently settled postwar labour migrants and their children, more specifically Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent. Their societal position is rather unique in the sense that they are formally insiders of the national welfare state because of their citizenship status, but remain to some degree outsiders in relation to native citizens due to their disadvantaged position. Drawing from the established-outsiders theory of Elias (Elias & Scotson, 1965), I conceptualize this dual position in terms of 'established outsiders' and move beyond the scope of previous research that considers citizenship as the main criterion of difference between migrants and natives.

The overall goal of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of the opinions held by Turkish and Moroccan Belgians toward the welfare state. On the one hand, I investigate their general stance toward economic redistribution and the role of the government in providing social security, on the other hand, I look at their preferences regarding the boundaries of the national welfare state, or the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants. One of the key arguments is that the welfare state attitudes of citizens with a migration background cannot be understood by relying exclusively on self-interest and political ideology, but requires explanatory frameworks that take into account their dual position in West-European societies. In particular, I examine whether perceived disadvantaged group position and group identification contribute to a better understanding of their welfare state attitudes. Furthermore, I compare the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians with the attitudes of native Belgians, and test whether the explanatory mechanisms behind them operate in a similar manner.

I will address these topics in four empirical chapters with their own specific focus. Before turning to these different studies, Chapter 1 outlines the general theoretical framework by drawing from the welfare state literature, as well as theories on group position, relative deprivation, and social identity. I discuss the key concepts, review previous empirical evidence, and describe how limitations of earlier research are dealt with. A considerable part of Chapter 1 is also devoted to a description of the investigated case, the used datasets, and the specific research questions that are tackled throughout the subsequent empirical chapters. Finally, this dissertation ends with a concluding chapter where I sum up the main insights of these studies and discuss their implications for the future research agenda.

Theorizing the welfare state attitudes of established outsiders

Migration and the welfare state

Starting from the classic work of Marshall (1950), the emergence of the modern welfare state is traced back to the processes of nation state-building and citizen integration. The establishment of social citizenship in the 20th century can be considered as the final stage of the nation building process, after the establishment of civil rights and political rights in the 18th century and 19th century. The development of social programs removed the barriers related to the economic market, health and education, that prevented the political and civil rights of becoming more than just formal equalities. By reducing substantial inequalities and redistributing resources from richer to poorer parts of the population, the welfare state was able to create societal cohesion and strengthened national communities. Borrowing the concept of 'bounded structuring' from the theory of Stein Rokkan, this idea has been further developed by Ferrera (2005), who states that the postwar welfare state is based on the mechanism of 'internal structuring through external bounding', meaning that the internal solidarity and social protection of citizens depends on the external closure toward and exclusion of the foreigner or non-citizen. During the postwar decades, European states had a monopolistic control over both the membership and the territorial boundaries of social sharing, however, since the end of the 1970's various social trends are fundamentally challenging the 'bounded structuring' of the national welfare states (Ferrera, 2003). While some of these challenges are internal, such as the ageing of populations and the process of individualization, others are external and can be linked to globalization, Europeanization, and increased immigration flows (Taylor-Gooby, 2004). Focusing on migration as an external pressure for the welfare state in this dissertation, an obvious starting point is the work of Gary P. Freeman (1986), stating that closed national welfare states cannot coexist with the free movement of labour and open economies and that, therefore, migration is likely to lead to the Americanization of European welfare politics (Freeman, 1986, p. 51). Since this pioneering statement, different authors have contributed to a debate on the conflictual relation between migration and diversity on the one hand, and a strong welfare state on the other hand. Amongst them are Bommers and Geddes (2000), who provide an enhanced understanding of the relation between the two concepts by taking on a Luhmann-inspired approach. They assert that migration is part of the socially expected mobility in social systems like education, economy and law, and only becomes a problem from the point of view of the political system that is characterized by an internal differentiation into national welfare states. In this regard Bommers (2012, pp. 89-90) speaks of the paradox of migration, i.e. the permanent

production of motives for international migration due to the demand of labour markets on the one hand, and the permanent political effort to restrict these migrations and to reduce motives for migration by the political system on the other hand. Depending on the perspective, the threat formed by migration is described in different ways. From an economic angle, immigrants are considered to pose a fiscal burden for the welfare state and threaten the financial sustainability of the system. This is based on the assumption that high-benefit welfare states attract the lower-educated migrants that are most likely to become welfare recipients (Borjas, 1999). From a sociological angle, the concern – also called the ‘progressive dilemma’ (Goodhart, 2004) - is that the diversity caused by immigration will erode social solidarity and interpersonal trust, which are both assumed to be necessary grounds for the popular support for the welfare state (Ervasti & Hjerm, 2012, p. 154; Miller, 1995). The idea of a welfare state backlash due to increased diversity has been tested empirically. While scholars underline the importance of ethnic heterogeneity in explaining lower welfare expenditures and support for welfare policy for the USA case (Alesina & Glaeser, 2004), evidence for similar effects in Europe and the predicted Americanization of the European welfare state is not convincing (Eger & Breznau, 2017; Mau & Burkhardt, 2009; Taylor-Gooby, 2005).

Although the issue of migration is receiving increasing attention within the welfare state literature in general, and research on welfare state attitudes in particular (See, for instance, Banting & Kymlicka, 2006; Crepaz, 2008; Ervasti & Hjerm, 2012), most studies focus on the majority perspective of national citizens. As mentioned above, one of the principal research questions is whether the general welfare state support of national citizens decreases because of the growing ethnic diversity (Eger & Breznau, 2017). Another central topic concerns welfare chauvinism, or people’s willingness to restrict the social rights of immigrants and reserve the services of the national welfare state exclusively for fellow nationals (Among others, Crepaz & Damron, 2009; Mewes & Mau, 2012; van Oorschot, 2008). The small amount of studies that take into account people’s immigrant status, often treat it as a control variable and a proxy for economic vulnerability or having a relatively high risk of welfare usage (Blomberg, Kallio, Kangas, Kroll, & Niemelä, 2012; Mewes & Mau, 2013). This approach assumes, however, that immigrants form one homogeneous group of people with a vulnerable socioeconomic position who favour open and comprehensive welfare state arrangements based on their individual economic interests. In order to advance the debate about the impact of societal diversity on the welfare state, it is necessary to test these assumptions and to gain further knowledge about the welfare state attitudes of people with a

migration background. This issue is even more relevant since European societies are evolving to contexts of super-diversity: on the one hand, an increasing share of the population is likely to belong to a non-native minority group, on the other hand, there is a growing diversity among minority group members with regard to their ethnic background, degree of incorporation, temporality of stay, socioeconomic status, and cultural and religious heritage (Vertovec, 2007). Not only is the size and heterogeneity of citizens with a non-native background rising in Western-Europe, their political weight has also increased. For these reasons, it is necessary to gain a better understanding of the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background. Furthermore, the investigation of this specific population is able to shed new light on the existing welfare state theories.

In response to this gap in the welfare state attitudes literature, recently several scholars have explored the welfare state from the perspective of people with a migration background. Contributing to this relatively new field of study, is one of the main goals of this dissertation. The existing research on the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background can be separated into three different approaches. A first approach investigates to what extent there is an opinion gap between migrants and native-born citizens, and how the differences between their attitudes might be explained. Overall, these studies show that, compared to native citizens living in Europe, immigrants are somewhat more in favour of redistribution, social spending (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006), and state intervention (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015), and tend to prefer a less restrictive welfare state toward newcomers (Degen, Kuhn, & van der Brug, 2018; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). In order to explain the stronger pro-welfare opinions of immigrants, authors usually refer to their disadvantaged socioeconomic position and their leftist political ideas (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015), as well as the generation they belong to and their legal incorporation status (Degen et al., 2018; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). A second approach treats migration as a natural experiment in order to investigate more general processes of attitude formation related to acculturation and the impact of culture vs. institutions. Regarding the acculturation of welfare opinions, there is evidence that immigrants gradually adjust their attitudes to the host population over time based on the effect of years spent in the host country (Schneider & Devitt, 2018), based on a comparison of the attitudes of different generations (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015), and based on the effect of natives' attitudes on migrants and people belonging to a diaspora (Hedegaard & Bekhuis, 2018). Concerning the impact of culture and institutional context on the formation of welfare attitudes, the findings of existing studies point in different directions depending on whether they look at times series data (Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017) or compare the opinions of

migrants and people living in the country of origin (Luttmer & Singhal, 2011). Finally, a third approach investigates specific groups of migrants and focuses exclusively on their welfare state attitudes, instead of comparing them to native citizens. Overall, these studies highlight the importance of differentiating between groups based on their socioeconomic position, country of origin and migration motive (Albertini & Semperebon, 2018; Kremer, 2016; Osipovic, 2015; Renema & Lubbers, 2018) and show that in order to understand the grounds of migrants' welfare support, the classic predictors from the welfare attitudes literature need to be complemented with explanations derived from the migration literature such as group interest and a sense of belonging to the ethnic group (Renema & Lubbers, 2018; Renema, Meuleman, & Lubbers, 2019).

Despite offering relevant insights, the unfolding research domain on the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background is faced with several theoretical and methodological difficulties. The existing research focusing on specific migrant groups demonstrates that people with a migration background cannot be considered as one homogeneous group and that there is need for a more careful interpretation of their status, which cannot be reduced to a less favourable socioeconomic position (Lubbers, Diehl, Kuhn, & Larsen, 2018, p. 16). Due to the limited amount of migrant-specific survey data, however, most quantitative studies are restricted to the use of general population surveys. This leads to the aggregation of minority groups with varying cultural characteristics and different levels of welfare dependency into a catch-all category and limits the explanatory models to general predictors based on socioeconomic position and political ideology. Furthermore, the existing studies are often based on the assumption that the mechanisms underneath the welfare state support of native citizens and people with a migration background operate in a universal manner, and they overlook explanations that are related to their distinct group position. In an effort to overcome these difficulties, this dissertation will use originally collected survey data among citizens with a migration background, explore new predictors of their welfare state attitudes, and test whether these determinants affect the attitudes of native citizens in the same way. Yet, one of the most important differences between this thesis and the abovementioned existing research, is the way the societal position of the population of interest is theorized, which is discussed elaborately in the following section.

Beyond the insider-outsider distinction

The existing welfare state attitudes literature that goes beyond the perspective of the general population, often defines the population of interest as people without the nationality of the country

they reside in (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). While citizens are considered as insiders belonging to the national welfare state, non-citizens are seen as outsiders that might have different welfare state attitudes and thus deserve our scholarly attention. However, this dichotomy based on legal citizenship status neglects the more complex status of permanently settled postwar labour migrants and their descendants in North Western-Europe. In order to capture their societal position, this dissertation therefore builds on the literature on the citizenship-membership distinction as well as the established-outsiders framework.

The inadequacy of national citizenship status alone to capture the status of permanently settled migrants and the need for new definitions and concepts to understand the dynamics of their rights and membership has already been signalled. Brubaker (1989) makes a distinction between the concepts of citizenship and membership and argues that a dual structure has emerged. Whereas the first concept is a simple and straightforward category; one either is or is not a citizen of a certain nation state, the latter is a complex and ambiguous category in the sense that a person can be more or less a member of a state and can be member in one respect while not in another respect (Brubaker, 2010a, p. 229). In the context of the early 1990s, Soysal (1994) described how long-term noncitizen immigrants in Western countries are members without being citizens, i.e. they hold various rights and privileges even without a formal nationality status. These examples of postnational forms of membership illustrate how the conventional dichotomy between national citizens and aliens is becoming more blurry. However, since then the situation of postwar immigrants in North-Western Europe has changed because many of the permanently settled migrants and certainly the second and third generation born in those countries have acquired the formal citizenship status. Nevertheless, I argue that the distinction between membership and citizenship still remains useful to describe their societal position. Rather than being non-citizens with a certain degree of membership, they are now citizens without complete membership. Their perspective has shifted from that of an immigrant looking forward to citizenship in the country of residence into that of a member of a minority group that is denied the full benefits of such membership (Michelson, 2003, p. 922). Especially the situation of the descendants of first generation immigrants is noticeable in this perspective. Although they are not migrants themselves, they are still seen as being different than native citizens; they are 'foreigners in the full sense of the term' (Sayad, 2010, p. 178). In other words, the 'being-foreign' of immigrants is prolonged over different generations (Caestecker, 2006), which is illustrated by the fact that in many societies the descendants of postwar immigrants are considered to be 'foreign' and labelled as 'allochthones' (Jacobs & Rea, 2012).

Considering the limitations of the citizenship concept, an alternative approach may focus on the cultural characteristics of settled immigrants based on their country of origin, ethnicity or religion. However, this runs the risk of reifying culture as a property of these groups and neglects the power configuration that characterizes the relations between native citizens and people with a migration background (Pratsinakis, 2018). As a way of overcoming these difficulties, this dissertation uses the established-outsiders framework for understanding the position of postwar immigrants and their descendants in Europe. The framework provides an intersectional perspective and explains the relation of dominance between groups by looking at the configuration of social relationships, rather than solely characteristics such as class or race (Loyal, 2011). One of the benefits of this approach is that it allows to overcome methodological nationalism, or the automatic inclusion of citizenship status as the main criteria of difference (Dahinden, 2016; Wimmer & Schiller, 2003), without ignoring as if the nationalistic viewpoint does not matter at all (Dahinden, 2016; Eve, 2011; Pratsinakis, 2018). The established-outsiders framework is originally based on a study by Elias and Scotson (1965) about the tensions between residents of different working class estates in a suburban neighbourhood. In a community without major class, race or ethnic divides, the central cleavage was between old residents who were established in the area for several generations on the one hand, and newcomers on the other hand. The figuration was characterized by a power differential in favour of the established group, who secured their superior status by means of stigmatization and exclusion in relation to the newcomers who were seen as a threat (Elias, 1976). Different authors showed that, with some modifications, the theoretical model can be usefully applied to a wide range of unequal group relations and within larger settings, e.g. to examine how stigmatization and exclusion are maintained between natives and immigrants (Eve, 2011; Loyal, 2011; May, 2004; Pratsinakis, 2018). In this regard, the legal system is considered to assign immigrants to the status of outsiders and applies regulations and practices, such as the exclusion from various social benefits, that disadvantage and disempower immigrants (Loyal, 2011, p. 195). This figuration on the societal level is then often reproduced within the relations between people on the city and neighbourhood level by means of stigmatization and social closure (May, 2004, p. 2165).

Although these applications of the established-outsiders framework acknowledge that both the categories of established natives and outsider migrants are not homogeneous nor static (Loyal, 2011; May, 2004; Pratsinakis, 2018), little attention has been paid to this issue. Groups of people who would earlier be considered as outsiders are also able to enter the club of insiders, however, this is a long-term process that can take more than one generation (Pratsinakis, 2018). Based on this idea

and the abovementioned theories about the dual membership structure in European societies, I argue that people with origins in the postwar labour migration can be considered as 'established outsiders' because of their long-term settlement and legal inclusion in the country of residence. Describing the situation in an inner-city neighbourhood in Germany, May (2004) states that Turkish descendants of the guest worker regime can no longer be confined to the position of the powerless outsiders as in the past. Partly because they benefit from a stronger social cohesion on the local level, they have successfully monopolized certain resources within their ethnic communities and gradually succeeded in establishing themselves. Nonetheless, their increased power-surplus on the local level is often outweighed by their exclusion and disadvantaged position on the societal level (May, 2004, p. 2173).

In sum, permanently settled postwar labour migrants and their descendants have a specific dual position in relation to the native society that may be conceptualized as 'established outsiders'. In the following sections, I will argue that this dual position is relevant for their welfare state attitudes. The current study differs in that regard with previous research that uses citizenship as the main criterion of difference between migrants and natives. Although the established-outside framework of Elias offers an interesting way to conceptualize the societal position of the research population in this dissertation, several aspects need further development in order to apply the theory in an empirical study of this more complex figuration (Pratsinakis, 2018). In order to deal with the undertheorized parts, I will combine the central idea of established outsiders with insights from theories regarding perceived disadvantaged group position and group identity, as a way of contributing to the welfare state attitudes literature.

The origins of welfare state attitudes

In the following, I discuss the main conceptions of welfare state attitudes employed in this study and give a short overview of the general individual-level mechanisms which are expected to underlie the development of these attitudes. It will be argued that the classic frameworks based on self-interest and ideology fall short in explaining the welfare state attitudes of citizens with a migration background because they neglect the dual perspective of this specific population. One of the main contributions of this dissertation lies in the extension of the literature by considering perceptions of a disadvantaged group position and group identity as predictors of welfare state attitudes. These two frameworks are introduced in the third and fourth part of this section and will receive further attention in the different empirical chapters.

Defining welfare state attitudes

Welfare state attitudes refer to the more or less consistent tendency of people to evaluate certain aspects of the welfare state in a positive or negative manner (Borre & Goldsmith, 1995; Coughlin, 1980). These attitudes are multidimensional meaning that individual citizens might, at the same time, endorse a substantial role for the government in the provision of welfare and be critical about specific aspects of such provision (Roosma, Gelissen, & Oorschot, 2013; van Oorschot & Meuleman, 2012). Throughout this dissertation, three different welfare state attitudes will be investigated. The first, labelled as *support for redistribution*, revolves around people's support for the principle of equality and the state's role in reducing class inequalities and redistributing incomes. The second welfare state attitude that is analysed refers to the range of areas of life in which the state should redistribute according to people. The government can be responsible for various social benefits, including old age pensions and unemployment benefits, and other social services such as health care, education, and child care services (Muuri, 2010). The concept *attitudes toward government responsibility* in this dissertation refers to people's preferred role of the government in providing pensions for the elderly, health care, and a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed. By examining these two attitudes, this dissertation keeps with the most often used operationalization of people's welfare state attitudes, while still acknowledging that they are distinct from each other. Thirdly, this thesis investigates *welfare chauvinism*, which refers to the actual design of the redistribution process and more specifically the access of non-citizens or foreigners to the welfare state services and benefits. Whereas attitudes toward redistribution and government responsibility tap into a rather general stance toward the welfare state and tend to receive much support in Western-European societies (Coughlin, 1980; Mau, 2003; Svallfors, 1995; Taylor-Gooby, 1982), welfare chauvinism revolves around the boundaries of the national welfare state which is a much more contested topic (Mewes & Mau, 2012).

The term welfare chauvinism was first coined by Andersen and Bjørklund (1990) to capture the welfare opinions of the voters supporting the emerging populist right-wing parties in Denmark and Norway who were generally in favour of the welfare state but wanted welfare services to be restricted to 'our own'. Since then scholarly attention has been devoted to both the supply side, i.e. welfare chauvinism as an ideological position of populist radical right parties in Northern and Western Europe (Ennsner-Jedenastik, 2018; Kitschelt, 1997), and the demand side, i.e. voters' opinions about welfare and immigration. Regarding the latter, welfare chauvinism has been given different interpretations and has been referred to as stereotypes about migrants taking jobs, houses

and social services away (Crepaz & Damron, 2009), or the specific combination of strong egalitarianism and restrictive views regarding the deservingness of immigrants (van der Waal, Achterberg, Houtman, de Koster, & Manevska, 2010). Within the welfare state attitudes literature an additional distinction is sometimes made between welfare chauvinism in the strict sense, i.e. the idea that migrants should be excluded from welfare provisions, or a softer definition referring to the perception that migrants are less deserving of or entitled to welfare services (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012). Furthermore, it should be noted that with regard to the attitudes of immigrants themselves, several authors have formulated critique on the use of the term welfare chauvinism. Kremer (2016) and Kolbe and Crepaz (2016) argue that by describing these attitudes as such, they carry along the connotation of an extreme form of patriotism, suggesting that it is a chauvinistic phenomenon exclusively for native majority members. Although I agree that research needs to be careful with making assumptions regarding the opinions toward newcomers held by people with a migration background, I believe that the literature on welfare chauvinism does provide a useful starting point for investigating the attitudes of postwar migrants and their descendants regarding newcomers' deservingness of welfare benefits. Besides referring to these attitudes as 'the willingness to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants' throughout this thesis, I also use the term 'welfare chauvinism' in keeping with the terminology of this literature.

In sum, three specific types of welfare state attitudes are investigated in this dissertation. The first two empirical chapters will consider general support for the welfare state and focus on attitudes toward redistribution and government responsibility. In a later stage, attitudes toward the welfare state access of immigrants are explored, which allows this dissertation to contribute to the growing domain on welfare chauvinism. Despite the illustrated multidimensionality, the factors explaining welfare state attitudes can be grouped in a similar way. The following section reviews the main theoretical frameworks that are used in this dissertation in order to explain individual differences in welfare state attitudes.

Classic individual-level determinants of welfare attitudes: Self-interest and political ideology

Various authors have proposed that economic self-interest is a fundamental driver of welfare state attitudes, and that individuals are supporters of the welfare state when it is beneficial for their personal economic position. Based on this premise, the welfare state is likely to be supported by people who receive welfare benefits such as the unemployed and the elderly or those who are at risk of becoming dependent upon them (Kangas, 1997), but also by people working in the public sector

(Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003; Svallfors, 1997, 2004; Svallfors & Taylor-Gooby, 1999). The essence of the self-interest perspective is that people form their attitudes toward political issues and institutions on the basis of their personal interests. However, defining self-interest has shown to be a tricky business and indicators tend to vary regarding their objectivity and prospectivity (Sears & Funk, 1990). For example, a distinction can be made between people's current need for welfare and their future risk of becoming dependent on welfare (Renema & Lubbers, 2018) or people's actual household income versus the subjective evaluation of their financial situation. This dissertation follows Sears and Funk (1990) by conceptualizing the self-interest perspective in a rather restricted manner emphasizing the instrumental, egocentric, material, and short-to-medium term interpretation, which allows us to formulate verifiable and falsifiable hypothesis and avoids conceptual stretching (Collier & Mahon, 1993; Sartori, 1970). The self-interest premise will be tested throughout this dissertation by looking at the effect of occupational status, welfare reciprocity and feelings of economic insecurity. Educational level, on the contrary, is not considered as a reflection of self-interest since it reflects a mix of interests, socialization and cultural capital (Sears & Funk, 1990; van der Waal et al., 2010). Although people's level of education will be taken into account in the empirical analyses, disentangling the economic and cultural mechanisms behind the role of education falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

There is a general consensus that the economic approach of self-interest, reducing individuals to rational human beings that strive for profit maximization, offers a too narrow approach to understand the formation of welfare state attitudes and should be complemented with other perspectives. The impact of self-interest is then contrasted with the effect of so-called symbolic orientations (Sears, Lau, Tyler, & Allen, 1980) or ideology (Jæger, 2006). In this regard, attitudes toward the welfare state are considered to be based on long-standing overarching orientations rather than calculated short-term costs and benefits. On the basis of cognitive consistency, people's opinions about the desired scope of public welfare provision arise from their personal principles and values, and are embedded in a general and coherent system of political orientations and ideological preferences (Feldman & Zaller, 1992; Jæger, 2006). Searching beyond purely economic explanations, scholars investigated the effect of factors like party affiliation (Jæger, 2006; Papadakis, 1993; Papadakis & Bean, 1993; Taylor-Gooby, 1982), left-right orientation (Jæger, 2008; Papadakis, 1993; Papadakis & Bean, 1993), belief in social mobility (Coughlin, 1980; Fong, 2001) and the perceived causes of poverty (Fong, 2001).

Considering the relevance of self-interest and ideology for migrants' welfare state attitudes (e.g. Lubbers et al., 2018; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015; Renema & Lubbers, 2018), the different empirical chapters will test effects of determinants based on these frameworks on the attitudes of citizens with a migration background toward redistribution, government responsibility and the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants. Furthermore, the final empirical chapter will investigate whether these general predictors operate in a similar manner for citizens with a migration background on the one hand, and native citizens on the other hand. The theoretical underpinning and specific hypotheses regarding these effects will be discussed in the respective chapters, but will not be further elaborated upon here. Rather, I argue that by adhering to the self-interest and ideology frameworks, the welfare state attitudes literature focuses too much on the position of the individual. The main argument developed in this thesis is that processes at the group level need to be taken into account. To a certain extent, it has been recognized that the classic structural welfare state theories should be combined with mechanisms related to group dynamics (Breznau & Eger, 2016), and several authors attempted to bring in the group element by investigating the effect of the benefit participation rates of the own racial (Luttmer, 2001) or migrant group (Renema & Lubbers, 2018). The expectation is that, regardless of their individual reciprocity status, people who belong to a group where the majority relies on welfare support, i.e. has a high benefit participation rate, hold more benevolent attitudes toward the welfare state than people who belong to groups that rely little or not at all on welfare support. However, these studies basically translate the interest approach from the individual to the group level and boil down to the idea that people have a self-interested stake in a group struggle, in the sense that persons who perceive their group to be disadvantaged have an interest in improving their group position because it might also improve their individual position.

This dissertation proposes that the welfare state attitudes literature must consider mechanisms based on a sense of group position (Blumer, 1958) and group identification (Tajfel, 1982), that derive from a collective process and cannot be reduced to the current status or feelings of individual group members (Bobo, 1999, p. 461; Bobo & Hutchings, 1996, p. 956). Perceived disadvantaged group position deals with the discrepancy between people's perceptions of their group position and what this position ought to be. Based on social identity theory, identification with a group as such, even without a perceived disadvantage, is able to affect policy attitudes and solidarity toward members of the same and other groups. In both cases, however, the dual position of established outsiders must be taken into account as further theorized in the following paragraphs. Hence, an important

contribution of this thesis lies in the application of the established-outsiders framework in order to understand the welfare state attitudes of permanently settled postwar labour migrants and their descendants, and how their dual position is recognized in two different mechanisms, i.e. perceived disadvantaged group position and group identification.

Perceived disadvantaged group position

A first explanation for people's welfare state attitudes that is investigated throughout this dissertation, in addition to the classic predictors based on material interests and political ideology, is perceived disadvantaged group position. Since Stouffer's introduction of the concept 'relative deprivation' (Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, & Williams Jr, 1949) and Blumer's (1958) seminal paper 'Race prejudice as a sense of group position' it has been recognized that the perceived relative positioning of social groups and feelings that one's group is unfairly deprived of desirable goods have a more decisive impact on people's policy preferences than their absolute positioning and living conditions. Although this idea is well established in research on intergroup attitudes (Walker & Smith, 2002) and collective action (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), the studies in this thesis are among the first to introduce these insights in the welfare state attitudes literature. For this purpose, I build on the theoretical traditions of group position theory, relative deprivation theory, as well as the literature on perceived discrimination. Before I discuss their relevance for explaining welfare state attitudes, I first give a brief overview of the main arguments of these theories and how they complement each other.

The central claim of group position theory is that negative outgroup attitudes are a defensive reaction against challenges to the so-called 'sense of group position', a collective sense of where groups belong in society. On behalf of dominant group members, this concept is defined as containing a feeling of superiority, the belief that the subordinate group is intrinsically alien and different, a sense of propriety claim over certain privileges and the suspicion that members of subordinate groups will try to challenge this advantaged position (Blumer, 1958). The group position framework has been mostly used to study prejudice and racism among dominant group members (Bobo, 1983, 1988, 1999), but has also been elaborated to a multiracial context (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; King & Weiner, 2007). Most attention is given to racial divisions, and the collective definitions groups construct of themselves and their relation to other groups (Taylor, 2002). Relative deprivation refers to the feeling that, compared with a relevant reference, people are unfairly deprived of desirable goods, and is considered to lay at the origins of social unrest (Merton

& Rossi, 1968; Stouffer et al., 1949; Walker & Smith, 2002). The concept has been used widely in the literature explaining support for collective action and policies aiming at redressing social prejudice among disadvantaged group members (Taylor, 2002), but has also been related to ethnic prejudice and opposition to government redressing racism among dominant group members (Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972). The relative deprivation approach looks at individual differences, concentrates on the comparative aspect, and mostly considers class and social status as the dimensions along which relative deprivation is formed (Taylor, 2002). Although group position theory and relative deprivation theory put emphasis on different aspects of the idea that feelings of injustice do not depend on the objective position of an individual but on subjective perceptions about his or her position, the convergence between the two approaches has been recognized. This is definitely the case when the theory of Blumer is used as a basis for empirical studies that examine individual differences, eliminating the level of analysis as a differentiating feature of the collective threat perspective (Taylor, 2002).

Additionally, this dissertation borrows insights from the literature on perceived discrimination among minority group members. The concepts relative deprivation and perceived discrimination have a lot in common in the sense that they can both be considered forms of perceived social injustice resulting from intergroup inequality (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). The main difference is that the notion of relative deprivation emphasizes feelings of disadvantage in comparison with a certain reference group or person, while perceived discrimination focuses mostly on the act of unfair treatment resulting in a certain disadvantage. Feelings of relative deprivation might be based on both unequal outcomes and unequal procedures (Tyler & Lind, 2002), whereas perceived discrimination refers to the more specific case when unequal outcomes are attributed to unequal processes or unfair treatment by societies' institutions or majorities. Despite these differences, the literatures on relative deprivation and perceived discrimination have in common that they both make a distinction between the group and individual level, i.e. between the subjective feeling of being unfairly disadvantaged as an individual and the feeling that one's own social group is disadvantaged (Crosby, 1984; Runciman, 1966). In this regard, it appears that framing the same situation in either individual or group terms can create very different reactions, and that the subjective sense of disadvantage at the group level is the most potent in explaining support for collective actions to redress the inequality while the first is more related to internal states and individual behaviour (Smith & Ortiz, 2002).

Based on their similarities and complementarity, all three frameworks – group position, relative deprivation, and perceived discrimination - are referred to in this thesis when theorizing about the effect of a perceived disadvantaged group position on welfare state attitudes. Nevertheless, the concept perceived discrimination will be used in the analyses as a way of capturing people's subjective feelings of a disadvantaged treatment and acknowledging the individual differences in these perceptions. The different empirical chapters confirm the importance of perceptions of disadvantaged treatment, as well as the idea that these perceptions are able to have different effects depending on whether they refer to the group or individual level. Chapter 2 examines whether perceived group discrimination results into a greater willingness among permanently settled postwar labour migrants and their descendants to challenge the disadvantage they experience by means of income redistribution and government involvement. Chapter 4 focuses on explaining the attitudes toward the welfare state access of newcomers and uses the established-outsiders framework to show how the opinions of permanently settled postwar labour migrants and their descendants are based on competing motivations. Depending on whether the disadvantage is seen as a personal experience or a group position, perceived discrimination is able to increase the likelihood of viewing newcomers as competitors and their access to the welfare state as a threat or may lead to increased solidarity and a sense of kinship toward newcomers (Just & Anderson, 2015; Mustafa & Richards, 2018). The final empirical chapter of this thesis then adds the comparative perspective and demonstrates that subjective feelings about ones' group position also matter greatly for the welfare state attitudes of native citizens.

Group identity

The theories presented above lead to the expectation that welfare state attitudes are grounded in perceptions about the disadvantaged position of the group one belongs to. However, there are reasons to believe that even without a perceived disadvantage, a collective identity as such is able to affect social cohesion and people's attitudes toward welfare state solidarity. This idea can be traced to social identity theory which looks at processes of social categorization and social comparison, and interprets attitudes and behaviour in relational and comparative terms (Tajfel, 1982). According to the theory, people's self-image is influenced by the perceived status of their in-group, which enhances the likelihood of behaviour in favour of fellow group members (Tajfel, 1982) and the prioritization of the group's welfare in individuals' decision making (Kramer & Brewer, 1984) among people with a strong sense of group identification. Social identity theory has proven to be a fruitful framework for understanding people's out-group evaluations (Brewer & Pierce, 2005;

Verkuyten, 2009) and political action (Klandermans, 2002; Van Zomeren et al., 2008), and has been considered as an underpinning of people's voting behaviour and policy attitudes (Greene, 2004; Klor & Shayo, 2010).

Social identity has also been explicitly linked to welfare state attitudes within the literature revolving around the so-called 'national identity argument'. Associated with the political theory of liberal nationalism, different authors have suggested that by bonding community members together, shared national identities provide the required conditions - mutual trust and a sense of sympathy - that are essential in the organization of redistributive justice and the organization of welfare state arrangements (Marshall, 1950; Miller, 1995). The argument has been tested by studies looking at the relation between people's national identification and their support for redistribution and welfare state solidarity (Johnston, Banting, Kymlicka, & Soroka, 2010; Miller & Ali, 2014; Shayo, 2009; Wright & Reeskens, 2013). Although they find some empirical evidence for the premise of the national identity argument, they also highlight the need to distinguish between different types of welfare state attitudes and show that the solidarity based on national identity is not highly inclusive toward new immigrants seeking access to the welfare state. It appears that the more people identify with their national community, the more they prioritize the welfare of the community over the welfare of foreigners and the more aversion they have to immigrants' access to the welfare state (Wright & Reeskens, 2013). Indeed, national identity has been shown to increase people's general welfare state support (Wright & Reeskens, 2013) and support for government intervention (Johnston et al., 2010), as well as the extent to which they feel obliged to help fellow citizens (Theiss-Morse, 2009). On the other hand, a strong national identity makes people also set more exclusive boundaries on the group they are willing to help (Theiss-Morse, 2009) and is related to higher levels of welfare chauvinism (Wright & Reeskens, 2013).

The existing literature on the relation between national identification and welfare state solidarity has been mostly restricted to the perspective of native citizens. One exception is the recent work of Renema and Lubbers (2018) who consider the sense of belonging to a specific immigrant group as a possible explanation for immigrants' support for social spending. However, similar to the studies among native citizens, they look at only one type of identification and do not consider the possibility of multiple identifications. Focusing on the welfare state attitudes of postwar migrants and their descendants and their dual position in Western societies, I argue that their group identification should be conceptualized in a more refined way that acknowledges the different patterns of identification with the native society or country of residence and the ethnic group or

country of origin. One of the main contributions of this dissertation in this regard is that it illustrates the importance of considering both national and ethnic identification and the various ways in which they are able to interact. Drawing on the work of Berry (2005) and Hutnik (1991), four patterns of identification are conceptualized depending on how strong a person identifies with both the national and ethnic entity: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. The first refers to the combination of a strong identification with both entities, the second is defined by an exclusive identification with the country of residence. Separation describes the opposite scenario where people identify almost solely with their ethnic group, and marginalization is defined by a weak national and ethnic identity.

The empirical Chapters 3 and 4 test the relation between the group identity of established outsiders and respectively their support for redistribution and willingness to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants. Chapter 3 focuses on attachment to the country of residence (Belgium) and attachment to the country of origin (Turkey or Morocco), as well as the different combinations of the two. Differently, Chapter 4, investigates how dual self-identification, or to what extent people categorize themselves as Belgian-Turkish or Belgian-Moroccan, affects their willingness to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants. Finally, given its comparative perspective and the lack of a comparable concept of dual identity, Chapter 5 does not take into account the different relations between identity and welfare state attitudes among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians on the one hand, and among native Belgians on the other hand.

Setting the context

This dissertation investigates the welfare state attitudes of a specific group of postwar labour migrants and their descendants, namely people with a Belgian citizenship who migrated from Turkey or Morocco or who have parents that migrated from these countries. The postwar labour migration from Turkey and Morocco, and subsequent family and marriage migration, resulted in the permanent settlement of Turkish and Moroccan communities in Belgium as well as in several other North-Western European countries. They form an informative and relevant case to investigate because they are part of the first large waves of non-European immigration in 20th century and remain to date crucial in triggering various social debates on immigration and integration. In this section, I present the main units of analysis, Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent, explain the historical origins of this group and describe their position in the Belgian society while drawing some central distinctions within the group. Within each of the empirical chapters,

more specific context information is given that is considered relevant for the research questions tackled in that chapter.

Labelling the research population

Before turning to a substantial description of the investigated population, a brief conceptual discussion is given with regard to the labels used to describe them. Throughout the thesis, the research population of interest will be referred to as Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent. Describing the groups of interest by means of the concept 'migrant' has its limitations since the children of the postwar labour immigrants are generally born and raised in Belgium and have never migrated. Although this inconsistency is often solved by using the term 'second-generation migrant', I prefer to use the overarching term citizens with a migration background as a way of recognizing that they are citizens of Belgium while also acknowledging that immigration has played an important role in the history of this specific population. The terms 'Turkish' and 'Moroccan' in this dissertation refer to the fact that either the respondent himself, or one or both of the respondents' parents has (or had) the Turkish or Moroccan nationality. This definition based on the nationality of the person or their parents is also used by administrative bodies in Belgium monitoring the integration of immigrants and other minorities (Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Despite hesitations about the use of ethnic categorizations, it constitutes a necessary tool in order to be able to examine the integration of groups of foreign origin, especially in contexts where the legal category of non-national is insufficient due to liberal nationality legislations (see Jacobs & Rea, 2012 for an extensive discussion). The terms 'Turkish' and 'Moroccan' do not necessarily pose a juxtaposition to 'being Belgian'. On the contrary, all respondents in this study have the Belgian citizenship status and as shown for example in Chapter 3 and 4, many of them identify to certain extent as Belgian. References will also be made to the following concepts: native Belgians, Belgians with a native background or native majority group members. Being a member of this group refers to the fact that the respondent has the Belgian nationality and that both his/her parents were born in Belgium. In this regard, the term 'native' does not have a cultural connotation or automatically implies a strong identification with Belgium, but rather signifies a lack of migration background. Furthermore, it should also be noted that a substantial amount of the respondents identifies themselves with categories other than their nationality or the nationality of their parents, e.g. a small number among the Turkish group identifies as Kurdish and considerable part of the Moroccan group identifies as being Berber. Nevertheless, I argue that they can be considered as a particular group due to their historical origins and their current position within the Belgian society.

The Belgian welfare state and migration history

Up until the First World War, Belgium could be described as an emigration country rather than an immigration country, with only a limited number of mostly highly educated or wealthy European immigrants. In the following decades, the labour needs of the Belgian industry were the driving forces behind the immigration of foreigners to Belgium. Whereas the early recruitment of foreign workers was tempered by the economic recession of the 1930s and the Second World War, the expanding heavy industries and shortage of labour in the 1950s attracted significant numbers of new immigrants. Like in many other Western European countries, the Belgian government considered migrant workers as a convenient solution for the Fordist economy at that time, and labour migration was actively encouraged by the state through bilateral agreements with different emigration countries (Bommes & Geddes, 2000). Assuming that they were only residing in the host country to gain an income and that they would return to their homelands when their contracts expired, these migrants were called 'guest workers'. The first wave of guest workers were mostly Italian immigrants but when the Italian government demanded improved working conditions after the mining accident of Marcinelle in 1956, the Belgian government entered bilateral agreements with other countries like Spain, Greece, Turkey, and Morocco. In the beginning they were mostly recruited to work in the mining and metal sector and were concentrated in different cities and municipalities in Wallonia and Limburg. Later the building and textile industry in Brussels and Flemish cities like Antwerp and Ghent also attracted large numbers of foreign workers (Caestecker, 2006; Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). The economic crisis of 1973 and the transition to a post-industrial economy precluded the beginning of a new period in the Belgian immigration history. Low-skilled labour immigrants were no longer needed because of the closing of the coalmines, the decline of heavy industry and the increased unemployment among native workers. Although Belgium decided to halt the issuing of work permits for low-skilled labour immigrants, labelling this new period a 'migration stop' would be misleading, and instead family reunification and family formation became the main sources of continuing immigration. Compared to immigration until the 1980s, current immigration flows have strongly diversified and also include high skilled immigrants, facilitated by European integration, as well as refugees seeking asylum because of persecutions in their home country (Caestecker, 2006; Timmerman, Fadil, Goddeeris, Clycq, & Ettourki, 2017).

With regard to the integration of the postwar labour migrants who decided to settle permanently, the Belgian state and welfare system played an important role. Commonly the Belgian welfare state

is described as belonging to the group of conservative corporatist welfare regimes with an extensive social security based on the continental or Bismarckian model. It is characterized by a high degree of decommodification, or immunization from market dependency, and a highly regulated labour market that relies on social dialogue (Cantillon, De Graeve, & Van Mechelen, 2017). The largest migration flows of the guest workers took place during the so-called Golden Age of the welfare state in which public welfare provision was expanding. Based on the bilateral labour agreements with the sending countries, the guest workers received social security rights inserting the foreign workers into the logic of the welfare state (Gsir, Mandin, & Mescoli, 2015). Whereas prior to the 1970s policy makers were mainly concerned with enabling labour migrants to do their work, the permanent settlement of the foreign workers and increasing presence of immigrant communities from the 1970s and 1980s called for the first policies aimed at their integration into the Belgian society. However, this happened in a context of economic downturns, growing ethnocentrism among the native population and the emergence of extreme right political parties (Swyngedouw, 1995). In addition to an economic perspective, the integration policies now also included cultural aspects and were aimed at guaranteeing the rights of all foreign populations (Lesthaeghe, 2000). Motivated by the need to restore societal cohesiveness, the Belgian government reformed citizenship policies toward greater openness hoping to facilitate the integration of the postwar immigrants through their legal inclusion (Eggerickx, 2006). From the 1990s onwards, a new phase started in which policy makers increasingly focused on the so-called second generation. Immigration policies gradually turned into minority policies (Van den Broucke et al., 2015), because although they have no experience of migration, the children of the postwar migrants face similar obstacles and inequalities regarding their social, economic and cultural integration in the Belgian society (Timmerman et al., 2017). With regard to new immigrants arriving nowadays, Belgium has very extensive welfare policies that are in principle rather inclusive. However, during the past two decades policy changes have been implemented that increase the differences between categories of immigrants and expand the integration and participation requirements for migrants' entitlements on social benefits (Mussche, Corluy, & Marx, 2014).

The Belgian history of postwar labour migration and the inclusion of the settled migrants and their descendants in the welfare state are rather similar to other countries in North-West Europe. Nevertheless, the Belgian context does have certain specificities that are relevant for the topic of this dissertation. The Belgian state has a federal structure which includes a national government, regional governments (Flanders, Wallonia and the Region of Brussels-Capital) and linguistic

communities (Dutch-speaking, French-speaking and a small German-speaking). Although Belgium is officially a federal state since the constitutional reform of 1993, the policy making power over the integration of immigrants was already transferred to the Flemish and French communities in the decade before. Based on their specific objectives regarding the management of cultural diversity, the different entities have each developed their own integration policy (Adam, 2013). Caused by a legitimacy search for the Flemish nation-building process and due to a stronger politicization of immigration-related issues because of the success of the far-right party, Flemish integration policies are more interventionist and resemble a more multiculturalist model (Adam, 2013). On the other hand, the approach in French-speaking Belgium shows less interventionism and resembles the French model of assimilation (Martiniello, 2003). Looking at the integration outcomes, Flanders seems to perform better with regard to minorities' labour market participation, whereas the French-speaking region scores better on indicators regarding language skills, educational attainment and minorities' sense of belonging (Torrekens & Adam, 2015).

Although the federal structure of Belgium and its consequences for the integration of migrants should not be neglected, it is important to keep in mind that the immigration history and institutional context is similar to a large extent for the different regions within the country. In addition to operating under the same constitutional law and immigration policy, the welfare state and social security has remained a largely national organized matter (Béland & Lecours, 2005). In other words, there are little theoretical reasons to expect the welfare state attitudes of postwar labour migrants and their descendants to show relevant differences based on the region they live in, after taking into account their socioeconomic situation. Nevertheless, the regional political context of respondents is considered (both as predictor and moderator) in the empirical chapters of this dissertation. Relevant effects will be pointed out, but since an examination of the impact of political context on welfare state attitudes is beyond the scope of this study and given that the analyses hardly show any regional differences, the factor will not receive a central role in this thesis.

As this brief history shows, the integration of postwar labour migrants differs from the sequence that characterized the nation state building process of 19th and 20th century. Whereas traditionally social rights are seen as the final stage of this process, after the establishment of civil and political rights, the guest workers received social rights from the start (Soysal, 1994, p. 120). This can be explained by the fact that they were initially only considered as temporary work forces and hardly a matter of public or policy debate. Moreover, the Belgian labour unions deliberately incorporated the guest workers in order to avoid wage competition at the expense of the native workers (Deslé,

1992). Only in a later stage, when they started to form settled families and communities, the postwar labour migrants gradually received access to the Belgian citizenship and attention was given to their political and cultural integration. As Timmerman et al. (2017) note, an analogous trend is witnessed in the academic migration research within the Belgian context; initially the research was very descriptive and focused on the structural and economic integration of migrants, while only more recently did scholars investigate themes like identity, culture and religion. This development partly explains why so little is known about the attitudes of the settled postwar migrants and their descendants toward politics and the welfare state, despite the fact that the state played an important role in their migration history.

The position of Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium

As the use of indicators on ethnicity is strongly restricted within Belgium (Jacobs & Rea, 2012), the exact proportion of the population with a foreign background is difficult to grasp, and only estimations can be made based on a combination of statistics about residents' current nationality, country of birth, nationality at birth and the nationality at birth of their parents (Schoonvaere, 2014). Despite the limitations of these indicators, it is estimated that about 2 percent of the Belgian population are of Turkish descent (Schoonvaere, 2013) and 3.8 percent of Moroccan descent (Schoonvaere, 2014). This makes them among the largest minority groups that do not have a EU-background (Van den Broucke et al., 2015). As mentioned in the previous section, the Belgian integration policy has relied heavily on citizenship acquisition and the liberal policies developed during the 1980s and 1990s have facilitated access to citizenship. Both Turkish and Moroccan migrants have benefited from the facilitated access, and, as a consequence, the majority of the born-abroad population, almost 8 out of 10, has obtained the Belgian citizenship (Gsir et al., 2015; Schoonvaere, 2013, 2014). However, although many of the Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium have the national citizenship, by birth or acquisition, this formal equality has not translated into a fully equal social position. This is not only illustrated by the fact that they have a disadvantaged socioeconomic status compared to native Belgian citizens, but also by the disadvantaged treatment they experience and the nature of the public discourse on their position in the Belgian society.

Studies based on administrative and survey data have shown evidence for the disadvantaged societal position of Turkish and Moroccan minorities living in Belgium, with regard to their level of education, labour market position, poverty risk, and housing conditions. Compared to the Belgian

youth of native descent, those with a Moroccan or Turkish background have a higher probability of dropping out of secondary school without getting a degree, are overrepresented in vocational education (Phalet, Deboosere, & Bastiaenssen, 2007), and are less likely to obtain a degree of tertiary education (Hesters, 2011; Timmerman et al., 2003; Van Robaeys & Perrin, 2007). The labour market position of Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium is characterized by lower levels of labour market participation as well as by an overrepresentation in the labour market's secondary sectors (Martens & Verhoeven, 2006). Research shows that, compared with Belgians that have native-born parents, they are five times more likely to be unemployed (Martens & Verhoeven, 2006; Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Referred to as the ethnostratification of the labour market, the job market is shown to be segregated according to ethnic group membership, in the sense that the working population of Turkish and Moroccan descent is strongly overrepresented in the segments that are characterized by low wages, high job insecurity, and poor working conditions (Hartung, 2010; Timmerman et al., 2003; Vertommen & Martens, 2006). These characteristics - low levels of education, high unemployment and job insecurity - are of course interconnected and have consequences for the income levels and other aspects of their living conditions. With regard to housing conditions, people with a Moroccan or Turkish background are less likely to be home owners and are overrepresented in the social housing and rental market in comparison with native Belgians (Hesters, 2011; Swyngedouw, Delwit, & Rea, 2005; Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Furthermore, the population of Turkish or Moroccan descent is more than four times as likely to receive a social assistance benefit (*leefloon*) (Van den Broucke et al., 2015) and five times as likely to have an income below the poverty line (Van Robaeys & Perrin, 2007), compared to Belgians with a native background.

It is important to note that the societal position of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians cannot fully be traced back to the characteristics of the first generation labour migrants who came to Belgium to do low-skilled labour. Contrary to the idea of straight-line integration, the children of these migrants are sometimes even outperformed by first generation migrants with regard to their socioeconomic integration; a phenomenon referred to as the 'immigrant paradox' (Coll & Marks, 2012; Geel & Vedder, 2010; Phalet, 2008; Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto, & Virta, 2008). Furthermore, their vulnerable position is also partly caused by a lack of cultural capital and social networks, and by the fact that they encounter different forms of discrimination and unequal treatment (Arriijn, Feld, & Nayer, 1998; Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008; Phalet, 2008; Van Robaeys & Perrin, 2007). Studies among the Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium indeed reveal widespread feelings of

unfair treatment due to their ethnic or religious background (Alanya, Swyngedouw, Vandezande, & Phalet, 2017). In this regard, the term 'integration paradox' is used to describe the phenomenon that perceptions of discrimination are especially prevalent among the second generation and the highly educated because they have a different frame of reference and are more sensitive to ethnic acceptance and equality (ten Teije, Coenders, & Verkuyten, 2013). Even if we consider that these perceptions do not necessarily accurately reflect actual discriminatory treatment, they are still highly relevant because of their social and behavioural consequences (for an overview on the impact on health, see for instance Pascoe & Richman, 2009), and, as will be described and illustrated further in this dissertation, their impact on political and socioeconomic attitudes.

Partly framed as a problem of failed integration (Blommaert, 2006), Turkish and Moroccan Belgians have been central in the highly politicized debates about migration in Belgium during the past decades, and especially since the rise of right-wing political parties in the 1990s. These debates extend to the descendants of the first generation, who are often still considered as 'foreigners' or 'allochtones' by Belgian majority citizens. In addition to their skin colour and geographical concentration, religion constitutes a bright boundary marker between Turkish and Moroccan minorities and the native majority population, given that they are predominantly Muslim living in a secularized, but traditionally Christian society (Alba, 2005). The incorporation of the Islam is therefore a central topic of the political debates about the integration of the postwar labour migrants and their descendants (Blommaert, 2006). Islam also plays a central role in the lives of the Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium, both for the first and second-generation (Timmerman et al., 2003). It is an important factor of their group identity and can serve as a source of self-esteem, social support, and cultural continuity across generations (Güngör, Fleischmann, & Phalet, 2011; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). Although identification as a Muslim is widespread among this population, the degree and form of their religious commitment vary between different groups (Lesthaeghe & Neels, 2000). For that reason, religious involvement as a possible influence on the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians is considered in the empirical chapters of this dissertation.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that although Turkish and Moroccan Belgians have a similar history and share their religious denomination as well as socioeconomic position, the two groups do show some differences with respect to their integration processes (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003). In this regard, Belgians with a Moroccan background tend to be better educated (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003), whereas people of Turkish descent tend to be better integrated in the labour market (Gsir et

al., 2015), show more entrepreneurship (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003), have stronger ethnic networks and civic organizations (Jacobs, Phaet, & Swyngedouw, 2004), high degrees of cultural continuity across generations (Güngör et al., 2011) and perceive less discrimination compared to Moroccan minorities (Alanya, Baysu, & Swyngedouw, 2015). Even though Belgians of Turkish descent and Belgians of Moroccan descent have a similar dual position as established outsiders, possible differences between the welfare state attitudes of these two groups are tested in the empirical chapters of this dissertation. Nevertheless, the results indicate that country of origin does not play a significant role for their welfare state attitudes once the abovementioned predictors are taken into account.

Datasets

The theoretical framework laid out in the previous section will be tested using Belgian cross-sectional survey data from 2014-2015. This choice of empirical setting followed naturally from the fact that this dissertation was written in a research environment that has been organizing a public opinion survey after every national election in Belgium since 1991. The opportunity to participate in the construction of the questionnaire has been very important for this study because measuring the opinions of postwar labour migrants and their descendants has rarely been a major concern for investigators of welfare state attitudes.

The empirical analyses are based on two post-electoral studies; the Belgian Ethnic Minorities Election Study 2014 (BEMES) among Belgian citizens of Turkish and Moroccan descent, and the Belgian National Election Study 2014 (BNES) among the general population of Belgian citizens. Both the BNES and BEMES were organized by the Institute of Social and Political Opinion research (ISPO, KU Leuven) in collaboration with the Centre d'Étude de l'Opinion (CLEO, University of Liège), after the Belgian national elections of May 25th 2014. Both surveys contain questions that gather information about respondents' socio-demographic characteristics, political attitudes, welfare state attitudes, and electoral behaviour. The BEMES questionnaire contains additional questions that focus on the migration background of the respondents and the experiences related to this background. In the following I will discuss the BEMES, the dataset that is central to empirical Chapters 2-4. Most attention will be given to the definition of the population, the survey design, and the consequences of these aspects, but further detailed information about the sampling procedure, response rates, and the non-response categories can be found in the codebook of the BEMES (Available on request: Swyngedouw, Meuleman, Abts, Bousetta, & Galle, 2015). In a

second part, I briefly describe the BNES, which is only used in Chapter 5, and discuss how this general survey differs from the BEMES.

Belgian Ethnic Minorities Election Study (BEMES)

The Belgian Ethnic Minorities Election Study (BEMES), is designed to comprise a representative sample of the target population of persons of 18 years or older with the Belgian national citizenship and that are of Turkish or Moroccan descent. Because the availability of population information about citizens' migration or ethnic background is strongly restricted in Belgium, the fieldwork was organized in two cities; Liège, located in the French speaking part of Belgium, and Antwerp, located in the Dutch speaking part of the country. The choice for these two cities was based on different reasons. First of all, they provide a useful context for investigating the welfare state attitudes of the population of interest, because they have a high concentration of postwar labour migrants with a Turkish or Moroccan background. Secondly, within their region they are both important industrial cities and their population size as well as economic situation, in terms of unemployment level, are not too divergent. Thirdly, it was necessary to establish a collaboration with the cities' administration in order to get access to the municipal data required to draw samples of the target population. As mentioned above, the city context of respondents is taken into account during the empirical analyses of this dissertation but appears to have a very limited impact on the investigated welfare state attitudes after controlling for all the other predictors.

Based on their registers, the two city administrations supplied the sampling frames of their residents who had voting right on the election date (May 25th 2014) and were of Turkish or Moroccan descent. By using criteria based on age, nationality and voting right, the research population is limited to people with full social, civil, and political rights in Belgium, at least from a formal point of view. This enables the investigation of the specific perspective of established outsiders as mentioned in the theoretical introduction. The descent of a person was determined stepwise according to the following characteristics:

1. the first nationality of the father
2. the first nationality of the mother
3. the first nationality of the person
4. the current nationality of the person

A person was assigned the Turkish or Moroccan descent if one of those four nationalities was Turkish or Moroccan. The reader will notice that, by using this sampling frame, no data was

collected on the so-called third generation. This decision was made not to expand the frame because the third generation could only be identified if they were still living with their parents and because only a limited part of the grandchildren of the first generation postwar labour migrants was 18 years or older in 2014. Consequently, only a very small and specific part of the third generation would have been reached.

For the two cities, stratified sampling was used based on the ethnic background and gender of respondents. The total sample can be divided into four groups: Belgians of Moroccan descent in Antwerp, Belgians of Turkish descent in Antwerp, Belgians of Moroccan descent in Liège, and Belgians of Turkish descent in Liège. A simple random sample of 500 to 700 persons was drawn out each of these groups. Although the sampling frame was considered to be fairly reliable, the questionnaire contained some verification questions to check whether the respondents met the criteria and were indeed a part of the defined population.

Organizing a survey among respondents belonging to a minority group carries along certain difficulties and makes them a hard-to-survey population (Font & Méndez, 2013), due to low levels of education, language barriers, distrust, and unfamiliarity with surveys. Therefore the survey mode and language of the BEMES were carefully considered. In order to reduce possible non-response, the surveys were carried out by means of Computer-Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI) at respondents' homes by trained interviewers. Interviewers and respondents were matched by gender, and interviewers had to conduct an elaborate contact procedure. During the design of the questionnaire, the use of abstract concepts was limited and standard explanations for more difficult concepts were included in case the interviewers had to explain them to the respondents. However, the surveys were only held in Dutch or French, and not translated to other languages like Turkish, Arabic, Berber, or Kurdish, etc. This decision was based on the fact that the translation of questionnaires is a very time and budget consuming act and carries along problems with regard to the comparability of the data. Yet, given that having the Belgian nationality and voting right are two of the sampling criteria and thus the largest share of our target population has been residing in Belgium for some time, the consequences of not translating the questionnaire should be relatively limited. Indeed, as reported by the interviewers, only about 8 per cent of the contacts that resulted in a non-participation were due to language problems. Because the people belonging to the second generation learned to speak French or Dutch at school, language problems are confined to a specific part of the first generation. This small group most likely consists of guest workers who assumed they were only going to reside in Belgium for a brief period and did not take the steps to learn the

language, or immigrants who only recently arrived in Belgium mainly through the procedure of family reunification.

Considering the difficulties related to surveying immigrants and minority group members (Font & Méndez, 2013), a reasonable overall response rate of 35 percent was obtained. This is the minimum response rate that excludes cases of non-eligibility (deceased, non-existing address, ...) but takes into account the nonresponse due to language issues. It should be noted that the response rates show some differences between the four subgroups: 39.1% among the population of Moroccan descent in Antwerp (sample size of 243), 37.2% among those of Turkish descent in Antwerp (sample size of 239), 25.8% for the population of Moroccan descent in Liège (sample size of 188), and finally 39.9% for the population of Turkish in this city (sample size of 208). Especially, the relatively low response rate of 26 percent for the population of Moroccan descent in Liège stands out in this regard which appeared to be driven by a higher refusal rate (more detailed information can be found in Swyngedouw et al., 2015). The total sample counted 878 respondents, but due to item non-response, the sample sizes used in the different empirical analyses of this dissertation are slightly lower. To correct for the possible underrepresentation of certain groups caused by the non-response, post-stratification weights are applied in the analyses of the empirical chapters. These weights are based on population information about age, gender, city of residence, and ethnic background. Unfortunately there was no information about the proportion of first and second generation migrants within the population, nor about level of education at our disposal. Therefore the analysis could not correct for a possible underrepresentation related to these characteristics.

The survey design as well as the inability to correct for certain characteristics of it, create several limitations for this dissertation. Due to the language of the survey, the first generation and those people who are less integrated are most likely underrepresented in the sample. A possible consequence of this is that the levels of perceived group discrimination are underestimated while the levels of national identity and attachment to Belgium could be overestimated. Since the BEMES is limited to two Belgian cities, it remains unsure to what extent the findings of this dissertation can be generalized toward the entire community of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. Furthermore, the timing of the survey is important to keep in mind. The data collection of the BEMES largely dates from before the so-called 'refugee crisis', or the large influx of migrants from the Middle-East and South-East of Europe to Western European countries in 2015-2016. This is especially relevant for the interpretation of the conclusions of the empirical chapters looking at attitudes toward newcomers' access to the national welfare state. More information about the limitations of the

study and consequences for the generated insight, will be given at the end of each empirical chapter, and a general reflection is made in the concluding chapter.

Despite certain limitations of the survey design, the research approach in this dissertation still has multiple advantages over previous studies looking at the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background. As mentioned above, previous welfare state attitude studies that somehow consider immigrant status, are often based on datasets that are representative of the general population and have to compromise on distinguishing various groups due to the limited amount of immigrants being represented in the dataset. This dissertation is among the first to use a survey designed specifically to target minorities instead of a general population survey for investigating the welfare attitudes of people with a migration background. This allows me to overcome some of the difficulties of existing studies, caused by aggregating groups with varying cultural and socioeconomic characteristics into a single category, and offers better guarantees for the representativeness of the surveyed population. Furthermore, it provided the opportunity to ask questions that are of specific relevance for the research population and the topic of this dissertation, such as items related to respondents' identification and perceptions of discrimination, as well a set of originally developed survey items focusing on newcomers' welfare state access.

Belgian National Election Study (BNES)

The second dataset used in this dissertation is based on the Belgian National Election Study (BNES) of 2014, carried out among a general sample of Belgians entitled to vote in the 2014 national elections (Abts et al., 2015). Based on the Belgian national register, the BNES used a two-stage sampling design in order to limit the geographical distribution of respondents. First a number of clusters were allocated to each of the Belgian provinces proportional to their population size. Then a random sample of respondents was drawn, within randomly sampled municipalities (with replacement). Similar to the BEMES, the data collection was also carried out by means of Computer-Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI) in Dutch or French at respondents' homes by trained interviewers. However, the BNES also included a drop-off questionnaire with additional questions that respondents were asked to complete themselves and send back to the university. For the face-to-face part of the study, the BNES obtained a response rate of 47 percent, of whom almost 74 per cent filled out and sent back the drop-off questionnaire. In order to correct for the over- or underrepresentation of certain groups, sampling weights were used based on combined population information about the about age, gender, education, and region.

For the empirical analyses in this dissertation, only the data from the face-to-face interviews of the BNES are used. In order to make a comparison between Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent on the one hand, and Belgians with a native background on the other hand, the BNES sample used in the analyses could not include any respondents with a migration background. Based on the available survey items, it was therefore decided to exclude all respondents that reported that either their father or mother did not have the Belgian nationality at birth. From the total sample of 1901 respondents who participated in the face-to-face part of the BNES, 308 were dropped for the analyses in this dissertation, resulting in a sample size of 1593 Belgians of native descent. Throughout the different empirical chapters, descriptive information about the two samples and used variables will be given, and the operationalization of the theoretical concepts and the statistical strategy will be discussed in greater detail.

Research questions and overview of the chapters

Based on the datasets presented above, the overall goal of this dissertation is to gain a better understanding of the welfare state attitudes of Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent and investigate the explanations of their attitudes toward redistribution, government responsibility and the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants. The duality of their position in relation to the native society and their experiences as member of an ethnic minority group are the main focus. The objective is to answer the following research questions:

- To what extent are the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians explained by classic predictors based on the self-interest and political ideology framework?
- Can additional explanations based on perceived group position and group identity contribute to the understanding of the welfare state attitudes of this population?
- How is the dual position of these established outsiders relevant for their welfare state attitudes?
- And how are the grounds of their attitudes different from those of native citizens?

These research questions are investigated in four empirical chapters that are each guided by a specific focus. Chapter 2 considers perceived discrimination as a relevant predictor for Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' support for redistribution and government responsibility, in addition to the explanations based on self-interest and left-right placement. This chapter mainly builds on relative deprivation and group position theory, but also draws some central distinctions within the research population based on generation and religious involvement. In Chapter 3, the aim is to assess the premise of the national identity argument among Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent.

Combining insights from the general social identity theory with more specific literature on ethnic minorities' identities, this chapter illustrates the importance of considering dual identification for the policy attitudes of postwar labour migrants and their descendants. Chapter 4 shifts the attention to another welfare state attitude and concerns the willingness of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving migrants. The focus is on explaining these attitudes by using the predictors that were central in the previous two chapters, perceived discrimination and group identity. In Chapter 4, the conceptualization of the research population as established outsiders proves to be a very useful framework in order to understand the different mechanisms underlying their solidarity toward newcomers. Up until this point, the focus is solely on the attitudes of Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent, yet Chapter 5 adds a comparative perspective to the story. This chapter brings all theoretical frameworks together and tests whether self-interest, left-right placement and perceived discrimination affect the three welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians on the one hand, and native Belgians on the other hand, in a similar manner.

In conclusion, an overview of the empirical chapters, their main focus and the used datasets is presented in Table 1.1. It should also be mentioned that these chapters are written for publication in academic journals and can thus be read as independent contributions. Therefore, to some extent, there is repetition in the introduction of theories, hypotheses, data and methods, as well as some differences in terminology in order to comply with the journals audiences' style.

Table 1.1. Overview of the empirical chapters and their main focus

Chapter	Welfare state attitude(s)	Main focus	Dataset
2	Support for redistribution and attitude toward government responsibility	Effect of perceived group discrimination	BEMES
3	Support for redistribution	Effect of national and ethnic identity	BEMES
4	Welfare chauvinism	Effect of perceived discrimination and dual identification	BEMES
5	Support for redistribution, attitude toward government responsibility, and welfare chauvinism	Comparison of effects self-interest, ideology and perceived group discrimination between natives and non-natives	BEMES & BNES

Chapter 2

Perceived discrimination and attitudes toward redistribution and government responsibility

A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as:

Galle, J., Abts, K., Swyngedouw, M., & Meuleman, B. (2019). Attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians Toward Redistribution and Government Responsibility: The role of Perceived Discrimination, Generation and Religious Involvement. *International Migration Review*. doi:10.1177/0197918319830695

I developed the idea for this article, wrote the main part of the text and conducted the analyses. The co-authors primarily contributed to the data collection, research design and the final text of the manuscript.

Perceived discrimination and attitudes toward redistribution and government responsibility

Introduction

Large-scale immigration is considered one of the important challenges facing Western welfare states and the extensive social services provided by their governments (Ervasti, Goul, & Ringdal, 2012; Svallfors, 2012). A central concern—also referred to as the progressive’s dilemma—is that increased ethnic diversity caused by immigration might erode people’s commitment to welfare state solidarity and redistribution in Europe (Alesina, Glaeser, & Sacerdote, 2001; Freeman, 1986; Goodhart, 2004). Public-opinion research shows that Europeans regard immigration as a strain on the welfare state (Wright & Reeskens, 2013), perceive immigrants as the group least deserving of social benefits (van Oorschot, 2006), and think that immigrants benefit disproportionately from and contribute insufficiently to the welfare state (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012; Van der Waal, De Koster, & Van Oorschot, 2013). Although welfare state attitudes and the immigration-welfare nexus have been studied extensively (see, for instance, Crepaz, 2008; Eger & Breznau, 2017; Mau & Burkhardt, 2009; Van der Waal et al., 2013), these topics have almost exclusively been investigated from the insider position of native citizens. Since an increasing proportion of the population in Western societies has a migration background and since this part of the population is more likely to become welfare dependent (Boeri, Hanson, McCormick, & Brücker, 2002), it has been argued that the perspective of people with a migration background on the welfare state needs to be taken into account (Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017).

Apart from qualitative research on the views of some specific groups of labour migrants toward the welfare state (Kremer, 2016; Osipovic, 2015; Timonen & Doyle, 2009), only a few quantitative studies have explored migrants’ attitudes toward government responsibility, redistribution, and welfare spending (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Lubbers et al., 2018; Luttmer & Singhal, 2011;

Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015; Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017). These studies tend to focus on two topics: (1) the existence of an opinion gap between migrants and native citizens, often referring to social mechanisms such as welfare magnetism (Borjas, 1999) and self-selection (Chiswick, 1999), and (2) the adjustment of migrants' attitudes to native-born citizens' attitudes over time, based on assimilation and socialization theories. Regarding an opinion gap, previous studies have shown that even though most immigrants hold somewhat stronger pro-welfare opinions than do native citizens, the differences are largely explained by immigrants' disadvantaged socioeconomic position and higher welfare dependence (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). Recently, the idea that the opinion gap is purely based on socioeconomic differences has been questioned by Lubbers et al. (2018), who find large differences in attitudes toward government spending between migrant groups and natives, even after accounting for their socioeconomic and ideological position. Studies on the adjustment of migrants' welfare opinions have found mixed results for the premise that immigrants gradually adjust their attitudes to those of the host population over time, depending on the data used and attitudinal dimensions investigated (Luttmer & Singhal, 2011; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015; Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017).

Despite offering some valuable insights, existing research on migrants' attitudes toward redistribution and government responsibility has an important limitation because studies mostly use general population surveys, such as the European Social Survey (Luttmer & Singhal, 2011; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015) or General Social Survey (Luttmer, 2001), that do not specifically target or oversample migrants. Although such studies allow comparisons with non-migrants and between countries, they aggregate minority groups with both varying cultural characteristics and different levels of welfare dependency into a single category or divide them into very broad categories, such as European and non-European migrants or first- and second-generation migrants (Dinesen, 2012; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). As stated by Lubbers et al. (2018, p. 16), lumping migrants into a catch-all category misses a careful interpretation of migrant status, which cannot be reduced to a less favourable socio-economic status.

In this article, we argue that to understand the welfare opinions of people with a migration background, the particularities of their minority position in society must be considered, more specifically their experiences of intergroup inequality, social injustice, and ethnic discrimination. Therefore, this study tests whether perceived discrimination affects support for government responsibility and redistribution of people with a migration background, in addition to testing the traditional determinants regarding structural position, self-interest, and left-right ideology. By

testing explanatory models that go beyond the individual's position in society and by highlighting the importance of perceived group position, we contribute to the growing literature on the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background (Lubbers et al., 2018; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015; Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017). Instead of analysing general population surveys, however, this study innovates by using the Belgian Ethnic Minorities Election Study 2014 (BEMES), which allows a focus on the specific case of Belgian citizens of Turkish and Moroccan descent.

Theory and hypotheses

Migrants' attitudes toward government responsibility and redistribution

To date, individual-level predictors for the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background stem predominantly from the literature on welfare attitudes within the general population and are based on explanations related to self-interest and political ideology (Jæger, 2006). The self-interest approach posits that the welfare state is likely to be supported by people who receive welfare benefits or are at risk of becoming welfare dependent and by employees who profit professionally from an extensive welfare state (Blomberg et al., 2012; Gelissen, 2000; Kangas, 1995). Research confirms that civil servants and people in more vulnerable categories – such as women, the unemployed, people with health problems, and those with low incomes – are more likely to favour government intervention, income redistribution, and welfare state policies (Hasenfeld & Rafferty, 1989; Hoel & Knutsen, 1989; Svallfors, 1995, 1997, 2004; Svallfors & Taylor-Gooby, 1999). The self-interest approach is complemented by indicators related to predispositions, values, and normative beliefs (Mau, 2003; Sears et al., 1980; Staerklé, Likki, & Scheidegger, 2012). Those identifying with the political left are more likely to favour government intervention and to have more positive attitudes toward the welfare state (Jæger, 2008; Papadakis, 1993; Papadakis & Bean, 1993). Furthermore, people with strong feelings of economic insecurity are more in favour of social assistance (Burgoon & Dekker, 2010), whereas citizens who believe that poverty's causes lie within the individual's control (Fong, 2001) and who value a strong work ethic (Hasenfeld & Rafferty, 1989) are less supportive of redistribution.

Based on these approaches, immigrants and their descendants living in Europe, particularly those with origins in the postwar labour migration, can be expected to have positive attitudes toward government responsibility and redistribution, given their vulnerable socioeconomic positions

(Heath et al., 2008) and preference for left-of-centre political parties (Sanders, Heath, Fisher, & Sobolewska, 2014; Teney, Jacobs, Rea, & Delwit, 2010). Although existing studies confirm these expectations (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015; Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017), both self-interest – based on predictors such as experience of unemployment, income level, and work status – and left-right orientation have only a limited explanatory capacity with regard to migrants' welfare opinions (Lubbers et al., 2018; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). This finding suggests that to understand the determinants of attitudes toward government responsibility and redistribution of people with a migration background, insights into intergroup relations must be considered. More specifically, migrants and their descendants are prone to interpret their societal position in relation to the native society. Compared to other disadvantaged groups, they are much more likely to perceive discriminatory treatment (Gelijkekansencentrum, 2015), and these perceptions have been related to many other outcomes such as acculturation attitudes (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999), life satisfaction (Verkuyten, 2008), as well as identification and politicization (Fleischmann, Phalet, & Klein, 2011). Therefore, traditional frameworks explaining welfare state attitudes should be expanded by taking into account perceptions of discrimination.

Perceived discrimination and welfare state attitudes

Borrowing insights from relative deprivation theory and the literature concerning collective action (Stouffer et al., 1949; Van Zomeren et al., 2008), we assume that the welfare state attitudes of migrants and their descendants are related to their perceptions of intergroup inequality and injustice. A person's or group's feeling that compared with a relevant reference, they are unfairly deprived of desirable goods is referred to as relative deprivation (Merton & Rossi, 1968; Stouffer et al., 1949; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972). Relative deprivation is conceptualized as containing three elements: (1) People make comparisons with others, (2) they determine a disadvantage between themselves and others, and (3) this disadvantage is perceived as being unfair and causes feelings of resentment (Crosby, 1976; Pettigrew, 2016; Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin, & Bialosiewicz, 2012). In the case of ethnic minorities, such as most migrants and their descendants, relative deprivation largely coincides with perceived ethnic discrimination; that is, perceptions of differential treatment based on ethnic origin that unfairly disadvantages a person's own ethnic group (Kluegel & Bobo, 2001; Quillian, 2006). Although the notion of group relative deprivation emphasizes feelings of disadvantage in comparison with relevant reference groups, whereas perceived group

discrimination focuses mainly on the act of unfair treatment, both concepts can be considered forms of perceived social injustice resulting from intergroup inequality (Van Zomeren et al., 2008).

According to the collective action literature, minority group members who perceive group inequality are more likely to engage in political action to challenge this injustice and improve the group's conditions (Dixon et al., 2010; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Furthermore, group position theory predicts that perceptions of a threatened group position are likely to have a major influence on people's policy preferences (Bobo, 1999, p. 463). As already mentioned, the welfare state is generally supported by people who have a vulnerable socioeconomic position because government intervention is seen by this group as a primary way to alter unfavourable market outcomes (Blomberg et al., 2012). We, thus, expect people with a migration background who perceive themselves as disadvantaged, to be more likely to be conscious of the welfare state's emancipatory facets and to view government intervention and redistributive policies as collective solutions to rectify the inequalities they experience. Under the condition that they perceive the national government as legitimate and that public institutions are not regarded as the cause of the actual injustice, people with strong feelings of relative deprivation or discrimination would therefore be more likely to favour government intervention and redistribution.

With regard to perceived injustice as a determinant of social protest, Runciman (1966) introduces an essential distinction between egoistic relative deprivation (a feeling of being unfairly disadvantaged as an individual) and fraternal relative deprivation (a feeling of being unfairly disadvantaged as a group). In terms of attitudinal and behavioural consequences, individual or egoistic relative deprivation is related to internal states, such as self-esteem, and to individual behaviour (Verkuyten, 1998). Group or fraternal relative deprivation, on the other hand, involves feelings of social injustice and is associated with intergroup attitudes, such as prejudice, social protest, and collective action aimed at structural changes in society (Runciman, 1966; Smith et al., 2012; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; Walker & Smith, 2002). As stated by Smith and Ortiz (2002, p. 111):

“When a disadvantage is defined in intergroup terms, people may be more concerned with outcome differences and less concerned with the implications for their personal self-image than when the same disadvantage is defined in interpersonal terms. Therefore they may be more willing to challenge the inequity. Not only might people feel less devastated by a disadvantage they interpret in intergroup terms, they may actually feel more empowered to deal with it.”

Based on the evidence that fraternal deprivation is politically more potent (Runciman, 1966; Sears et al., 1980; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972), we hypothesize that a disadvantaged *intergroup*, rather than *interpersonal*, comparison is relevant for explaining welfare attitudes. More precisely, we expect that people with a migration background, who report higher levels of perceived group discrimination, are more likely to support redistribution (Hypothesis 1) and strong government responsibility (Hypothesis 2). Considering the relevance of the egocentric approach of perceived discrimination, we also account for the experience of individual discrimination but expect no – or a much smaller – effect of perceived individual discrimination on support for redistribution (Hypothesis 3) and government responsibility (Hypothesis 4).

Generation and religious involvement

In addition to perceptions of discrimination, this study also focuses on the effect of generation and religious involvement on the welfare attitudes of Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent. Based on assimilation and social integration theories, it is predicted that immigrants adjust to their host country's cultural values, while the origin-country values are gradually lost (Gordon, 1964; Maxwell, 2010; van Tubergen, 2007). Correspondingly, Reeskens and van Oorschoot (2015) show that first- and second-generation migrants differ from each other with regard to their welfare opinions, and Schmidt-Catran and Careja (2017) find that migrants' preferences about the state's role, rooted in the culture of their origin country, are shaped by their contact with the host country's institutions. Considering the lower levels of welfare spending in Morocco and Turkey compared to Belgium, we therefore expect that those belonging to the second generation will be stronger supporters of redistribution (Hypothesis 5) and government responsibilities (Hypothesis 6) than first generation migrants.

In terms of religion, a distinctive feature of the investigated population is that they are predominantly Muslim (Torrekens & Adam, 2015). The relationship between religious involvement and welfare state support has not yet been studied among Muslim minorities, and existing European research – based on surveys mostly composed of populations with Protestant, Catholic, or secular sectors – presents mixed findings. Stegmueller, Scheepers, Roßteutscher, and de Jong (2012) find that religious individuals are more opposed to income redistribution by the state, compared with secular individuals, while Ervasti (2012) and Lubbers et al. (2018) show that religiosity is positively related to support for government responsibility, social equality, and government spending on social assistance. In a non-Western context, Davis and Robinson (2006)

found a positive association between religious orthodoxy and economic communitarianism; however, little is known about how Muslim minorities in European countries adapt their religious beliefs in relation to the Western welfare state (Dean & Khan, 1997, p. 204). According to Islamic teachings, both the state's responsibility to ensure a basic standard of living for all citizens and the reduction of the gap between rich and poor are of great importance (Dean & Khan, 1997). The moral principle that embodies Islamic commitment to welfare and social justice can be traced back to the concept of *Zakat*, which is a religious tax on property with the function of avoiding wealth accumulation and reducing the gap between rich and poor (Ahmad, 1991; Dean & Khan, 1997). The literature on an Islamic vision of a just socio-economic order therefore leads us to expect a positive relation between religious involvement and support for redistribution (Hypothesis 7) and government responsibilities (Hypothesis 8) among the mostly Muslim population in this study.

The case of Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium

Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium have their origins in labour migrations of the 1960s and 1970s and subsequent family reunification and marriage migration (Surkyn & Reniers, 1996). As official statistics on ethnicity are lacking in Belgium, the exact proportion of the population with a foreign background cannot be calculated. Nonetheless, it is estimated that about 2 percent of the Belgian population are of Turkish descent (Schoonvaere, 2013) and 3.8 percent of Moroccan descent (Schoonvaere, 2014). The majority of these groups have obtained Belgian citizenship and formally have the same social rights as citizens of native descent (Gsir et al., 2015; Schoonvaere, 2013, 2014). However, this formal equality does not translate into an equal social position, given that Turkish and Moroccan minorities are among the lowest in the ethnic hierarchy in Western societies (Hagendoorn, 1995). Compared with Belgians that have native-born parents, Turkish and Moroccan minorities attain lower education levels (Timmerman et al., 2003), are five times more likely to be unemployed (Martens & Verhoeven, 2006; Van den Broucke et al., 2015), and are overrepresented in the labour market's secondary sectors (Timmerman et al., 2003). In addition, more than half the population of Turkish or Moroccan descent has an income below the poverty line, compared with 10 percent of Belgians with a native background (Van Robaeys & Perrin, 2007). In sum, the combination of being an insider in the legal sense, while remaining an outsider in reality, creates a high likelihood of perceived discrimination among these groups (Alanya et al., 2017). This dual position makes it relevant to investigate the relationship between perceived discrimination and welfare state attitudes among this population.

Data and measurements

Data

We use data from the Belgian Ethnic Minorities Election Study 2014 (BEMES), a face-to-face survey among first- and second-generation Belgian citizens of Turkish and Moroccan descent aged at least 18. The survey was conducted in two Belgian cities: Liège, located in the French-speaking part of Belgium (Wallonia), and Antwerp, located in the Dutch-speaking part (Flanders) (Swyngedouw et al., 2015). Computer-assisted personal interviews were conducted at respondents' homes by trained interviewers in Dutch or French. Since the sample only concerns respondents with sufficient knowledge of Dutch or French, the first generation is likely underrepresented, while relatively well-integrated respondents may be overrepresented. Considering the difficulties related to surveying migrants and ethnic minorities (Font & Méndez, 2013), an overall response rate of 34.9 percent was obtained. More specifically, the BEMES data include 878 respondents from four groups randomly selected from the cities' population registers: Belgians of Moroccan descent in Antwerp (N = 243; response rate 39.1%), Belgians of Turkish descent in Antwerp (N = 239; response rate 37.2%), Belgians of Moroccan descent in Liège (N = 188; response rate 25.8%), and Belgians of Turkish descent in Liège (N = 208; response rate 39.9%). Since the elderly and people of Moroccan descent are somewhat underrepresented, post-stratification weight coefficients based on age, gender, city of residence, and ethnic background were applied.

Measurements

Dependent variables

Support for redistribution is operationalized by a scale based on three 5-point Likert items regarding the reduction of class differences and income inequality. *Attitude toward government responsibility* is operationalized by three 11-point scales on the government's responsibility for providing pensions, health care, and a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed. Confirmatory Factor Analysis showed that a two-factor model – attitude toward government responsibility and attitude toward redistribution – fits the data better ($\chi^2 = 44.061$; Df = 8; RMSEA = 0.072; CFI = 0.942; TLI = 0.891) than a one-factor model ($\chi^2 = 288.396$; Df = 9; RMSEA = 0.188; CFI = 0.552; TLI = 0.253). The standardized correlation between the two constructs is 0.16 ($p = 0.004$), which is relatively weak and might imply the need for different explanatory models.

Independent variables

We include the following indicators with regard to socio-structural position, self-interest, and political ideology. *Gender* is operationalized by a dummy variable with the value 1 for women and 0 for men. A dummy variable with the value 1 for Turkish descent and 0 for Moroccan descent indicates respondents' *ethnic background*. *City of residence* is operationalized in a similar manner, with the value 0 for respondents living in Antwerp and 1 for respondents living in Liège. *Age* is coded into four categories: 18–24 years old, 25–34 years old, 35–44 years old, and 45–93 years old. Respondents' *level of education* is measured with four categories: Up to primary education, lower-secondary education, higher-secondary education, and tertiary education. Respondents' *labour market position* is taken into account by a variable that distinguishes between respondents not active in the labour market, blue-collar workers, and white-collar workers. *Economic insecurity* is measured by a scale of three items asking respondents how often they worry about having financial difficulties or maintaining their socio-economic position in the future. To measure the *left-right placement*, respondents had to place themselves on a scale from 0 (left) to 10 (right).

The *generation* to which respondents belong is operationalized into three categories: First-generation migrants are defined as people who were born abroad and migrated to Belgium after the age of 15, the intermediate generation – or generation 1.5 – refers to people who were born outside Belgium and migrated before the age of 15, and the second generation refers to respondents who were born in Belgium, with one or both parents having been born in Morocco or Turkey (Heath, Fisher, Rosenblatt, Sanders, & Sobolewski, 2013; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). To operationalize *religious involvement*, a distinction is made between respondents who reported not being Muslim, non-strictly practicing Muslims, and strictly practicing Muslims. To define this last category, we differentiate between male and female respondents (Loewenthal, MacLeod, & Cinnirella, 2002). If a female respondent reported having always fasted during the last Ramadan and praying at least five times per day, she was categorized as a strictly practicing Muslim. For male respondents in this category, it was additionally required that they reported visiting a mosque weekly or more. The category of others relates to a small and heterogeneous group containing atheists, Catholics, and Yezidis.

Finally, we introduce two measures of perceived discrimination to explain the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. *Perceived group discrimination* is measured by four 5-point Likert items referring to perceived differential treatment of respondents' own ethnic group

in times of economic crisis, by the government, by city services, and at the social assistance agency. Confirmatory Factor Analysis showed that the items are reliable and valid measurements ($\chi^2 = 3.070$; Df = 2; RMSEA = 0.025; CFI = 0.999; TLI = 0.998). Additionally, we include a dummy variable for *perceived individual discrimination* with score 1 for respondents who reported having personally experienced hostility or unfair treatment because of their background or descent during the last five years.

To test our hypotheses, we used structural equation modelling (SEM) estimated in Mplus version 7.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). As suggested by Kline (2011), we used a two-step approach: we first tested the measurement models of support for redistribution and government responsibility and perceived group discrimination and then tested the structural model with the two welfare attitudes as dependent variables. The exact question wordings and standardized factor loadings of the latent variables can be found in Table 2.1. The measurement equivalence of the model across the two ethnic group was also tested, and goodness-of-fit indices showed that full scalar equivalence was obtained.

Results

Based on the descriptive statistics in Table 2.1, it appears that the surveyed Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent are very supportive of government responsibility and redistribution. The mean scores show that overall, respondents agreed with the reduction of class differences ($M = 3.99$; $SD = 1.02$) and government redistribution of income differentials ($M = 3.77$; $SD = 1.02$), while they disagree with the statement that differences between high and low incomes should stay as they are ($M = 2.22$; $SD = 0.99$). In general, on an 11-point scale, respondents preferred very high levels of government responsibility in the provision of pensions ($M = 8.75$; $SD = 1.67$), health care ($M = 9.03$; $SD = 1.48$), and a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed ($M = 7.71$; $SD = 2.2$). On average, respondents agreed with the statements that people like them are being systematically neglected ($M = 3.05$; $SD = 1.03$) and the first victims in times of crisis ($M = 3.12$; $SD = 1.06$). They also reported unequal treatment of their ethnic group by the government ($M = 2.95$; $SD = 1.05$) and at the social assistance agency ($M = 3.00$; $SD = 0.96$).

Table 2.1. Descriptive statistics of attitudes toward government responsibility and redistribution, economic insecurity and perceived group discrimination for Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent

	Survey items	Scale	Mean	Std. dev.	% min.	% max.	N	St. factor loading
Support for redistribution	The differences between classes ought to be smaller than they are now.	1: completely disagree	3.99	1.02	2.66	34.81	790	.764
	The differences between high and low incomes should stay as they are.	- 5: completely agree	2.22	0.99	22.6	1.89	792	-.543
	The government should reduce income differentials.		3.77	1.02	2.41	23.7	789	.692
Attitude toward government responsibility	To what extent do you think that the government should be responsible for this or not: For making sure the elderly have a reasonable pension.	0: government has no responsibility	8.75	1.67	0.5	45.67	797	.702
	To what extent do you think that the government should be responsible for this or not: For making sure there is affordable health care for all.	- 10: government has all the responsibility	9.03	1.48	0.25	54.83	797	.693
	To what extent do you think that the government should be responsible for this or not: For making sure that the unemployed have a reasonable standard of living.		7.71	2.2	1.64	28.12	793	.658
Perceived group discrimination	If we need something from the government, people like me have to wait longer than others.	1: completely disagree	2.95	1.05	4.99	5.38	781	.761
	People like me are being systematically neglected, whereas other groups receive more than they deserve.	- 5: completely agree	3.05	1.03	4.83	5.22	786	.874
	In times of economic crisis, people like me are always the first victims.		3.12	1.06	3.93	7.99	788	.708
	At the social assistance agency (OCMW/CPAS) and the city services, they view people of my descent as a burden.		3.00	0.96	4.45	3.78	741	.518
Economic insecurity	Are you sometimes worried about one of the following things?: That your financial worries will increase in the coming years?	1: never - 5: often	3.48	1.18	8.48	19.75	790	.821
	Are you sometimes worried about one of the following things?: That you will have difficulties to keep your socio-economic position?		3.17	1.17	9.87	15.57	790	.905
	Are you sometimes worried about one of the following things?: That your children and the coming generation will have it much more difficult?		3.78	1.22	7.89	34.73	786	.745

Table 2.2 presents the results of the analyses explaining the welfare attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. We report fully standardized parameter estimates (expressed in how many standard deviations the dependent variable changes when the predictor increased by one standard deviation). As a result, we can compare the effect size of the different predictors and for the two dependent variables. Considering the predictors referring to social position, religious involvement, and generation, we are able to explain 14.9 percent (redistribution) and 13.0 percent (government responsibility) of variation in the welfare attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. Adding perceived discrimination in the second step increases the explained variances to, respectively, 19.4 percent and 15.6 percent.

Table 2.2. Fully standardized effect parameters (and p-values) of model explaining attitudes toward government responsibility and redistribution

	Support for redistribution		Attitude toward government responsibility	
Gender (ref. male)				
Female	-.037 (.551)	-.030 (.629)	-.096 (.122)	-.096 (.122)
Background (ref. Moroccan)				
Turkish	-.074 (.119)	-.073 (.128)	-.087 (.063)	-.090 (.053)
City (ref. Antwerp)				
Liège	.062 (.281)	.065 (.270)	.049 (.335)	.054 (.279)
Age (ref. 18-24)				
25-34	.203 (.005)**	.203 (.005)**	.119 (.094)	.115 (.103)
35-44	.115 (.154)	.114 (.156)	.119 (.113)	.109 (.143)
45-93	.149 (.111)	.142 (.127)	.019 (.834)	.008 (.935)
Education (ref. up to primary)				
Lower secondary	-.230 (.010)*	-.217 (.014)*	-.074 (.453)	-.065 (.508)
Higher secondary	-.191 (.036)*	-.173 (.055)	-.147 (.167)	-.129 (.228)
Tertiary	-.131 (.112)	-.111 (.176)	-.116 (.208)	-.091 (.326)
Labour market position (ref. blue collar)				
Not active in labour market	.108 (.135)	.111 (.127)	.173 (.009)**	.187 (.005)**
White collar worker	.044 (.570)	.048 (.530)	.163 (.031)*	.167 (.026)*
Economic insecurity	.190 (.000)***	.166 (.002)**	.124 (.001)**	.167 (.000)***
Left-right placement	-.015 (.775)	-.019 (.725)	-.205 (.000)***	-.209 (.000)***
Generation (ref. 1st generation)				
1 st generation	.120 (.103)	.125 (.090)	.054 (.487)	.060 (.445)
2 nd generation	.156 (.062)	.173 (.037)*	.064 (.474)	.083 (.357)
Religion (ref. non-strictly practising Muslim)				
Strictly practising Muslim	.218 (.000)***	.219 (.000)***	.050 (.440)	.057 (.384)
Other	.098 (.071)	.099 (.065)	.083 (.087)	.081 (.101)
Individual discrimination last 5 years (ref. no)				
Yes		-.105 (.077)		-.131 (.021)*
Perceived group discrimination		.176 (.000)***		.033 (.432)
R²	14.9%	19.4%	13.0%	15.6%

N = 799; * p<.05 ** p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 2.2 shows that the structural characteristics mostly used in research among the general population are also relevant for explaining the welfare attitudes of Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent. Controlling for generation, it appears that the youngest group of respondents is the least likely to support redistribution. With regard to the self-interest approach, our study shows mixed findings. On the one hand, there is a positive effect of being inactive in the labour market, rather than being a blue-collar worker, on attitudes toward government responsibility ($\beta = 0.187$; $p = 0.005$). On the other hand, the fact that white-collar workers also strongly support government responsibility contradicts the idea of calculated self-interest. Nevertheless, there is a strong positive effect of economic insecurity on both the demand for redistribution ($\beta = 0.166$; $p = 0.002$) and government intervention ($\beta = 0.167$; $p = 0.000$). This finding illustrates the importance of considering not only structural characteristics but also people's everyday life experiences when explaining their welfare attitudes. Turning to another factor drawn from the general welfare attitudes literature, our results show that left-right placement is one of the strongest predictors of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' opinion on government responsibility ($\beta = -0.209$; $p = 0.000$), with leftist people being more supportive. Interestingly, there is no significant effect of political ideology on attitudes toward redistribution ($\beta = -0.019$; $p = 0.725$).

Overall, it stands out that the predictors of the two welfare attitudes are quite divergent. While both generation and religious involvement are relevant for Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' support for redistribution, they are unrelated to their opinions about government responsibilities. Contrary to our expectations, there are no generational differences in opinions about government responsibility (Hypothesis 6), whereas Turkish and Moroccan Belgians belonging to the second generation are more in favour of redistribution than is the first generation (Hypothesis 5; $\beta = 0.173$; $p = 0.037$). Regarding religious involvement, our analysis shows no effect on attitudes toward government responsibilities (Hypothesis 8) but confirms that compared with non-strictly practicing Muslims, strictly practicing Muslims are much more in favour of redistribution (Hypothesis 7; $\beta = 0.219$; $p = 0.000$). This finding is in line with religiosity's generally positive effect on welfare state attitudes, as found by Ervasti (2012) and our prediction based on the Islamic vision of a just socio-economic order with a strong emphasis on reducing the gap between rich and poor (Dean & Khan, 1997).

With regard to perceived discrimination, the results only partly confirm our hypotheses. As expected, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians with higher levels of perceived group discrimination are more likely to favour redistribution. However, while the effect is strong and significant for attitudes

toward redistribution (Hypothesis 1; $\beta = 0.176$; $p = 0.000$), perceived group discrimination is not significantly related to attitudes toward government responsibility (Hypothesis 2; $\beta = 0.033$; $p = 0.432$). Interestingly, the government's responsibility to ensure social provisions is presumably more interpreted in left-right terms (i.e., the desired degree of direct government regulation and intervention either alongside or instead of market mechanisms) and less understood in terms of actual intergroup relations and the perceived injustice involved. It is noteworthy that perceptions of group discrimination, even after controlling for economic insecurity and perceived individual discrimination, are still relevant for explaining Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' support for redistribution. Perceptions of group inequality thus matter, as do measures of vulnerability at the personal level.

Lastly, while the absence of a significant effect of perceived individual discrimination on attitudes toward redistribution (Hypothesis 3; $\beta = -0.105$, $p = 0.077$) is in line with our expectations, our analyses show somewhat surprisingly that perceived individual discrimination is negatively related to support for government responsibility (Hypothesis 4; $\beta = -0.131$; $p = 0.021$). Similar to studies on well-being (Molero, Fuster, Jetten, & Moriano, 2011) and self-esteem (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006), we find that group and individual discrimination appear to have opposing effects on Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' welfare opinions. Perceiving group discrimination and attributing this deprivation to an external or structural cause induces collective action (Dixon et al., 2010) and, as our study shows, a stronger demand for the redistribution of income inequalities. Perceived individual discrimination, however, is directly related to evaluations of the self and may result in self-blame (Bourguignon et al., 2006), though not in a demand for redistribution or government intervention. Even more, our analysis suggests a negative effect of perceived individual discrimination on support for government responsibility among Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent. Hypothetically, it might be that people who have personally experienced unfair treatment have lower levels of institutional trust and therefore consider the government not to be a legitimate authority for reducing experienced inequalities. More research is required, however, to examine whether the negative effect of perceived individual discrimination on support for government responsibility is caused by decreased trust in government institutions.

Conclusions and discussion

In debates about the relation between migration and the welfare state, migrants tend to be considered objects of discussion rather than subjects with their own opinions (Kremer, 2016). The

few quantitative studies that try to explain the welfare attitudes of migrants and their descendants are mostly limited to indicators of self-interest and political ideology (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Lubbers et al., 2018; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015; Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017). The analysis presented here adds substantially to our understanding of support for redistribution and government responsibility among people with a migration background. Taking into account the classic predictors based on structural position and ideology, it innovates by introducing perceptions of unequal treatment, both at the individual and group level, and by investigating potential divides among people with a migration background along generational lines and religious involvement.

First, our study indicates that Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' attitudes toward government responsibility are shaped by their labour-market position, economic insecurity, and left-right placement, implying that their opinions fit into the conventional left-right ideological divisions between a free market and regulated market poles. Their attitudes toward government responsibility are not related to perceived group discrimination, suggesting that the extent to which the government should be responsible for social welfare provision is not framed in intergroup inequalities. However, contrary to our expectations, perceived individual discrimination appears to be negatively related to support for government responsibility. Based on studies looking at the consequences of individual experiences of discrimination among minority group members (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Verkuyten, 2005), we propose that the negative effect of perceived individual discrimination might be related to diminished institutional trust and identification with the host country. However, additional studies including these measures are required to test this post-hoc argumentation.

Second, our study shows that besides educational level and economic insecurity, support for redistribution is related to religious involvement, generation, and perceived group discrimination. In this sense, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' egalitarian attitudes seem to be less connected to self-interest and the traditional ideological left-right divide and more structured by cultural capital and actual intergroup relations and the perceived injustice involved. The feeling of being unfairly deprived as a group results in a greater willingness to challenge income inequality. According to this logic, the support for redistribution among people with a migration background originate – at least partially – from the perception that their proprietary claims over certain rights and resources are not valorised by the native society. In a similar vein, our results illustrate that the study of welfare state

attitudes among people with a migration background is meaningless without reference to the specific context of group positions and institutional discrimination.

Third, our work suggests that predictors for attitudes toward government responsibility and redistribution are quite divergent. This finding is significant, since the two welfare attitudes are often considered to be strongly interrelated or even equivalent (Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003; Svallfors, 1997). These differences in predictors point to the distinction, made by Borre and Scarbrough (1995), between welfare policies aimed at socioeconomic security and welfare policies aimed at socioeconomic equality. We show that among Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent, support for redistribution is associated with religious involvement and perceived group discrimination, while preferences regarding government responsibility are shaped by labour-market position and left-right placement. Our study thus highlights the importance of group-related social experiences and predispositions for attitudes toward welfare policies aimed at socioeconomic equality (Roller, 1995) and the importance of social class and left-right placement for attitudes toward welfare policies aimed at socioeconomic security (Pettersen, 1995). This finding reaffirms the need to distinguish between different types of welfare attitudes and to further explore additional explanatory variables. It also suggests that we cannot assume that support for government intervention follows self-evidently from egalitarianism, and vice versa.

Fourth and finally, we assert that it is essential to recognize different fractions within the non-native population, as our findings suggest that both generation and religious involvement cross-cut ethnic divisions. While there is no effect based on origin country, our study shows that people belonging to the second generation are more in favour of redistribution than first-generation migrants, while strictly practicing Muslims are the strongest supporters of redistribution. In this regard, we innovate by exploring the role of religious involvement among a mostly Muslim population, demonstrating that Muslim minorities' strong religious involvement does not necessarily obstruct their welfare state solidarity within Belgian society.

Focusing on well-defined minority groups (i.e., Turkish and Moroccan Belgians) allowed us to overcome some of the difficulties of existing studies caused by aggregating very different minority groups into a single category (Lubbers et al., 2018). This design helped shed light on the wider context of the welfare attitudes of postwar labour migrants and their descendants that have settled in Western Europe. By considering the particularities of migrants' position in the native society and the perceived unequal treatment that is involved, our study uncovered the complex nature of

their attitudes toward the welfare state, something which cannot be captured by the determinants used in the literature among the general population. As such we contribute to the understanding of the welfare opinions of migrants and their descendants, which is highly relevant for policy makers in Europe, where societies are currently debating the impact of migration and increased diversity on support for welfare state solidarity (Kymlicka & Banting, 2006; Larsen, 2011). Although this study focuses on the role of perceived discrimination for the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background, its insights may also be relevant for explaining the opinions of other disadvantaged groups.

Nonetheless, this study has limitations related to the investigated population and the data used. First, people of Turkish and Moroccan descent form a specific and visible minority group within Belgian society. Therefore, it remains to be investigated whether perceptions of a disadvantaged group position have the same relevance for welfare opinions in other contexts where migrants form less identifiable minority groups. The fact that this study concerns only respondents with Belgian citizenship and sufficient knowledge of Dutch or French can be considered a second limitation. Given that citizenship and length of stay in the host country are relevant factors in the socialization of migrants' welfare attitudes (Luttmer & Singhal, 2011; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015), additional research is necessary to understand the predictors of welfare opinions for migrants with a more recent and temporary settlement. Furthermore, since this study is limited to two Belgian cities, it remains to be investigated whether the current findings can be generalized toward the entire community of immigrant minorities. Finally, this study analysed rather generic welfare attitudes, showing that Turkish and Moroccan Belgians are overall strong welfare state supporters. However, it has been revealed that migrants' preferences regarding government spending differ between welfare domains (Lubbers et al., 2018), and it is possible that, due to their dual position, minority group members combine an overall positive attitude toward the welfare state's general principles with a critique of its functioning. Our main suggestion for future research is therefore to investigate additional welfare attitudes among migrants, such as perceived welfare state consequences (van Oorschot, 2010) and deservingness perceptions (van Oorschot, 2000).

Chapter 3

Support for redistribution and the role of national and ethnic identity

A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as:

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I developed the idea for this article, wrote the main part of the text and conducted the analyses. The co-author primarily contributed to the theoretical framework and the final text of the manuscript.

Support for redistribution and the role of national and ethnic identity

Introduction

How will the large-scale migration of the past decades affect the nationally organized and highly institutionalized solidarity in European welfare states? A central concern in the literature that deals with this question is that the increased ethnic diversity caused by immigration might erode social cohesion and popular support for the welfare state (Alesina et al., 2001; Freeman, 1986). As a possible solution for the dilemma between diversity and solidarity, political theorists have suggested that the sharing of a national identity can serve as the necessary social glue (Miller, 1995). Empirically, the so-called ‘national identity argument’ has been tested by studies looking at the relation between people’s national identification and their support for redistribution (Johnston et al., 2010; Miller & Ali, 2014; Shayo, 2009; Wright & Reeskens, 2013). However, these studies yielded mixed results and tend to focus exclusively on the opinions of majority group members toward an ever diversifying society. The current study adds to the literature by investigating the national identity argument from the perspective of people with a migration background.

There is an extensive literature on the migration-welfare state nexus, showing for instance that migrants are perceived by native citizens as taking their jobs, houses and social services away (Crepaz & Damron, 2009) and as the least deserving target group of welfare state benefits (Reeskens & van der Meer, 2018; van Oorschot, 2008). However, the opinions held by migrants and their descendants themselves toward economic redistribution and other welfare policies remain rather poorly understood. Especially in times of budgetary constraints, this knowledge is important given that minority groups have a growing impact in the public arena (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006). In order for policy makers to assess the consequences of increasing societal diversity for solidarity and whether national identity might indeed create the required cohesion, it is important to know whether the prediction of the national identity argument also holds for the very people that

cause there to be diversity within Western societies. The first aim of this study is to test whether national identification is relevant for explaining support for redistribution among people with a migration background and whether it has the positive impact suggested by liberal nationalists and empirically supported by some studies among native citizens (Johnston et al., 2010; Wright & Reeskens, 2013). Focusing on postwar labour migrants and their descendants, more specifically Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, a second aim of this study is to investigate the role of ethnic identity. Based on the politicization literature and the concept of dual identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), we examine how identification with the country of origin – both separately and in combination with national identification - relates to ethnic minorities' solidarity within the country of residence.

Theory and hypotheses

The national identity argument

According to political theorists – particularly from the school of liberal or instrumental nationalism – the dilemma between diversity and multiculturalism on the one hand and well-functioning systems of social solidarity on the other, can be overcome by the sharing of a national identity. Liberal nationalists claim that national identification provides the social glue that allows for the organization of welfare state arrangements and people's support for redistribution (Marshall, 1950; Miller, 1995). Mutual trust and a sense of sympathy or solidarity play key roles in the organization of redistributive justice and the welfare state. By bonding community members together, shared national identities are said to be able to provide these required conditions (Miller, 1995). The national identity argument therefore expects a positive relation between people's national identification and support for redistribution. Related arguments on the link between identity and support for solidarity are also found in different fields. Theories of symbolic politics argue in general that symbolic attitudes such as identification with the nation or ethnic group are able to determine people's preferences and policy attitudes (Sears et al., 1980). Within social psychology, predictions have been made regarding the positive effects of a collective identity on social cohesion. Social identity theory states that people's self-image is influenced by the perceived status of their in-group. A strong sense of group identification thus enhances the likelihood of behaviour in favour of fellow group members (Tajfel, 1982) and the prioritization of the group's welfare in individuals' decision making (Kramer & Brewer, 1984). Finally, according to Self-categorization

theory (Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979), people internalize the group norms and stereotypes associated with the group they perceive themselves to be part of. Depending on the content of the stereotypical group position, they will be inclined to endorse attitudes that are close to that position (Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg, & Turner, 1990). In other words, if citizens perceive their national identity to be constructed in a way that emphasizes equality between citizens, they are more likely to support equality values and redistributive policies the more they identify with the nation.

The national identity argument has theoretically been well developed; however, results of empirical tests are rather inconclusive and even contradictory, depending on the investigated context and the operationalisation of both dependent and independent variables (Miller & Ali, 2014). On the one hand, studies show that national identity increases people's general welfare state support (Wright & Reeskens, 2013) and support for government intervention (Johnston et al., 2010), and that people with a strong national attachment are more likely to feel obliged to help fellow citizens (Theiss-Morse, 2009). On the other hand, particular conceptualizations of national identity, like patriotism (Citrin, Wong, & Duff, 2001) or support for the political community (Martinez-Herrera, 2004), appear to be irrelevant for people's support for government spending and welfare policies. National pride even relates negatively with people's support for the reduction of income inequality (Shayo, 2009).

Even in the case of a positive relation between national identity and solidarity, it is questionable whether this relates to a very inclusive notion of solidarity. Although national identity increases the welfare state support of European citizens, it also increases their aversion to immigrants' access to the welfare state (i.e., welfare chauvinism) (Wright & Reeskens, 2013). Similarly, Theiss-Morse (2009) notes that while Americans with a strong national attachment are more willing to help others, they set more exclusive boundaries on the group they are willing to help. An exception is the Canadian context where national identity promotes solidarity by reducing anti-immigrant feelings which, according to the authors, might be ascribed to the importance of multiculturalism for Canadian national identity (Johnston et al., 2010).

In sum, the most consistent conclusion based on existing research is that the relation between national identity and support for redistribution is context dependent (Miller & Ali, 2014). As proposed by Holtug (2016), the act of sharing an identity is not sufficient to promote social cohesion. Rather, it matters which values are shared by this identity. National identities can be based

on different value-sets (Breidahl, Holtug, & Kongshøj, 2017; Holm, 2016) and individuals are able to have different conceptions of nationhood or ideas of what is required to attain membership in their national community (Kunovich, 2009). According to the ethnic conception of nationhood, citizenship should be based on ethnic ties and ancestry. The civic conception is more open and considers allegiance to shared political values and legal norms as the main criterion for national belonging. People with a cultural conception of nationhood consider speaking the same language and sharing cultural values as the most crucial criteria (Miller, 1995). Distinguishing between people's ethnic, civic and cultural conceptions of national identity, Wright and Reeskens (2013) find that only ethnic national identity underpins support for the welfare state.

Even though the investigation of the national identity argument usually starts from concerns about the effect of increased diversity on the sustainability of the welfare state, these issues are almost exclusively investigated from the viewpoint of majority group members. The present study aims to broaden the perspective and test the argument for ethnic minority group members such as people with a migration background, and more specifically Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent. Although we acknowledge the importance of differentiating between ethnic and civic conceptions of national identity among native citizens, we argue that in the context of people with a migration background the level of identification with the country of residence is a more meaningful predictor. Regardless of some country and group variations (de Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014; Staerklé, Sidanius, Green, & Molina, 2010), people with a migration background overall have a lower sense of belonging to the national society than native citizens, and at the same time they generally show more adherence to the civic rather than the ethnic conception of national identity (Kunovich, 2009). Applying the national identity argument to the particular case in this study, we expect that a stronger attachment to Belgium is related to higher levels of support for redistribution among Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent (Hypothesis 1).

The multiple social identities of people with a migration background

When investigating the relation between national identification and redistributive attitudes among people with a migration background, one must consider the distinctiveness of this population such as the possible additional role of their ethnic identity. More specifically, this section focuses on the known consequences of the different relationships between minorities' national and ethnic identity. Although classic assimilation theories predict a unidirectional process where immigrants gradually come to identify with their country of residence while losing the attachment to their

country of origin, the implied negative relation between the two identities has been questioned in more recent work (Berry, 2005; Hutnik, 1991). Empirical research finds different patterns and, depending on the socio-political context, national identity and ethnic identity can be unrelated, conflictual, or compatible (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016). Based on how strong a person identifies with both the national and ethnic entity, four scenarios can then be conceptualized. Following Berry (2005) and Hutnik (1991), separation describes the scenario where people identify almost solely with their ethnic group or country of origin, and national identification is minimal. The opposite case, with people identifying exclusively with the destination society is called assimilation. Marginalization is defined by a turning away from both national and ethnic identity. Finally, within this framework, the combination of both a strong identification with the country of residence and country of origin is called integration.

Ethnic minorities' national and ethnic identification have been associated with different outcomes like out-group evaluations and political action. The literature on politicized identities states that in order for individuals to participate in political activity with regard to shared grievances of their ethnic minority group, they need to identify with both the disadvantaged group and the wider society (Simon & Grabow, 2010; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Therefore, politicization is especially expected among minority group members with an integrated identity, identifying with both the ethnic and national group, and to a lesser extent among minority group members with a separated or assimilated identity. Ethnic minorities' politicized collective identities have been related to different consequences, with a focus on behavioural outcomes, like the participation in collective action and support for political action. However, the types of causes that people would mobilize for or the ideologies they are likely to embrace are largely overlooked by the politicization literature. This study aims to investigate whether its insights can be extended to ethnic minorities' attitudes about the basis of many topics within political and policy debates, namely economic redistribution.

The concept of social identity complexity (Citrin & Sears, 2009; Roccas & Brewer, 2002) provides a useful indication of what to expect about the effect of different identification strategies on the support for redistribution of people with a migration background. Assimilated or separated identities are said to be dominance representations where one identification takes precedence over the others, which requires less cognitive complexity than the integration of multiple social identities. Individuals with a dominant national or ethnic identity might feel solidarity toward their considered in-group but this group is more exclusively defined than the group of people that

individuals with an integrated identity are willing to share resources with. As more complex forms of social identification, such as an integrated identity, are associated with increased tolerance and positivity toward outgroups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), we expect that people with a migration background who combine high levels of attachment to the country of residence with high levels of attachment to the country of origin are more in favour of redistribution than minority group members with one primary identification, i.e. with an assimilated or separated identity.

In sum, the literature presented in this section addresses the importance of considering both national and ethnic identification of immigrants and their descendants, and the different relations that are possible between the two concepts. Building on the first goal of our study, the relation between support for redistribution and ethnic identity will be examined as well, in order to get a more comprehensive understanding of how the identities of people with a migration background might be related to their redistributive attitudes. On the one hand, it is tested whether there is a main effect, and in what direction, of a stronger identification with the country of origin on support for redistribution while taking into account national identity. On the other hand, the role of the different combinations of national and ethnic identification will be investigated. In this regard, we expect people with a migration background that have an integrated identity to be more supportive of redistribution than those with an assimilated or separated identity (Hypothesis 2)ⁱ.

Determinants of migrants' attitudes toward redistribution

Based on research among the general population, we know that people's attitudes toward redistribution are determined by individual characteristics related to self-interest, social beliefs and political ideology. According to self-interest and rational choice approaches, the welfare state and redistributive politics are likely to be supported by social benefit recipients or people who are at risk of becoming a welfare recipient (Kangas, 1997). Welfare state support is, however, not purely based on self-interest but has also been associated with religiosity (Ervasti, 2012), opinions about reciprocity (León, 2012) and ideas about the deservingness of social groups (van Oorschot, 2010).

Despite an extensive literature on the welfare attitudes of majority group members and the relation between migration and the welfare state, our knowledge regarding the determinants of the welfare attitudes of people with a migration background remains minimal. Recently the opinions of specific groups of labour migrants toward the welfare state and welfare deservingness have been explored in several qualitative (Kremer, 2016; Timonen & Doyle, 2009) and mixed-method studies

(Albertini & Semprebon, 2018). The existing quantitative studies often focus on how migrants' opinions differ with those of native citizens and test whether there is evidence for the assimilation of their opinions (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015; Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017). With regard to the determinants of the attitudes, they tend to investigate the effect of traditional predictors, like unemployment experience, income, level of education, work status, and left-right orientation (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Degen et al., 2018; Lubbers et al., 2018; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). Although of certain relevance, these predictors are able to explain only a limited amount of the variation. In addition to the more traditional predictors, the redistributive preferences of people with a migration background have been related to their generational status, the preferences in their country of origin (Luttmer & Singhal, 2011) and the relative welfare reciprocity of their own migrant or ethnic group (Luttmer, 2001; Renema & Lubbers, 2018).

A recent study aiming to expand the explanatory framework for the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background with determinants related to their specific position within society, exposed the relevance of perceived group discrimination and religious involvement (Chapter 2; Galle, Abts, Swyngedouw, & Meuleman, 2019). Based on insights from relative deprivation theory and the collective action literature, it is suggested that people with a migration background consider redistribution as a collective solution and desirable policy to counteract the unfair disadvantage of their in-group. Accordingly, their redistributive attitudes are not solely determined by characteristics and perceptions about their individual socioeconomic position, but also by the feeling of being unfairly deprived or discriminated as an ethnic group. Perceived group discrimination was found to be related to a greater willingness to challenge income inequality and to greater support for redistribution. Furthermore, the study originally confirmed the positive association between religiosity and welfare support that has been studied within populations with Protestant, Catholic or secular denominations (Ervasti, 2012), among Muslim minorities living in Europe (Galle et al., 2019). A strong religious involvement suggests the endorsement of the Islamic visions of a just socioeconomic order with a strong emphasis on reducing the gap between rich and poor (Dean & Khan, 1997). The current study aims to contribute to the further understanding of the support for redistribution among people with a migration background by investigating the role of identity, while taking into account the effects of known predictors related to socioeconomic position, generation, religious involvement, and perceived group discrimination.

Contextualization: Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Belgium

In order to test the relation between identification and the support for redistribution among people with a migration background, the case of Turkish and Moroccan minorities living in Belgium will be analysed. Specifically, the data for this study were collected in two cities with a considerable migrant population; Liège, located in the French speaking part of Belgium (Wallonia), and Antwerp, located in the Dutch speaking part of the country (Flanders). Although the Belgian case is marked by a quite strong presence of subnationalism which has the potential to be mobilized for the decentralization of welfare arrangements (P. Singh, 2015), this has been largely prevented in the Belgian institutional context (Béland & Lecours, 2005), and both among native Belgians as well as Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, social security remains an important factor in people's conceptions of Belgian citizenship (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2002).

Similar to other countries in the North-West of Europe, a large share of the migrant population in Belgium has its origins in the labour migration of the 1960s and 1970s, and subsequent family reunification and marriage migration. It is estimated that about 2 percent of the Belgian population is of Turkish descent (Schoonvaere, 2013) and 3.8 percent of Moroccan descent (Schoonvaere, 2014). Turkish and Moroccan Belgians are disadvantaged in considerable societal domains and, compared with majority group members, they attain lower levels of education (Timmerman et al., 2003), and are 5 to 6 times more likely to be unemployed (Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Although most of them have Belgian citizenship (Gsir et al., 2015) and identify quite strongly with both Belgium and their country of origin (Torrekens & Adam, 2015), members of these two groups are still considered as outsiders or foreigners by Belgian majority citizens (Martens & Verhoeven, 2006).

Data and measurements

Data

The analysis is based on the Belgian Ethnic Minorities Election Study 2014 (BEMES), a survey conducted among first and second generation Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent aged at least 18, and living in Antwerp or Liège (Swyngedouw et al., 2015). Computer-Assisted Personal Interviews were conducted by trained interviewers at participants' homes in Dutch or French. Using the cities' population registers, respondents from four groups were randomly selected: Belgians of Moroccan descent in Antwerp (N = 243), Belgians of Turkish descent in Antwerp (N =

239), Belgians of Moroccan descent in Liège (N = 188), and Belgians of Turkish descent in Liège (N = 208). Considering the difficulties related to surveying ethnic minorities (Font & Méndez, 2013) a reasonable overall response rate of 34.9 percent was obtained. Since the data only concerns minorities with Belgian citizenship and sufficient knowledge of Dutch or French, the first generation is likely underrepresented and respondents may be relatively well integrated. Given that population information about citizens' migration or ethnic background is strongly restricted within Belgium, only the information provided by the city administrations could be used to evaluate the representativeness of the sample. Post-stratification weight coefficients were constructed based on the available information about age, gender, city of residence, and ethnic background. In order to correct for the underrepresentation of the elderly and Belgians of Moroccan descent, these coefficients were applied during the subsequent analyses.

Measurements

The dependent variable in this study, *support for redistribution*, is operationalised by a latent scale based on three Likert items (1: completely disagree – 5: completely agree): “The differences between social classes ought to be smaller than they are now” (M = 4.00; SD = 1.01), “The differences between high and low incomes should stay as they are” (M = 2.21; SD = 0.98), and “The government should reduce income differentials” (M = 3.78; SD = 1.02). *National identification* was measured by asking respondents to what degree they felt connected to Belgium (0: not at all connected – 4: strongly connected; M = 3.17; SD = 0.92). A similar question regarding respondents' connectedness to Turkey or Morocco was used to measure *ethnic identification* (M = 2.61; SD = 1.16). As one of the many dimensions of the concept of collective identity (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004), the focus in this article is on national attachment which is according to Miller and Ali (2014, p. 254) the most appropriate measure to test the national identity argument. Based on these two survey questions, we also constructed dummy variables to investigate the combination of ethnic and national identification. The category of people with an assimilated identity refers to respondents saying they felt (rather) strongly connected to Belgium while feeling not at all or (rather) little connected to Turkey/Morocco (29.08%). Having a separated identity is operationalised as the opposite, a (rather) strong connection with Turkey or Morocco and no or (rather) little connection with Belgium (8.63%). An integrated identity means that people feel (rather) strongly connected to both the country of residence and country of origin (53.31%). Finally,

people with a marginalized identity responded to feeling not at all or (rather) little connected to both Belgium and their country of origin (8.98%).

Age is centred around 17 for the analysis. Respondents' *level of education* is measured in four categories: Up to primary education, lower-secondary education, higher-secondary education, and tertiary education. Dummy's for *gender* and *ethnic background* are included with being male and having a Moroccan background as reference categories. *Labour market position* is operationalised by a variable with three categories: respondents not active in the labour market, blue collar workers, and white collar workers. The *generation* respondents belong to is divided into three categories: First generation migrants are defined as people who were born abroad and migrated to Belgium after the age of 15, the intermediate generation -or generation 1.5- refers to people who were born outside Belgium and migrated before the age of 15 (Heath et al., 2013; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988), and the second generation refers to respondents who were born in Belgium with one or both parents having been born in Morocco or Turkey. In order to take into account religion, a distinction is made between respondents who reported not being Muslim, non-strictly practicing Muslims, and strictly practicing Muslims. To define this last category, we differentiate between male and female respondents (Loewenthal et al., 2002). If a female respondent reported having always fasted during the last Ramadan and to pray at least five times per day, she was categorized as a strictly practicing Muslim. For male respondents in this category, it was additionally required to have reported visiting a mosque weekly or more. Lastly, *perceived group discrimination* is operationalised by a latent factor based on four 5-point Likert items referring to perceived differential treatment of the respondents' own ethnic group by the government, city services, and at the social assistance agency.

A confirmatory factor analysis in Mplus version 7.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012) showed that support for redistribution and perceived group discrimination represent empirically distinct constructs. On the basis of the measurement model, structural equation models are estimated with support for redistribution as the dependent variable and the latent construct for perceived group discrimination as an independent predictor, in addition to the identity related variables and the other manifest variables.

Results

Table 3.1 presents the fit indices and standardized parameter estimates of the full structural model explaining support for redistribution by national and ethnic identification and the different control variables.

Table 3.1. Effect parameters (and p-values) of model explaining support for redistribution by national and ethnic identification

	Support for redistribution
National identification	.142 (.003)**
Ethnic identification	-.110 (.021)*
Generation (ref. 1 st generation)	
1.5 generation	.100 (.165)
2 nd generation	.174 (.033)*
Religion (ref. Strictly practicing Muslim)	
Non-strictly practicing Muslim	-.195 (.001)**
Other	-.008 (.891)
Perceived group discrimination	.223 (.000)***
Age	.071 (.326)
Gender (ref. Male)	
Female	-.030 (.611)
Education (ref. Up to primary)	
Lower-secondary	-.205 (.018)*
Higher-secondary	-.185 (.038)*
Tertiary	-.099 (.213)
Labour market position (ref. Not active in labour market)	
Blue collar worker	-.045 (.450)
White collar worker	-.022 (.734)
Background (ref. Moroccan)	
Turkish	-.088 (.054)
City (ref. Antwerp)	
Liege	.049 (.374)

N = 867; *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001. Fit indices: $\chi^2 = 257.182$;
Df = 127; RMSEA = 0.034; CFI = 0.931; TLI = 0.917

Confirming the national identity argument, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' support for redistribution is positively related to their national identification (Hypothesis 1; $\beta = 0.142$; $p = 0.003$). This is more than just a reflection of citizenship or generational belonging, given that the effect coexists with a significant positive effect of belonging to the second generation and because respondents are selected on having the Belgian citizenship status. The results also show that the redistributive attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians are negatively associated with their

attachment to their country of origin ($\beta = -0.110$; $p = 0.021$). Considering that both forms of attachment are included in the model and relate positively to each other, the negative effect of attachment to the country of origin goes beyond the mere absence of national attachment and suggests that it is an additional element to consider when investigating the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background.

Table 3.2. Effect parameters (and p-values) of model explaining support for redistribution by assimilated, separated, integrated and marginalized identity

	Support for redistribution
Identity (ref. Assimilation)	
Integration	-.028 (.668)
Separation	-.148 (.020)*
Marginalization	-.009 (.873)
Generation (ref. 1 st generation)	
1.5 generation	.095 (.183)
2 nd generation	.150 (.071)
Religion (ref. Strictly practicing Muslim)	
Non-strictly practicing Muslim	-.203 (.000)***
Other	-.027 (.627)
Perceived group discrimination	.205 (.000)***
Age	.058 (.426)
Gender (ref. Male)	
Female	-.035 (.548)
Education (ref. Up to primary)	
Lower-secondary	-.199 (.021)*
Higher-secondary	-.187 (.038)*
Tertiary	-.106 (.189)
Labour market position (ref. Not active in labour market)	
Blue collar worker	-.065 (.273)
White collar worker	-.028 (.661)
Background (ref. Moroccan)	
Turkish	-.078 (.101)
City (ref. Antwerp)	
Liege	.060 (.253)

N = 867; * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$. Fit indices: $\chi^2 = 191.049$; Df = 109; RMSEA = 0.029; CFI = 0.955; TLI = 0.945

In order to verify whether the specific combination of national and ethnic identification is relevant for the support for redistribution of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, a second structural model was estimated of which the results are shown in Table 3.2. Replacing the two separate measures of

identification by dummy's for the different combinations of ethnic and national identification, we expected minority group members with an integrated identity to be the strongest supporters of redistribution because of the inclusiveness and complexity of their social identification (H2). However, this is not confirmed and the results show that compared with the reference group of people with an assimilated identity, only those with a separated identity, that is people combining a (rather) strong attachment to Turkey or Morocco and no or (rather) little attachment to Belgium, are considerably less supportive of redistribution ($\beta = -0.148$; $p = 0.020$). Meanwhile, people with a marginalized ($\beta = -0.009$; $p = 0.873$) or an integrated identity ($\beta = -0.028$; $p = 0.668$) do not differ significantly from the reference group. This amends the main negative effect found in the previous model, and implies that not the attachment to the country of origin as such, but rather the combination of high ethnic and low national attachment, is related to a significantly reduced support for redistribution.

The role of national and ethnic identification should, however, not be overestimated given the size of the standardized parameters and the relative importance of other predictors such as perceptions of group discrimination, religious involvement, and the generation people belong to. Consistent with previous research (Chapter 2; Galle et al., 2019), Belgian citizens of Turkish or Moroccan descent with higher levels of perceived group discrimination are more in favour of redistribution ($\beta = 0.205$; $p = 0.000$) and compared to strictly practicing Muslims, those who are non-strictly practicing are less egalitarian ($\beta = -0.203$; $p = 0.000$). While the model estimated with the distinct measures for national and ethnic identification illustrates a significant positive effect of belonging to the second rather than first generation on support for redistribution ($\beta = 0.174$; $p = 0.033$), this effect is no longer significant ($\beta = 0.150$; $p = 0.071$) in the second model with combined identity categories. This suggests that first generation migrants are overrepresented in the group with a separated identity, which is in line with the acculturation literature (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Finally, with regard to the control variables, the results show that education plays a considerable role with stronger support for redistribution being more likely among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians with a lower than secondary level of education. Age, gender, ethnic background, and city of residence are not significantly related to the dependent variable when all other factors are taken into account. Markedly, also the labour market position of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians is unrelated to their support for redistribution, confirming that these attitudes are not based on pure economic self-interest (Luttmer & Singhal, 2011).

Conclusions and discussion

In light of the debated impact of societal diversity on popular support for the welfare state, national identity has been argued to be able to provide the necessary social cohesion for organizing systems of solidarity (Miller, 1995). Extending the empirical grounds of the national identity argument beyond native majority group members (Johnston et al., 2010; Theiss-Morse, 2009; Wright & Reeskens, 2013), this study among Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent confirms the expectation of a positive association between national attachment and support for redistribution. Within most recent scholarly work on the argument, the focus is on the role of the shared values associated with national identity and whether their specific content matters for promoting social cohesion (Bleidahl et al., 2017; Holtug, 2016). Yet, the results of the current study show that merely feeling attached to a country like Belgium, which is known for having only a thin national identity, is able to enhance the egalitarian attitudes of people with a migration background. We therefore suggest that in order to verify whether national attachment is indeed sufficient for social cohesion or whether it matters which underpinning values are shared, the literature would advance from future research on combined samples of both majority and minority group members.

Focusing on people with a migration background rather than native citizens called for a consideration of their ethnic identification. Unstudied before, our results provide no evidence that a strong attachment to the country of origin is by definition problematic for ethnic minorities' engagement with solidarity in their country of residence. Based on the idea that national and ethnic identity are able to interact in various ways (Berry, 2005; Hutnik, 1991), we found that only those who combine a strong attachment to the country of origin with little national attachment, or have a so-called separated identity, are less inclined to support redistribution compared with minorities that are attached to both countries or only the country of residence.

In times of budgetary pressures to reform social policies and given the growing number and increasing political weight of people with a migration background, it is highly relevant for policy makers in Western Europe to understand the welfare opinions of this population. Although our main expectation has been confirmed, national and ethnic identification have a rather limited role in explaining the redistributive attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians considering that other factors like religious involvement, level of education, and perceptions of group discrimination were shown to be much more relevant. Hence, we would argue that promoting national identification

should not be the number one priority of policy makers aiming to guarantee the involvement of people with a migration background in the national solidarity mechanisms.

It is plausible that a number of factors have influenced the obtained results in this study. Although using national attachment is recommended in order to test the national identity argument (Miller & Ali, 2014), by operationalising identity as attachment to the country, other dimensions of the identity-concept are neglected like self-categorization, importance for the self-concept, or behavioural involvement (Ashmore et al., 2004). Partly due to this operationalisation and the fact that all respondents have the Belgian citizenship and speak one of the country's official languages, overall high levels of national attachment were reported. This suggests that all investigated minorities have a certain minimum sense of belonging to the country of residence, which might be a reason for the rather weak effect of national attachment in our study. Since our conclusions are confined to naturalized migrants that are relatively well integrated, future research would benefit from testing other operationalisations of the identity concept and from examining people lacking a sense of national belonging such as more recent immigrants without citizenship in the country of residence, or highly marginalized minority groups.

Focusing in this study on a general support for redistribution without considerations of specific policies, our main suggestion for the further exploration of the link between identity and solidarity would be to investigate attitudes that go beyond the broad principle of egalitarianism. The salience of social identities partially depends on whether they have been mobilized by political elites in a specific debate, which is again contingent on possible electoral gains (Helbling, Reeskens, & Wright, 2016). Compared with the topic of redistribution, it is more likely that national identities have been mobilized in political debates on the boundaries of welfare state arrangements, migrants' access to social rights (Wright & Reeskens, 2013), and the pressures of supra-national organizations like the European Union on the national welfare state (Hooghe & Marks, 2005). Based on previous research (Degen et al., 2018; Theiss-Morse, 2009; Wright & Reeskens, 2013), it would seem questionable that solidarity based on national identity is highly inclusive toward new immigrants that are seeking access to the welfare state. A natural progression of the current study, would be to investigate the effect of ethnic minorities' multiple social identities on their views about the boundaries of the national welfare state.

Notes

ⁱ We have no clear expectation about minority group members with a marginalized identity, often only a residual group, and their support for redistribution. Having both a low national and ethnic attachment might either be an indication of a rejection by or withdrawal from society, or on the contrary, a representation of a cosmopolitan or merged identity that is highly inclusive. The first would suggest a low willingness to share resources with other citizens, while the latter suggests high levels of egalitarianism.

Chapter 4

Welfare chauvinism among
established outsiders

Welfare chauvinism among established outsiders

Introduction

Partially fuelled by populist radical right parties who advocate the restriction of non-citizens from social benefits (Ennser-Jedenastik, 2018; Fenger, 2018; Ivaldi, 2015; Kitschelt, 1997), there is a surge in divisive political discourse about immigrants' position in the national welfare states in contemporary Western Europe (Koning, 2013). Against this background, scholars try to understand the attitude of welfare chauvinism (Crepaz, 2008; Mau & Burkhardt, 2009), referring to the opinion that welfare state services should be exclusively reserved for fellow nationals (strict sense) or that migrants are not deserving of (unlimited) access to their host country's welfare state (soft sense; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012). In this regard, most research focuses on the attitudes of native majority group members and treats migrant status merely as a control variable, assuming that people with a migration background are strongly in favour of an inclusive welfare state (Mewes & Mau, 2013, p. 234; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012, p. 125). However, since a growing part of the population in Western-European countries has a migration background, it is crucial to gain a better understanding of their ideas about the boundaries and conditionality of welfare solidarity.

Recently, several studies explored welfare chauvinism among immigrants themselves, revealing that they are to a certain extent also willing to restrict newcomers' access to the welfare state, by making it conditional on contribution as well as citizenship status (Degen et al., 2018; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Kremer, 2016; Osipovic, 2015). However, by focusing predominantly on immigrants without the citizenship status in their country of residence, these studies overlook the growing diversification of diversity (Vertovec, 2007) and the fact that minority groups may have a varying degree of incorporation into the native society which causes them to have different interests with regard to the boundaries of the welfare state. In order to extend the unfolding research on welfare chauvinism among people with a migration background, this study moves beyond the citizens/non-

citizens dichotomy and focuses on the opinions held by settled postwar labour immigrants and their descendants, whose societal position and relation to the native society cannot be captured by citizenship status alone (Soysal, 1994). Referring to Elias' established-outsider figuration approach (Elias & Scotson, 1965), I argue that this population can be defined as 'established outsiders' who occupy a dual position: although being established compared to more recently arrived immigrants, they still remain outsiders in the figuration with native-born citizens despite their legal status as citizen.

While research on welfare chauvinism among migrants and ethnic minorities has so far focused on the role of socioeconomic position (Degen et al., 2018) and citizenship status (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016), this study investigates the effect of identification with the native society and perceived discrimination in relation to the native majority. The main contribution lies in showing how the ambivalent position of being simultaneously established and outsider affects the attitudes of citizens with a migration background towards the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants. Due to their dual position, the experience of discrimination can create both feelings of threat and empathy toward other minority group members (Just & Anderson, 2015). The analysis shows that perceived discrimination has both coalitional and derogatory effects on welfare-related interminority attitudes, depending on whether the disadvantage is perceived as a group position or a personal experience of unfair treatment. With regard to the role of identification, the study adds to the literature by considering different patterns of dual identification (Berry, 2005; Hutnik, 1991) as a predictor for the solidarity toward new arriving immigrants of established outsiders.

Specifically, this study investigates the willingness to restrict new immigrants' welfare state access among Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent – as representatives of the so-called established outsiders. Instead of relying on subsamples distilled from a general population survey (Degen et al., 2018; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016), data is used of a survey particularly designed to measure attitudes of established ethnic minorities, i.e. the Belgian Ethnic Minorities Election Study 2014 (BEMES). The major advantage of this approach is that it does not homogenize the whole population with a migration background, but captures the multi-layered status of established outsiders in the receiving society; and allows to measure their welfare chauvinism towards new immigrants.

Theory and hypotheses

The boundaries of the welfare state from the perspective of the established

The modern welfare state in Western societies is by design based on the exclusion of outsiders for the purpose of internal structuring (Ferrera, 2005; Marshall, 1950). In this sense, it institutionalizes an established-outsider figuration of hierarchical social relations of power (Loyal, 2011, p. 195), characterized by an imbalance of power in favour of 'old' established residents who use stigmatization and exclusion to secure their distinct identity and superior status in relation to the newcomers because they are perceived as a threat to their group position (Elias, 1976). Applied to the specific figuration of established natives and immigrant outsiders (Loyal, 2011; May, 2004), this approach argues that state policies may assign immigrants to the status of outsiders and apply regulations and practices, such as the exclusion from various social benefits, that disadvantage and disempower these outsiders (Loyal, 2011, p. 195). Additionally, the societal figuration is then reproduced within the relations between people by means of stigmatization and social closure (May, 2004, p. 2165). As confirmed by public opinion research, immigrants are indeed perceived as least deserving compared to other groups of welfare claimants (van Oorschot, 2008) and only a minority of the Europeans wants to grant foreign newcomers unconditional access to social rights (Mewes & Mau, 2012). In this regard, Andersen and Bjørklund (1990) coined the term 'welfare chauvinism' to capture the welfare opinions of populist radical right voters who were generally in favour of the welfare state but wanted to restrict welfare services to 'their own people'. This willingness to exclude immigrant outsiders from welfare benefits among native citizens is grounded in the belief that they can rightfully claim the resources of the national welfare state based on the own status of being an established insider. As such these attitudes are, at least partially, based on the deservingness principle of identity that ties social benefits directly to belonging to a community, or even, primordial ancestry (Abts & Kochuyt, 2013; Soroka et al., 2017).

Traditionally, welfare chauvinistic attitudes are explained by people's socioeconomic position and political orientations. On the one hand, individuals with a vulnerable socioeconomic position have a greater interest in limiting the number of potential welfare recipients because they experience more threat and competition from newcomers' access to welfare state services (Mewes & Mau, 2012; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012; van der Waal et al., 2010). On the other hand, people who adhere more to the general idea that society should make efforts to reduce inequalities (van der Waal et al., 2010; van Oorschot & Uunk, 2007) and who place themselves on the political left rather

than right (Crepaz & Damron, 2009) are more solidaristic toward immigrants and report lower levels of welfare chauvinism.

In addition to the actual position and ideological preferences of the individual, people's willingness to exclude immigrant outsiders from the welfare state is also related to shared group identities and to a collective sense of where groups belong in society. Considering the denial of (social) rights to migrants as a dimension of anti-migration attitudes (Sarrasin, Green, Bolzman, Visintin, & Politi, 2018), welfare chauvinism can also be explained by group position theory. This approach emphasizes the competition between groups over scarce resources and considers negative outgroup attitudes and related policy preferences as a defensive reaction to a sense of group position (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1999). In this regard, native citizens who feel that they have a propriety claim over the privileges provided by the national welfare state, and suspect that members of subordinate groups, i.e. immigrants, are challenging this advantaged position, will more likely support their exclusion from the welfare state or the increased conditionality of their access to welfare benefits.

Unlike group position theory, studies referring to social identity theory show that, even without a perceived disadvantage, a collective identity as such is able to induce welfare chauvinistic attitudes (Theiss-Morse, 2009; Wright & Reeskens, 2013). The underlying logic is that a strong sense of group identification promotes behaviour in favour of fellow group members (Tajfel, 1982) and increases the importance of the group's welfare in individuals' decision making (Kramer & Brewer, 1984), which can be traced back to the fact that people's self-image is influenced by the status of their in-group. Applied to the welfare state literature, shared national identities are said to provide the necessary trust and solidarity in order for nation states to organize redistributive justice and welfare state arrangements (Marshall, 1950; Miller, 1995). However, national identity does not only bond community members together, but can also create exclusionary feelings (Theiss-Morse, 2009). Indeed, the more people identify with their national community, the more they prioritize the welfare of the community over the welfare of others such as new migrants and the more aversion they have to immigrants' access to the welfare state (Wright & Reeskens, 2013).

Explaining welfare chauvinism among established outsiders

Taking Elias' approach as a point of departure, native citizens' welfare chauvinism relates to group hierarchies and could be perceived as a form of exclusion to maintain the power surplus of the own group while keeping outsiders in their place (see Blumer, 1958; Elias, 1976; Elias & Scotson, 1965).

Particularly established citizens with a strong national identification who perceive their advantaged group position and monopolized welfare resources to be threatened, are then willing to restrict the welfare state access and social rights of immigrant outsiders. Yet, rather than taking the perspective of native citizens, I examine the opinions held by permanently settled immigrants and their descendants, i.e. citizens with a migration background. More specifically, this study focusses on people who have migrated from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium and acquired the Belgian nationality, as well as their children born in Belgium and belonging to the second generation.

Considering the established-outsiders framework, I argue that this population can be defined as so-called 'established outsiders' because of their dual position in the country of residence: on the one hand they are still outsiders in relation to native majority group members, on the other hand they are able to claim the position of the established within the established-outsider figuration with more recently arrived immigrants. Compared to the native population, citizens with a migration background tend to have a disadvantaged socioeconomic position, attain lower levels of education and are much more likely to be unemployed (e.g. Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; Timmerman et al., 2003). Furthermore, their subordinate group position is also reflected by their experiences of discrimination (Alanya et al., 2017), and the ongoing labelling and stigmatizing as 'foreigners' (Jacobs & Rea, 2012). Because of their legal inclusion and the occurrence of more recent migration waves, however, people with origins in the postwar labour migration can no longer be confined to the subaltern position of the outsiders who have no access to power-giving resources. Many of them have obtained the citizenship status in the country of residence, and, at least to a certain extent, identify as citizens of the country they live in (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). Partly because they benefit from a stronger social cohesion, permanently settled ethnic minorities have also successfully monopolized certain resources and gradually succeeded in establishing themselves (May, 2004, p. 2173).

Taking into account this established outsider position of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, the underlying mechanisms of their potential welfare chauvinism might differ from those described above for native citizens. As theorized in the following sections, their dual position creates more ambivalent effects of perceived discrimination and identification on their willingness to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants.

Threat and kinship based on perceived discrimination

Characteristic of the position of established outsiders, such as permanently settled migrants and their descendants, is that despite their legal status they remain to a certain extent outsiders in relation to the dominant native community and are much more likely to experience unequal treatment or discrimination compared to native citizens. Because they share this outsider position with new arriving immigrants, perceived discrimination may have opposing effects on their attitudes toward new arriving immigrants: on the one hand, perceived discrimination might be the manifestation of a threatened group position and induce exclusionary attitudes; on the other hand, it may create feelings of empathy and enable solidarity (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Just & Anderson, 2015; Mustafa & Richards, 2018; Sirin, Valentino, & Villalobos, 2016b).

Based on group position theory and similar to the abovementioned mechanism among the native population, the sense of a disadvantaged group position is expected to create exclusionary attitudes toward new arriving immigrants and their welfare state access among established migrants and their descendants. Because of their citizenship status and more established position, they can claim the welfare state benefits of the nation state at the expense of recent immigrants without the legal citizenship status. Group position theory generally focuses on the attitudes of majority group members' toward outgroup members. However, in the case of interminority attitudes, the attitudes of minority group members toward *other minorities* are affected by the subjective assessment of status differences with the *dominant majority group* (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). The more minority group members feel that their group is alienated and stigmatized by the dominant society, the more they perceive other outgroups as competitors and as a threat to their own group's social position (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; King & Weiner, 2007). For that reason, established outsiders who feel that their group is unjustly disadvantaged and faces discriminatory treatment by the native citizens and institutions, are expected to experience the arrival of newcomers as a threat and therefore wish their access to the welfare benefits to be restricted as a way of securing their own relative power surplus.

Even when different minority groups are in competition with each other over scarce resources, the reactions of members of one group toward another based on the threat they experience, may be altered by the empathy they feel toward each other. This is the main premise of group empathy theory, and explains why minority group members may support protections for disadvantaged groups even when their own interests are threatened. According to this theory, people's empathy

toward other groups is composed of both the cognitive ability of a person to take someone else's perspective as well as an affective dimension of empathic concern (Sirin et al., 2016b). In addition to being context dependent, feelings of group empathy are also developed in reaction to life experiences, given that taking the perspective of another person is easier when one has similar experiences (Sirin, Valentino, & Villalobos, 2016a, 2017). The exposure to discrimination is one of those experiences that may create group empathy and solidarity between members of different groups, although, in other instances it may also result in negative intergroup attitudes such as prejudice and threat (Cortland et al., 2017; Craig & Richeson, 2014, 2016; Craig, Rucker, & Richeson, 2018). In this regard, research indicates that the positive effect of perceived discrimination on intergroup relations is facilitated when the shared aspects of people's experiences of discrimination are highlighted (Cortland et al., 2017; Craig & Richeson, 2016). Relative to group-level experiences of discrimination, personal experiences of discrimination appear to be more effective in increasing perceptions of commonality and promote a common categorization with other disadvantaged groups, even across identity dimensions (Craig & Richeson, 2014).

In sum, perceived discrimination might thus have both positive and negative effects on solidarity between the members of different minority groups, either by increasing feelings of threat and competition, or by increasing group empathy through the ability to take the perspective of the other. This study will test the effects of both perceived group and individual discrimination on the willingness of established outsiders to restrict the welfare access of new arriving immigrants. Since perceived individual discrimination is more likely to induce feelings of communality than perceived group discrimination (Craig & Richeson, 2014), it can be expected that when both forms are taken into account, the former will result in more empathy and thus lower levels of welfare chauvinism whereas the latter will relate to higher levels of welfare chauvinism due to increased threat. More explicitly, it is hypothesized that with higher levels of perceived group discrimination, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians are more willing to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants (Hypothesis 1). On the other hand, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians with higher levels of perceived individual discrimination are expected to be less willing to restrict the welfare state access of newcomers compared to those with lower levels of perceived individual discrimination (Hypothesis 2).

Dual identification

As mentioned, collective identities have the ability to bind members of the same group together and strengthen solidarity toward each other, but they can also create exclusionary feelings toward members of other groups (Theiss-Morse, 2009; Wright & Reeskens, 2013). So far, the relationship between national identification and welfare chauvinism among non-natives is not examined yet, but previous studies have shown that there is an effect of citizenship status: naturalized immigrants are more concerned about the impact of immigration (Just & Anderson, 2015) and more likely to be in favour of restricting the welfare benefits for newcomers (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016).

If one considers immigrants' identification with the country of residence, similar to their citizenship status, as a reflection of their degree of incorporation in the native society (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016, p. 109) and their identification with the ethnic community or country of origin as the mere opposite, then conclusions of previous research about the effect formal citizenship could quite simply be extended to the population in this study. However, there are two reasons to be hesitant about this. On the one hand, national and ethnic identification are not necessarily negatively related, but might interact in different patterns (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016). On the other hand, having a strong national identity does not imply that one suddenly belongs to the established group in society, and even people with a migration background that have a very strong national identification, are somehow also still stuck in the figuration of being an established outsider. In other words, their dual position remains of significance, which is why we cannot simply look at national and ethnic identification separately in order to understand their welfare chauvinistic attitudes but must consider different forms of dual self-identification. Rather than considering separate effects of national and ethnic identification on welfare chauvinism, this study distinguishes four groups based on different forms of self-identification (Berry, 2005; Hutnik, 1991): people who identify almost exclusively as member of the native society (assimilated identity), people identifying almost solely with their ethnic group (separated identity), people who categorize themselves as having a dual identification (dual or integrated identity) and finally people who categorize themselves as neither member of the native or ethnic community (marginalized identity).

An interest in the demarcation of the national welfare state partially comes from having a stake in the well-being of the host country and being worried about the impact of immigrants' inclusion on the national welfare state (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). In order for established outsiders to perceive new

arriving immigrants as outsiders who are a threat to their own prerogatives, a sense of being a member of the native society is therefore required. Because people with a separated or marginalized identity lack this sense of being an insider and having a stake in the well-being of the host society, I expect them to be the least willing to restrict the welfare state access of newcomers. To the contrary, established outsiders with an assimilated identity indicate that they feel almost exclusively as a member of the native society. Therefore, they probably experience the biggest distance toward new arriving immigrants and have the strongest interest in maintaining their own power surplus compared to these outsiders. In order to keep their monopoly over the benefits of the welfare state, they can be expected to be the most willing to exclude immigrants from the national welfare state. Although established outsiders with a dual identification also have a sense of belonging to the national community, their dual identity is considered a complex form of social identification and is associated with increased tolerance toward outgroups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Moreover, because this group has a certain degree of ethnic identification as well, they are expected to experience less social distance towards other ethnic outgroups which stimulates interminority solidarity (Hindriks, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2014). As a consequence, established outsiders with a dual identification are likely to be less committed to maintaining their own power surplus over new arriving immigrants and thus less willing to exclude them from the national welfare state compared to those with an assimilated identity. Based on this reasoning, this study will test the hypothesis that Turkish and Moroccan Belgians who identify predominantly as being Belgian are the most willing to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants, followed by those who identify themselves as Turkish-Belgian or Moroccan-Belgian, and then those who identify as only Turkish or Moroccan, or neither one of them (Hypothesis 3).

Alternative explanations

Besides dual identification and perceived discrimination, this study also tests some common explanations of the willingness to restrict the welfare state access of newcomers. Similar to research among the native population, I test whether welfare chauvinism among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians is related to having a vulnerable socioeconomic position, having a low general support for redistribution and identifying with the political right rather than left. Whereas the relation between welfare chauvinism and ideological preferences has not yet been studied among a non-native population, existing research among immigrants themselves does confirm the effect of socioeconomic position and shows that the unemployed and those working in lower occupational

sectors perceive more threat from newly arrived migrants (van der Zwan, Bles, & Lubbers, 2017) and tend to favour more restrictive welfare state access for newcomers (Degen et al., 2018). An additional factor that is considered for explaining welfare chauvinism among established outsiders is their generational status since existing research showed that first generation immigrants are more positive toward newcomers (Valentova & Berzosa, 2012) and favour a more accessible welfare state for migrants (Degen et al., 2018) than people belonging to the second generation. These more negative attitudes of the second generation are explained by their improved socioeconomic position (Degen et al., 2018) and their socialization in the host society which causes them to have opinions that are more similar to the majority population (Valentova & Berzosa, 2012). Finally, during the analyses age, gender, education, ethnic background, city of residence and religiosity will also be controlled for because they have been related to the anti-migration or welfare attitudes of people with a migration background.

Data and measurements

Data

The analysis is based on the Belgian Ethnic Minorities Election Study 2014 (BEMES), a face-to-face survey conducted among first and second generation Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent aged at least 18 (Swyngedouw et al., 2015). Turkish and Moroccan Belgians have their origins in the labour migration of the 1960s and 1970s and subsequent family reunification and marriage migration (Surkyn & Reniers, 1996), and make up about 2 percent (Turkish) and 3.8 percent (Moroccan) of the Belgian population (Schoonvaere, 2013, 2014). The BEMES consists of 878 respondents (response rate 34.9 percent), randomly selected from the population registers of two cities; Liège and Antwerp. These cities provide a useful context for exploring the opinions of settled immigrants toward newcomers because they have a high concentration of early labour migrants due to their metal and mining industry, as well as a sizeable migrant population and a diversity of minority groups (Blommaert & Martiniello, 1996).

Measurements

Dependent variable

Welfare chauvinism or the willingness to restrict newcomers' welfare state access is operationalized by a latent scale ($\chi^2 = 15.353$; Df = 8; RMSEA = 0.033; CFI = 0.980; TLI = 0.962)

based on six items about immigrants' contribution to social security and the conditions that should apply for their access to the rights and services provided by the welfare state (1: strongly disagree – 5: strongly agree; the exact wording is shown in Figure 1). By using a newly developed measure based on multiple survey items, this study differs from the existing studies focusing on the attitudes of non-natives (Degen et al., 2018; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). Like many of the studies on welfare chauvinism among the general population (Mewes & Mau, 2012; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012; Van der Waal et al., 2013), they use the single question administered by the European Social Survey: "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?" Yet, this is a somewhat problematic indicator because it does not ask whether foreigners should be granted equal rights at a general level (Mewes & Mau, 2012; Van der Waal et al., 2013). By using newly collected data this study tries to go beyond these limitations of previous studies. Furthermore, some measures were taken given the migration background of the respondents themselves: in the survey questions about immigration and (other) immigrants, no reference to the ethnic background or type of migration was made, and before reading the different items, the interviewer explained the respondent that the term 'newcomers' or 'new migrants' referred to people who recently came to live in Belgium.

Independent variables

With regard to respondents' perceived disadvantaged position in the Belgian society, two different measures of perceived discrimination are included. *Perceived group discrimination* is measured by a latent scale based ($\chi^2 = 3.070$; Df = 2; RMSEA = 0.025; CFI = 0.999; TLI = 0.998) on four 5-point (1: strongly disagree – 5: strongly agree) Likert items referring to perceived differential treatment of the respondents' own ethnic group in times of economic crisis, by the government, by city services, and at the social assistance agency. In order to measure *perceived individual discrimination*, respondents were asked "Have you personally experienced hostility or unfair treatment because of your background or descent during the last five years? Did this happen never, rarely, sometimes, regularly or often?". Because more than half of the respondents answered to have never experienced personal discrimination, this skewed variable was recoded into a dummy variable by collapsing all other categories.

Dual identity was measured by a single item, based on a Linz-Moreno question, which is traditionally used to assess the presence of dual identities in countries with a strong regional

cleavage (Moreno, 1995) but is also applied in studies on migrants' identification (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016)ⁱⁱ. Respondents were asked how they feel and could choose between five categories ranging from completely Turkish/Moroccan, more Turkish/Moroccan than Belgian, as much Turkish/Moroccan as Belgian, more Belgian than Turkish/Moroccan, to completely Belgian, as well as an additional sixth category "I do not feel truly Turkish/Moroccan nor truly Belgian". For the purpose of the analysis, we recoded this variable to three dummies: those feeling completely/more Turkish or Moroccan form the group with a separated identity; feeling as much Turkish/Moroccan as Belgian reflects having a dual or integrated identity; those who indicate that they do not feel truly Turkish/Moroccan nor truly Belgian have a marginalized identity. People responding who feel completely Belgian or more Belgian than Turkish or Moroccan serve as a reference category and are considered as the group with an assimilated identity.

To measure the socioeconomic status of respondents, this study focuses on occupational status and subjective income. *Occupational status* consists of eight categories: people working in high and lower services, those with routine non-manual jobs, skilled and unskilled manual workers, the self-employed, people who are unemployed, the retired, those in full-time education, and finally a rest category for those doing something else (e.g. housewives, disabled or ill people, people looking for their first job). To assess *subjective income*, a distinction is made between respondents who state that they do not have enough and often have difficulties to make ends meet, those who state that they just have enough to make ends meet, and respondents who have no difficulties at all or more than enough. In order to measure the *left-right placement*, respondents had to place themselves on a scale from 0 (left) to 10 (right). *Support for redistribution* is operationalised by a latent scale ($\chi^2 = 0.000$; Df = 0; RMSEA = 0.000; CFI = 1.000; TLI = 1.000) based on three Likert items about the need to reduce income inequality and class differences (1: completely disagree – 5: completely agree). The *generation* respondents belong to is operationalized into three categories: First-generation migrants are defined as people who were born abroad and migrated to Belgium after the age of 15, the intermediate generation—or generation 1.5—refers to people who were born outside Belgium and migrated before the age of 15 (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988), and the second generation refers to respondents who were born in Belgium, with one or both parents having been born in Morocco or Turkey.

In addition to *gender, age, and education*, all analyses control for *ethnic background, city of residence and religious involvement*. In order to measure the latter, a distinction is made between respondents who reported not being Muslim, non-strictly practicing Muslims, and strictly

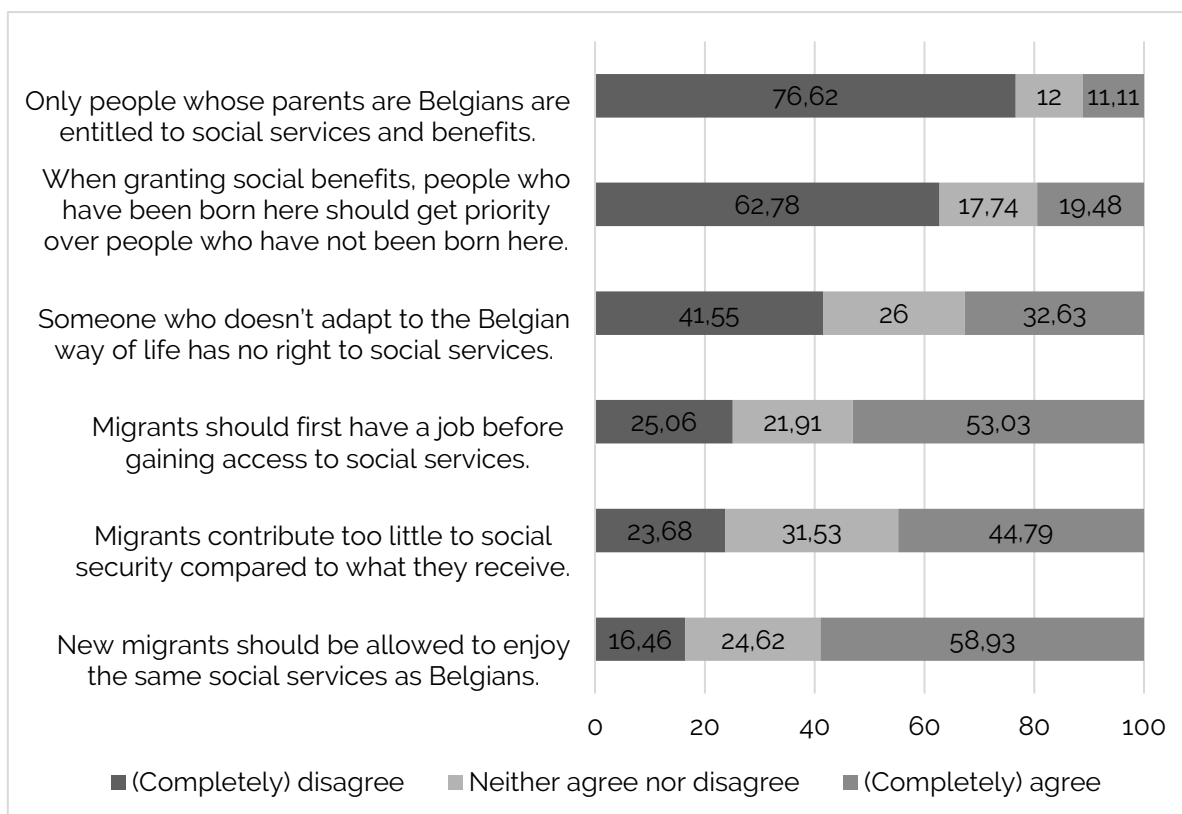
practicing Muslims. To define this last category, a distinction is made between male and female respondents (Loewenthal et al., 2002). If a female respondent reported having always fasted during the last Ramadan and to pray at least five times per day, she was categorized as a strictly practicing Muslim. For male respondents in this category, it was additionally required to have reported visiting a mosque weekly or more. The category of others relates to a small and heterogeneous group containing atheists, Catholics, and Yezidis.

To test the different hypotheses, structural equation modelling (SEM) was applied in Mplus version 7.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012) in order to explain welfare chauvinism by the mentioned predictors, using post-stratification weight coefficients based on population data regarding age, gender, city of residence, and ethnic background.

Results

Before examining the determinants of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' willingness to restrict the welfare state access of newcomers, a brief look is taken at the distribution of the dependent variable. As Figure 4.1 shows, there is overall little support for the primordial logic that welfare state access should be conditional on ancestry (Abts & Kochuyt, 2013): respectively 76.61% and 62.78% of the respondents disagrees with the idea that people should have Belgian parents in order to be entitled to Belgian social services and that people born in Belgium should get priority over those who are born abroad. By contrast, the idea of earned citizenship, i.e. that immigrants need to earn their access to social rights through contributions and labour market participation (Kremer, 2016), receives much more support. Almost 45% of the respondents agrees with the statement that migrants contribute too little to social security and more than half of the respondents agrees that migrants need to have a job before gaining access to social services. About one third agrees with the notion that social rights have to be reserved for people who adapt to the Belgian way of life, indicating that the support for welfare state claims based on identity and cultural adjustment falls somewhere in between support for claims based on ancestry and productivity. Finally, the item stating that new migrants should be able to enjoy the same social services as Belgians, was endorsed by 58.93% of the respondents.

Figure 4.1. Unweighted percentages of respondents that (dis)agrees with statements about migrants' restriction from social rights



Turning to the determinants of these attitudes, the results presented in Table 4.1 confirm that the willingness of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians to restrict newcomers' access to the welfare state is based on competing mechanisms due to their own disadvantaged position in the native society. Depending on whether these perceptions are conceived as a disadvantaged group position or an individual experience (Craig & Richeson, 2016), perceptions of unequal treatment by the native majority population are able to create both feelings of threat as well as solidarity toward newcomers among established outsiders. On the one hand, Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent with higher levels of perceived group discrimination are more willing to restrict newcomers' social rights (Hypothesis 1), which can be explained by the insights of group position theory (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; King & Weiner, 2007). Seemingly, the sense of a disadvantaged group position within the native society is related to an increased reluctance to grant new immigrants access to the welfare state in order to maintain the power surplus of the own group. The individual experience of being treated unfairly due to ones' ethnic background, on the other hand, has a strong negative effect on the willingness to restrict the welfare state access of newcomers (Hypothesis 2). This result corresponds with group empathy theory stating that the shared experience of being an outsider can

also create empathy and solidarity for other disadvantaged groups such as new immigrants (Just & Anderson, 2015; Sirin et al., 2016a, 2017).

As expected and formulated in Hypothesis 3, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians identifying as only or mostly Belgian are the most reluctant to grant newcomers welfare benefits compared to the groups with another form of self-identification. The fact that people who identify solely as a Turkish or Moroccan and those who indicate that they do not feel Belgian neither Turkish or Moroccan, show lower levels of welfare chauvinism suggests that these exclusionary feelings are at least partially based on the sense of being a member or insider of the native society. Furthermore, compared to those with an assimilated identity, established outsiders with a dual identity show significantly less support for the exclusion of newcomers from the welfare state, indicating that they are less committed to maintaining their own power surplus compared to these outsiders. Additional tests were, however, unable to confirm our expectation that the groups with a marginalized or separated identity differ significantly from those who feel equally Belgian as Turkish or Moroccan, though this might also be related to the small group sizes.

Table 4.1. Effect parameters (and p-values) of model explaining welfare chauvinism

	Welfare chauvinism	
Gender (ref. Male)		
Female	-.066	(.192)
Background (ref. Moroccan)		
Turkish	.015	(.753)
City (ref. Antwerp)		
Liege	-.079	(.193)
Age	.006	(.079)
Religious involvement (ref. Non-Strictly practicing Muslim)		
Non-Muslim	.113	(.159)
Strictly practicing Muslim	.072	(.165)
Generation (ref. 1 st generation)		
1.5 generation	.130	(.090)
2 nd generation	.207	(.025)*
Education (ref. Up to primary)		
Lower-secondary	.010	(.924)
Higher-secondary	-.075	(.449)
Tertiary	-.125	(.249)
Occupational status (ref. high and lower services)		
Self-employed	.328	(.001)**
Routine non-manual	-.010	(.901)
Skilled and unskilled manual workers	.146	(.086)
Unemployed	.079	(.386)
Retired	-.131	(.583)
In full-time education	.131	(.190)
Other occupational status	.121	(.147)
Subjective income (ref. No difficulties)		
Just enough	-.049	(.362)
Difficulties to make ends meet	.083	(.305)
Support for redistribution	-.165	(.012)*
Left-right placement	.013	(.235)
Dual identity (ref. feeling completely/more Belgian)		
Feeling completely/more Turkish or Moroccan	-.192	(.007)**
Feeling as much Turkish/Moroccan as Belgian	-.144	(.018)*
Not feeling truly Turkish/Moroccan nor truly Belgian	-.201	(.030)*
Perceived individual discrimination in last 5 years (ref. never)		
Perceived individual discrimination in last 5 years	-.210	(.000)***
Perceived group discrimination	.123	(.012)*
R²	31.0%	

N=789; *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001. Fit indices: $\chi^2=673.267$; Df=361; RMSEA=0.033; CFI=0.755; TLI=0.726.

Looking at the more classic predictors of welfare chauvinism, the results of this study provide little evidence for the idea that Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' willingness to restrict new immigrants' welfare state access is determined by their personal socioeconomic position. There is no effect of subjective income and only the self-employed exhibit significantly more restrictive attitudes toward newcomers' social rights than the reference category of people working in the services sector. This challenges the so-called "solid class bias" against foreigners that has been found in research among the general population and that results in higher levels of welfare chauvinism amongst the working classes (Mewes & Mau, 2012, 2013). Concerning political dispositions, the results confirm the expected negative relationship between support for redistribution and willingness to exclude immigrants from social rights but contradict the presumed association between left-right orientation and welfare chauvinism. These findings indicate that while the solidarity of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians toward new migrants is partly based on their adherence of the general principle of equality, it is unrelated to their political orientation. With regard to generation, the results show that people belonging to the second generation and to the intermediate generation, i.e. those who migrated at an early age and were largely socialized in Belgium, are more in favour of limiting new immigrants' access to the welfare state than first generation migrants. This is in line with existing research (Degen et al., 2018; Valentova & Berzosa, 2012) stating that people belonging to the second generation are more reluctant to grant newcomers welfare state access than first generation migrants. That said, assessing whether the effect of generation is a matter of socialization or acculturation (Degen et al., 2018), would require a comparative design and additional information on the attitudes of people without a migration background, both in the country of residence and in the country of origin.

With respect to the control variables, the results show no significant effects of age, gender, level of education, ethnic background, and city of residence. In addition to the lack of socioeconomic cleavages, there appears to be little variation in welfare chauvinism among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians due to demographic characteristics and level of education. Nevertheless, the total estimated model, including the measures on perceived discrimination and identification, was able to explain 31 percent of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' willingness to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants.

Conclusions and discussion

Although the impact of increased societal diversity on the welfare state is often referred to in the study of welfare chauvinism (e.g. Mewes & Mau, 2013; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012), existing research neglects the actual diversification of diversity among minority groups (Vertovec, 2007) by holding on to the rather simplistic dichotomy between insiders and outsiders based on legal citizenship status. This study innovates by conceptualizing the position of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians as established outsiders, which provides an intersectional perspective that enables us to relate the dual position of citizens with a migration background to their solidarity toward newcomers. More specifically, this study disentangles the effects of perceived discrimination and identification on their willingness to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants.

In order to understand interminority relations and the possible solidarity between different disadvantaged groups, the way minority group members perceive their own position in relation to the native society needs to be taken into account (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). Focusing on perceived discrimination and distinguishing between the individual and group level, this study shows that perceptions of a disadvantaged position affect welfare chauvinistic attitudes through competing mechanisms. On the one hand, the perception of a disadvantaged group status in the native society is associated with higher levels of welfare chauvinism among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, suggesting that by demanding a greater conditionality of the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants, they wish to maintain their own power surplus over these newcomers. On the other hand, perceptions of individual discrimination are related to a decreased willingness to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants, which illustrates that by reflecting on the personal experience of being an outsider, feelings of communality and kinship are triggered (Craig & Richeson, 2016) causing established outsiders to show more solidarity toward newcomers.

With regard to identification, this study indicates that similar to studies among native citizens (Theiss-Morse, 2009; Wright & Reeskens, 2013), national identification is able to have a bounding effect on the solidarity of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians toward new arriving immigrants. Yet, investigating the attitudes of citizens with a migration background implies that different patterns of dual identification need to be taken into account, due to their position as established outsider. As such, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians with an assimilated national identity are shown to be the most reluctant to grant newcomers access to the welfare state. This suggests that together with an assimilated identity comes the feeling of being a rightful claimant of the scarce resources of the

welfare state and the wish to maintain one's established position over new arriving immigrants. To the contrary, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians who consider themselves hardly Belgian (i.e. have a separated or marginalized identity), or who indicate that they have a dual or integrated identity, report lower levels of welfare chauvinism. Seemingly, they have less exclusive attitudes toward new immigrants because they lack a sense of belonging to the native community themselves or because their ethnic identification makes them experience less social distance toward newcomers.

Overall, these results have some implications for the way a mutual coalition between old and new migrants in favour of an inclusive welfare state might be established. Rather than an alliance based on concerns about a disadvantaged group position, kinship and solidarity is more likely when highlighting the shared individual experiences of discrimination. Furthermore, new arriving immigrants seeking access to the welfare state will find the least support for their request among established migrants with an assimilated identity. It remains, however, unknown to what degree the effects of identification and perceived discrimination are conditional upon the difference in citizenship status between minority groups and whether the shared experience of being an outsider is able to trump divisions based on ethnicity, culture and religion. Further research is therefore needed in order to understand the full complexity of solidarity between minority groups (Craig et al., 2018; Verkuyten, 2018).

In addition to analysing factors that are specific to the dual position of established immigrants and their descendants, this study also took into account more general predictors of welfare chauvinism. Contrary to the literature among the native majority population (Mewes & Mau, 2012, 2013; van der Waal et al., 2010), the attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians toward the welfare state access of new arriving migrants are only to a little extent structured by their own socioeconomic position. Although the results confirm the role of a more general support for redistribution (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012), they challenge the idea that welfare chauvinism is related to left-right orientation (Crepaz & Damron, 2009). It appears that, even when they are in favour of restricting newcomers' social rights, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians abstain from identifying with the political right. This might be related to the fact that, besides the restriction of new migrants, the political right in Belgium is also associated with domestic issues such as the integration of established immigrants and the limitation of the presence of the Islam in public life. Overall, it seems that the classic individual-level predictors used to explain welfare chauvinism among native citizens, have a rather limited effect on the attitudes of citizens with a migration background. However, further research comparing Turkish and Moroccan Belgians on the one hand, and native

Belgians on the other hand is necessary in order to verify whether the socioeconomic and ideological grounds of welfare chauvinism are indeed different for these two populations, and whether this is the case for their welfare state attitudes in general or only for their opinions about the welfare access of new arriving immigrants.

One of the strengths of this study lies in the set of originally developed survey items focusing on newcomers' welfare state access, enabling an investigation of welfare chauvinism among people with a migration background without having to rely on less adequate measures used in general population surveys such as the ESS. Nevertheless, the very generic term 'newcomers' was used in the survey items, whereas recent studies suggest that the attitudes of ethnic minorities toward newly arriving immigrants depend on the type of group and migration that is referred to (Meeusen, Abts, & Meuleman, 2019). With the benefit of more detailed survey items on the preferred conditionality of the welfare state, future research may reveal whether settled immigrants differentiate between new arriving labour migrants and other types of migrants such as asylum seekers, and whether they assess their deservingness to social welfare benefits in a different manner. This is highly relevant in order to understand on what grounds solidarity between minority groups can be achieved in times of increasing diversity and welfare retrenchment (Alesina et al., 2001).

Notes

ⁱⁱ Note that this is a measure of dual self-identification that differs from the identity measure used in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Contrary to the Moreno-question used in this chapter, the latter combines two separate questions on the strength of attachment to the country of residence (Belgium) and attachment to the country of origin (Turkey or Morocco). The measures in the two chapters capture different dimensions of the identity concept (Ashmore et al., 2004); dual self-identification captures how people label themselves in relation to the native society whereas the combination of the two separate identification questions captures the attachment dimension. As stated by Fleischmann and Verkuyten (2016), it needs to be taken into account that these two conceptualizations of dual identity are somewhat distinct, in the sense that dual self-identification, i.e. stating that one feels Turkish-Belgian or Moroccan-Belgian, does not necessarily imply that people have a separate high ethnic and high national identification. Therefore, the conceptualization needs to be chosen in light of the outcome that is being investigated. The main goal of Chapter 3 was to examine the national identity argument among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, which revolves around their feelings toward the native society and to what extent they are willing to support redistribution among the members of the country of residence. Therefore, we focused on the strength of national attachment, which is considered to be the most appropriate measure of identity for testing the national identity argument (Miller & Ali, 2014, p. 254), while simultaneously checking whether the effect is not undermined by the combination with a high or low attachment to the country of origin. In the current chapter, the research question revolves around the solidarity of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians toward new arriving immigrants and how this is affected by their figuration as established outsider. The focus is on the dual aspect of their own position within the native society, which is why the dual self-identification is considered to be more appropriate.

Chapter 5

The differential grounds of the welfare state attitudes of native citizens and established outsiders

The differential grounds of the welfare state attitudes of native citizens and established outsiders

Introduction

Despite extensive debates about the relation between migration and the welfare state (Alesina et al., 2001; Freeman, 1986), scholars have only lately paid attention to the welfare state attitudes of migrants themselves and how they might differ from native citizens' opinions. In this regard, recent studies investigated the acculturation of migrants' welfare opinions (Hedegaard & Bekhuis, 2018), their cultural vs. institutional underpinning (Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017), and explanations for the existence of an opinion gap between migrants and native-born citizens (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). However, referring to their disadvantaged socioeconomic position and leftist political ideas as a way of explaining the somewhat stronger pro-welfare opinions of immigrants (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015), the existing research assumes that the explanatory mechanisms behind the attitudes of native citizens and migrants operate in a universal manner. In order to advance the debate about the impact of increased diversity on the popular support for the welfare state, it is important to gain a better understanding of the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background. Due to their distinct societal position and specific experiences, one cannot assume that their opinions have the same underpinning as native-born citizens.

An important limitation of existing studies, largely caused by the fact that they are restricted to the use of general population surveys, is that they focus on the differences between citizens and non-citizens (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016) and overestimate the homogeneity within both groups. Consequently, this approach neglects the increasing diversification of diversity (Vertovec, 2007), and the fact that obtaining the legal citizenship status in the host country does not imply that permanently settled immigrants and their descendants have a societal position equal to the one of

citizens with a native background (Brubaker, 2010b; Soysal, 1994). Rather than looking at distinctions based on citizenship status, this study compares the welfare state attitudes of native Belgians on the one hand, and Belgian citizens with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background on the other hand. Building on the classic established-outsiders framework about the tensions between residents of different working class estates in a suburban neighbourhood (Elias, 1976; Elias & Scotson, 1965) and more recent applications on the issue of migration (Loyal, 2011; May, 2004), Turkish and Moroccan Belgians can be considered as established outsiders. In relation to native majority group members, they are outsiders due to their migration background, which is reflected in their disadvantaged socioeconomic position (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; Timmerman et al., 2003) and the fact that they remain to be labelled as ‘foreigners’ or ‘allochthones’ (Jacobs & Rea, 2012). Compared to new arriving immigrants, however, they are more established because they obtained the citizenship status in the country of residence and succeeded in establishing themselves by monopolizing certain resources (May, 2004). In other words, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians have a dual position, that differs from both the established position of native citizens as well as the outsider position of non-citizen immigrants.

Instead of focusing on a single dimension of welfare state attitudes, this study investigates people’s opinions about the internal organization of the national welfare state, i.e. general support for the principle of redistribution and the government’s responsibility in providing social securityⁱⁱⁱ, as well as its external boundaries, i.e. welfare chauvinism or the willingness to exclude non-citizens or foreigners from social rights and benefits (e.g. Andersen & Bjørklund, 1990; Mewes & Mau, 2012; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012). Because general welfare state support revolves around solidarity among national citizens and within the national boundaries, it is especially the distinction between the minority position of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians compared to the majority position of native Belgians that might cause their attitudes to be formed in a different manner. To the contrary, welfare chauvinism is about solidarity toward non-citizens or outsiders which makes the dual position of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians as established outsiders a more pertinent perspective to analyse their attitudes and how they differ from the attitudes of native citizens.

Although referring to different forms of solidarity, people’s general welfare state support and welfare chauvinism are usually explained by similar predictors based on people’s economic interests and their ideological preferences (Jæger, 2006; Mewes & Mau, 2012). Besides factors related to the position of the individual, it has been recognized that the classic welfare state theories should take into account mechanisms related to group dynamics. The reason for this is that due to

increasing immigrant presence and austerity, welfare state benefits are more and more perceived as scarce resources that are at stake in an intergroup competition, causing group boundaries to gain in salience in the determination of people's welfare state support (Breznau & Eger, 2016). In this regard, welfare state attitudes have also been related to factors such as group interest (Luttmer, 2001; Renema & Lubbers, 2018), group identity (Wright & Reeskens, 2013) and perceived disadvantaged group position (Chapter 2; Galle et al., 2019). The current study innovates by considering the potential differential effect of perceived group discrimination, in addition to factors related to self-interest and left-right placement, on the welfare state attitudes of citizens with and without a migration background. The overall goal is to investigate how the different status of native Belgians on the one hand, and Turkish and Moroccan Belgians on the other hand, reflects itself in the way their attitudes about the welfare state are shaped. First, it is tested whether, compared to native Belgians, personal economic interests and ideology are less relevant for the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians due to their minority group position and the greater importance they attach to the interests of their group. Next, the effect of perceived group discrimination on the welfare state attitudes of the groups is analysed. Here the distinction between the two types of welfare state attitudes and the conceptualization of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians as established outsiders is particularly relevant. Based on the idea that redistribution and government responsibility can be considered as policy solutions to counteract the unfair position of one's group, they are likely to be more supported by people with high levels of perceived group discrimination. While the effect on welfare state support is expected to be more intense for Turkish and Moroccan Belgians due to their minority group position, perceptions of a disadvantaged position might have a more ambivalent effect altogether on their levels of welfare chauvinism since these attitudes revolve around the external boundaries of the welfare state rather than solidarity within the nation state.

Theory and hypotheses

Self-interest and ideology vs. group interests

A recurrent theme in welfare state attitudes research is the premise that people's opinions are, at least partially, determined by individual characteristics related to the economic self-interest approach. The general idea is that social benefit recipients or people who are at risk of becoming a welfare recipient are on the one hand more likely to support the welfare state and income

redistribution (Kangas, 1997), but on the other hand have a greater interest in limiting newcomers' access to welfare state services because they experience more threat and competition from an increased number of potential welfare recipients (Mewes & Mau, 2012; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012). Research indeed confirms that people with a more vulnerable socioeconomic position, i.e. welfare recipients, people working in lower occupational sectors and people who are unsatisfied with their financial situation, are more in favour of government intervention and income redistribution (Hasenfeld & Rafferty, 1989; Hoel & Knutsen, 1989; Svallfors, 1995, 1997, 2004; Svallfors & Taylor-Gooby, 1999) and report higher levels of welfare chauvinism (Mewes & Mau, 2012, 2013; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012). Although level of education is sometimes considered as a self-interest factor (Breznau & Eger, 2016; Daatland, Veenstra, & Herlofson, 2012), it actually reflects a mix of interests, socialization and cultural capital (Sears & Funk, 1990; van der Waal et al., 2010). In addition to socioeconomic indicators, people's opinions about the scope and working of the welfare state are also embedded in a general system of political orientations and ideological preferences (Feldman & Zaller, 1992; Jæger, 2006). On the basis of cognitive consistency, people identifying with the political left are more likely to favour government intervention and a strong welfare state (Jæger, 2008; Papadakis, 1993; Papadakis & Bean, 1993) and report lower levels of welfare chauvinism (Crepaz & Damron, 2009) than people who identify with the political right.

To a certain extent, the effects of self-interest and ideological factors on welfare state support and welfare chauvinism are also confirmed by research focusing on the attitudes of immigrants and ethnic minorities. Migrants with a more vulnerable socioeconomic position - based on predictors such as labour market position, income level, the experience of unemployment, and feelings of economic insecurity - report more welfare state support (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015; Schmidt-Catran & Careja, 2017) as well as higher levels of welfare chauvinism (Degen et al., 2018; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). With regard to ideological factors, immigrants with a more leftist ideology or partisanship appear to be more in favour of social spending (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006) and government responsibility (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). Yet, the relation between welfare chauvinism and political ideology is so far unstudied among people with a migration background. Although self-interest and political ideology overall have an effect on the welfare attitudes of people with a migration background that operates in the same direction as among the general population, some studies point to plausible differences between people with and without a migration background regarding the strength of the association between their welfare attitudes and factors such as unemployment experience (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015, p. 439), income level (Kolbe &

Crepaz, 2016) and partisan identification (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006). However, these are very preliminary insights that lack a theoretical foundation and rely on separately estimated explanatory models without an explicit significance test of the differences in effect sizes.

A person's individual interests are supplemented and sometimes even outweighed by the interests of their group in the formation of their political attitudes (Sears & Funk, 1990). In general, people's self-image is influenced by the status of their in-group (Tajfel, 1982), and thus the stronger their sense of group identification, the more importance they attach to the interests and status of the group they belong to. In turn, this makes people more likely to behave in favour of fellow group members (Tajfel, 1982) and to prioritize the group's welfare in their decision making (Kramer & Brewer, 1984). Although, to a certain extent, this also applies to the welfare state attitudes of native citizens (Breznau & Eger, 2016), minority group members, such as Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, have a stronger group identity (Torrekens & Adam, 2015) and are strongly overrepresented among the welfare recipients (Heath et al., 2008). As such they are more likely to adjust their policy preferences to their group's needs, even when they are at odds with their own situation (Klor & Shayo, 2010). Based on a sort of group loyalty (Luttmer, 2001), they can be expected to support redistribution and a strong role of the government even when this is not in their personal interest and thus regardless of their own socioeconomic position (Renema & Lubbers, 2018). Because this type of identification with a disadvantaged group that strongly relies on welfare support is less prevailing for native citizens, their individual rather than group interests are likely to be more important for the determination of their welfare state attitudes. Based on the idea that the importance of their individual socioeconomic position will be trumped by factors related to their group membership, this study will test the hypothesis that the impact of socioeconomic predictors, i.e. occupational and income status, on support for income redistribution and government responsibility is weaker for Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent than for native Belgians (Hypothesis 1). Regarding welfare chauvinistic attitudes, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians are likely to be more restrictive toward new arriving immigrants based on the interests of their highly welfare dependent group who might be threatened by the welfare state access of additional welfare claimants. However, there is the additional element that Turkish and Moroccan Belgians might also identify with certain groups of new arriving immigrants such as those coming from the same country of origin, and they might have parents or spouses residing in Belgium without the Belgian nationality that would thus become the target of a more restrictive welfare system (Degen et al., 2018). Even though this may create conflicting interests, in both instances the group stakes will

partially outdo the effect of their individual socioeconomic situation on their preferred welfare restrictiveness toward newcomers, more so than for native citizens. Therefore, it is also expected that the impact of socioeconomic predictors, i.e. occupational and income status, on welfare chauvinism is weaker for Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent than for native Belgians (Hypothesis 2).

Besides exceeding their personal economic interests, group membership is also expected to outweigh the role of personal political principles and left-right placement in the determination of the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. In addition to being associated with support for an extensive welfare state and strong role of the government, left-of-centre parties are often also perceived expected to safeguard the interests of people with a migration background. Right wing parties, on the contrary, are associated with xenophobic discourses and tough policy proposals (Teney et al., 2010). Considering that protecting their group interests is especially important for people with a migration background, they are more likely to vote on and place themselves on the political left because of their group belonging, even if their own beliefs are untypical of the political left (Bergh & Bjørklund, 2011; Cain, Kiewiet, & Uhlener, 1991). Compared to native citizens, it is expected that the left-right placement of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians is to a large extent related to their group membership, resulting in a weaker relation with their personal preferences about the organization of the welfare state, i.e. support for redistribution and government responsibility (Hypothesis 3). Likewise, the political right is not only more likely to adhere to the restriction of immigration and the welfare access of immigrants, but often also takes a stronger stance on issues such as the integration of established migrants and the resistance toward multiculturalism. Therefore citizens with a migration background are expected to identify less with right-wing parties than native citizens, even if they are equally in favour of limiting the welfare state access of newcomers. Consequently, the relation between left-right placement and welfare chauvinism is also expected to be less strong among Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent than among native Belgians (Hypothesis 4).

The differential effects of perceived group discrimination

As already mentioned, people's welfare state attitudes are not only explained by factors related to their own position, but also by group dynamics (Breznau & Eger, 2016). I focus here on one specific group related factor, i.e. the role of perceived group discrimination or the sense of having a disadvantaged group position compared to others in society^{iv}. For established groups such as

citizens belonging to the native majority group, this sense of a disadvantaged group position mostly comes from the threat they experience from outsiders (Blumer, 1958). Those outsiders might consist of both minority groups such as established migrants and their descendants, as well as new arriving immigrants. However, for minority group members such as Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, perceived discrimination comes from the disadvantage they experience in relation to the native society and majority group members (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). Based on these different ways of experiencing perceived group discrimination, a distinct effect on the welfare state attitudes of native citizens and citizens with a migration background is expected, depending on whether we look at general welfare state support or welfare chauvinism.

With regard to support for redistribution and attitudes toward government responsibility, the different position of native citizens and citizens with a migration background is expected to reflect itself in a different strength of the perceived group discrimination effect. Considering economic redistribution and government intervention as policy solutions to counteract the unfair treatment of their group, people with high levels of perceived group discrimination are more likely to be in favour of these welfare state policies as a way of rectifying their group's unjust situation. Although this might apply to both majority and minority group members, the factor is expected to weigh more heavily on the attitudes of the latter because they attach more importance to the disadvantaged position of their group due to their strong group identity (Klor & Shayo, 2010). This study will therefore test the hypothesis that the positive relation between perceived group discrimination on the one hand, and support for income redistribution and government responsibility on the other hand, is stronger for Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent than for native Belgians (Hypothesis 5).

Whereas the effect of perceived group discrimination on the demand for social equality and protection within the national boundaries is expected to operate in the same way, yet with a different intensity, divergent mechanisms altogether are anticipated when it comes to the willingness to exclude new arriving immigrants from the national welfare state. Contrary to support for redistribution and government responsibility, which revolve around solidarity within the boundaries of the nation state, welfare chauvinism refers to people's (lack of) solidarity toward outsiders. Compared to immigrants, native citizens consider themselves as being entitled to the benefits and protection provided by the national welfare state as members of a subjective national in-group (Breznau & Eger, 2016). Extending the insights of group position theory (Blumer, 1958), the more native citizens consider immigrants to challenge their advantaged position, the more they

are expected to support welfare chauvinism and the exclusion of immigrants from the welfare state in order to maintain their power surplus.

For established immigrants and their descendants, perceived group discrimination mostly refers to their unjust group position in relation to the native community. Consequently, they share this experience to a certain extent with other outsiders such as new arriving immigrants, which results in a more ambivalent effect of this factor on their welfare chauvinistic attitudes. On the one hand, the more they feel disadvantaged in the native society, the more citizens with a migration background will perceive new arriving immigrants as competitors and as a threat (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; King & Weiner, 2007) and wish their access to the welfare state to be restricted as a way of securing their own more established position. On the other hand, the shared experience of being an outsider in relation to the ‘real’ established or native citizens may lead to a sense of kinship and increase solidarity among citizens with a migration background and new arriving immigrants (Just & Anderson, 2015, p. 190; Mustafa & Richards, 2018). Based on their ability to relate to the experiences of new immigrants, the threat related effect of perceived group discrimination on the willingness of citizens with a migration background to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving immigrants is expected to be – at least partially – cancelled out^v. In other words, it is hypothesized that the positive relation between perceived group discrimination and welfare chauvinism is weaker (or non-existent) among Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent compared to native Belgians (Hypothesis 6).

Data and methods

Data

The analyses are based on the combined survey data of two post-electoral studies; the Belgian National Election Study 2014 (BNES) among Belgian citizens of native descent (N=1901), and the Belgian Ethnic Minorities Election Study 2014 (BEMES) among Belgian citizens of Turkish (N=447) and Moroccan (N=434) descent. While there are differences between the two minority groups, they share roughly similar profiles in relation to the Belgian society^{vi}; in the sense that they have their origins in the labour migration of the 1960s and 1970s and subsequent family reunification and marriage migration (Surkyn & Reniers, 1996), are economically disadvantaged compared to native citizens (Martens & Verhoeven, 2006; Van den Broucke et al., 2015) and form minority groups at the bottom of the so-called ethnic hierarchy (Hagendoorn, 1995). The data

collection for both the BNES and BEMES was carried out by means of Computer-Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI) in Dutch or French at respondents' homes by trained interviewers. Both were based on register-based probability samples of people entitled to vote in the 2014 national elections; the BNES was carried among the total Belgian population and obtained a response rate of 47 percent (Abts et al., 2015), the BEMES randomly selected first and second generation Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent in two cities - Liège and Antwerp – and obtained a response rate of 35 percent (Swyngedouw et al., 2015).

Measurements

Latent variables and their measurement equivalence

Four different latent scales (the three welfare state attitudes or dependent variables as well as perceived group discrimination) are used in this study, based on the following items. *Support for redistribution* is operationalized by three 5-point Likert items regarding the reduction of class differences and income inequality (1: strongly disagree – 5: strongly agree). *Attitude toward government responsibility* is measured by three 11-point scales on the government's responsibility for providing pensions, health care, and a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed. The measure for *welfare chauvinism* or willingness to restrict newcomers' social rights is based on five items regarding migrants' access to social services, specifically about their contribution to social security and the conditions that should apply for their welfare state access (1: strongly disagree – 5: strongly agree). *Perceived group discrimination* is operationalized by a latent scale based on three 5-point Likert items tapping into respondents' feeling that, compared to others, people like them have to wait longer if they need something from the government, are being systematically neglected and are the first victims in times of economic crisis (1: strongly disagree – 5: strongly agree). The exact question wordings and mean values of these different survey items can be found in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Question number, question wording, and mean values (standard deviation) for the survey items measuring perceived group discrimination, support for redistribution, attitude toward government responsibility, and welfare chauvinism for the native (BNES), non-native (BEMES) and pooled samples

	Native	Non-native	Pooled
Perceived group discrimination (range 1-5)			
PGD1: If we need something from the government, people like me have to wait longer than others	3.02 (1.09)	2.95 (1.05)	2.99 (1.08)
PGD2: People like me are being systematically neglected, whereas other groups receive more than they deserve	3.05 (1.13)	3.03 (1.04)	3.04 (1.10)
PGD3: In times of economic crisis people like me are always the first victims	2.91 (1.14)	3.12 (1.06)	2.98 (1.12)
Support for redistribution (scale 1-5)			
R1: The differences between classes ought to be smaller than they are now.	3.89 (0.88)	3.98 (1.02)	3.92 (0.93)
R2: The differences between high and low incomes should stay as they are.	2.24 (0.94)	2.22 (0.99)	2.23 (0.96)
R3: The government should reduce income differentials.	3.59 (1.02)	3.75 (1.02)	3.65 (1.02)
Attitude toward government responsibility (range 0-10)			
G1: For making sure the elderly have a reasonable pension.	8.31 (1.66)	8.62 (1.74)	8.42 (1.69)
G2: For making sure there is affordable health care for all	8.77 (1.37)	9.07 (1.41)	8.87 (1.39)
G3: For making sure that the unemployed have a reasonable standard of living.	6.45 (2.24)	7.51 (2.27)	6.82 (2.31)
Welfare chauvinism (range 1-5)			
C1: (New) migrants contribute too little to social security compared to what they receive.	3.51 (0.96)	3.24 (0.92)	3.41 (0.95)
C2: Only people whose parents are Belgians are entitled to social services and benefits.	2.56 (0.99)	2.15 (0.89)	2.41 (0.97)
C3: When granting social benefits, people who have been born here should get priority over people who have not been born here.	2.88 (1.06)	2.47 (1.00)	2.73 (1.05)
C4: (New) Migrants should be allowed to enjoy the same social services as Belgians	3.31 (0.92)	3.49 (0.92)	3.37 (0.92)
C5: Someone who doesn't adapt to the Belgian way of life has no right to social services.	3.66 (0.99)	2.89 (1.04)	3.39 (1.07)
C6: (New) Migrants should first have a job before gaining access to social services.	3.64 (0.97)	3.35 (1.00)	3.54 (0.99)

In order to test whether the four latent constructs are equivalent and comparable across the two groups (Davidov, Meuleman, Cieciuch, Schmidt, & Billiet, 2014), a multigroup confirmatory factor analysis (MGCFA) was performed in Mplus version 7.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). First, the equivalence of each latent variable was tested separately, for which the global fit measures are presented in Table 5.2. With regard to support for redistribution, full scalar equivalence (equal item intercepts) is found to hold for the two samples. Based on the modification indices, the equality constraints on the intercepts of one of the items of government responsibility (G3) and one of the items of perceived group discrimination (PGD3) had to be removed in order to obtain partial scalar equivalence. However, even after releasing three of the five item intercepts (C5, C2 and C3) of welfare chauvinism, the fit indices were still not satisfactory, therefore only metric equivalence (equal factor loadings) could be supported for this latent variable. This implies that caution is required in comparing the mean levels of welfare chauvinism between the group of native citizens and those with a Turkish and Moroccan background.

Table 5.2. Results of the separate measurement equivalence tests of support for redistribution, government responsibility, welfare chauvinism and perceived group discrimination

Model specifications	χ^2	<i>Df</i>	$\Delta\chi^2$	<i>p</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>TLI</i>
Perceived group discrimination							
Configural equivalence	0	0	-	-	0	1	1
Full metric equivalence	8.998	2	8.998	.011	.053	0.997	0.992
Full scalar equivalence	51.653	5	42.655	.000	.087	0.983	0.980
Partial scalar equivalence (intercepts PGD3)	12.059	4	3.061	.216	.041	0.997	0.996
Support for redistribution							
Configural equivalence	0	0	-	-	0	1	1
Full metric equivalence	4.746	2	4.746	.093	.033	0.997	0.992
Full scalar equivalence	20.69	5	15.944	.001	.050	0.984	0.981
Attitudes toward government responsibility							
Configural equivalence	0	0	-	-	0	1	1
Full metric equivalence	4.467	2	4.467	.107	.032	0.998	0.994
Full scalar equivalence	127.801	5	123.334	.000	.141	0.903	0.883
Partial scalar equivalence (intercept G3)	32.582	4	28.115	.000	.076	0.977	0.966
Welfare chauvinism							
Configural equivalence	67.065	15	-	-	.053	0.984	0.967
Full metric equivalence	76.559	20	9.494	.094	.048	0.982	0.973

Full scalar equivalence	423.002	26	346.443	.000	.112	0.875	0.856
Partial scalar equivalence (intercept C5)	221.499	25	144.940	.000	.080	0.938	0.926
Partial scalar equivalence (intercepts C5 & C2)	187.565	24	111.006	.000	.075	0.948	0.936
Partial scalar equivalence (intercepts C5, C2 & C3)	145.35	23	68.791	.000	.066	0.961	0.950

RMSEA: root mean square error of approximation; CFI: comparative fit index; TLI: Tucker-Lewis index

A simultaneous test of all factors confirmed that the final measurement model with full scalar equivalence of support for redistribution, partial scalar equivalence of attitudes toward government responsibility and perceived group discrimination, and metric equivalence of welfare chauvinism has a satisfactory fit (Table 5.3). This measurement model is used in the subsequent full structural equation model and allows a meaningful comparison of the native group (BNES) and non-native group (BEMES) on coefficients of association, such as covariances and unstandardized regression coefficients (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989). Nevertheless, it does not allow to compare means or standardized regression coefficients between the groups.

Table 5.3. Global fit measures for a measurement equivalence test of support for redistribution, government responsibility, welfare chauvinism, and perceived group discrimination

Model specifications	χ^2	<i>Df</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>TLI</i>
Configural equivalence	516.970	165	.042	0.962	0.951
Metric equivalence	542.428	176	.041	0.960	0.952
Full scalar equivalence	1058.167	191	.061	0.906	0.896
Final model	586.253	183	.042	0.956	0.950

At this point, the reader may wonder why I do not focus any further on the different levels of welfare state support and welfare chauvinism between the two groups of respondents. This would for instance be interesting in order to test whether there is an opinion gap or an overall effect of having a migration background on welfare state attitudes (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Degen et al., 2018; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). Besides the fact that the lack of strict measurement equivalence does not allow to compare the means of the latent constructs, estimating the effect of belonging to the group with a migration background is further complicated by the large compositional differences between the samples of native Belgians and Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent. In the appendix of this dissertation, I elaborate on this issue and illustrate that despite different methodological strategies for taking into account the demographic

and socioeconomic differences between the samples, the remaining unbalance warrants us for simply comparing the mean levels of the welfare state attitudes and for considering the differences as caused by having a migration background.

Manifest variables

To measure the socioeconomic position of respondents, this study focuses on occupational status and subjective income. *Occupational status* distinguishes eight categories: people working in high and lower services, those with routine non-manual jobs, skilled and unskilled manual workers, the self-employed, people who are unemployed, those who are in full-time education, the retired, and finally a category for those doing something else (e.g. the sick and disabled, housewives, people looking for their first job). To measure *subjective income*, a distinction is made between respondents who state they do not have enough and often have difficulties to make ends meet, those who state they just have enough, and respondents who have no difficulties or more than enough to be able to save money. *Left-right placement* is based on a survey item asking respondents to place themselves on a scale from 0 (left) to 10 (right). Finally, *gender* (dummy variable with the value 1 for women), *age* (mean-centred) and *level of education* (ranging from up to primary education, lower-secondary, higher-secondary to tertiary education) are also controlled for.

Table 5.4 provides a descriptive overview of the different manifest variables included in this study. Set side by side, the two samples show substantial structural and socioeconomic differences regarding age, level of education, and occupational status. Compared to the native sample, respondents with a Turkish or Moroccan background are much younger ($M = 32.52$), less likely to have obtained tertiary level of education (16.99%), and overrepresented in the category of people in unemployment (15.37%) and those who reported to often have difficulties to make ends meet with their household income (20.37%). The descriptive results also confirm that respondents of Turkish and Moroccan descent are more strongly oriented toward the political left than the native respondents (Teney et al., 2010).

Table 5.4. Percentages and mean values (standard deviation) of the manifest variables for the native (BNES), non-native (BEMES) and pooled samples

	Native	Non-native	Pooled
Gender			
Male	48.65%	49.14%	48.83%
Female	51.35%	50.86%	51.17%
Age (in years)	51.16 (18.29)	32.52 (11.33)	44.54 (18.46)
Level of education			
Up to primary	9.04%	9.01%	9.03%
Lower-secondary	19.46%	26.57%	21.98%
Higher-secondary	32.83%	47.21%	37.94%
Tertiary	38.67%	16.99%	30.97%
Occupational status			
High and lower services	18.64%	10.55%	15.76%
Self-employed	4.82%	4.36%	4.65%
Routine non-manual	15.47%	9.75%	13.43%
Skilled and unskilled manual workers	14.39%	20.87%	16.70%
Unemployed	4.12%	15.37%	8.13%
Retired	28.25%	1.37%	18.70%
In full-time education	5.15%	20.18%	10.49%
Other	8.81%	17.43%	11.88%
Subjective income			
No difficulties, can easily save	64.32%	36.48%	54.48%
Just enough	29.64%	43.15%	34.42%
Difficulties to make ends meet	6.04%	20.37%	11.11%
Left-right placement (range 0-10)	5.24 (2.08)	3.95 (2.33)	4.80 (2.25)

Methods

Based on the measurement model of the latent constructs as described above, a full multigroup structural equation model (MGSEM) is estimated within the two groups and for the three dependent variables – support for redistribution, attitude toward government responsibility, and welfare chauvinism – simultaneously. Post-stratification weight coefficients are applied during the explanatory analysis; for the BNES sample these weights are based on age, gender, and level of education; for the BEMES sample, weights are based on age, gender, and ethnic background since there was no population data available on educational level. In order to evaluate to what extent the effects of the explanatory variables differ between the native Belgians (BNES data) and Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent (BEMES data) contrasts (i.e. the difference between regression coefficient for the sample of native Belgians and the sample of Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent) are also estimated and it is tested whether or not they differ significantly from zero.

Results

For each of the three dependent variables, Table 5.5 reports the parameter estimates of the explanatory models among the group of native Belgians and among the group of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, as well as the contrasts that refer to the differences between the two groups. Starting with the effects of occupational status and subjective income, the main interest is seeing whether the welfare state attitudes of native Belgians are more strongly related to their individual socioeconomic position than the attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. Compared to the reference category of people working in the service sector, the self-employed are the least in favour of redistribution in both populations. Routine non-manual workers, on the other hand, are more likely to support redistribution, at least among the native population. Furthermore, native Belgians who report to have a more precarious income situation are more in favour of redistribution than people who have a comfortable household income. Overall, these effects are in line with the idea of self-interest and consistent with previous research on the relation between socioeconomic position and welfare state attitudes (Kangas, 1997). Contrarily, attitudes toward government responsibility seem to be less affected by the socioeconomic predictors that are investigated here, with only the category of full-time students among the non-native sample reporting significantly more negative attitudes than people belonging to the reference group.

Although the effects of occupational status and subjective income on welfare state support might seem to differ between the two populations, the distinct parameter estimates and the fact that they are significant in one sample and not in the other, do not necessarily reflect systematic differences (Gelman & Stern, 2006). Because the distinct parameters might also be caused by differences in the sizes of the samples or response categories, an examination of the contrast variables is necessary, revealing that only the effect of belonging to the group of (un)skilled manual workers on support for redistribution differs significantly between the two samples. This contrast refers to two non-significant effects in the opposite direction, in the sense that (un)skilled manual workers of native descent seem to be more in favour of redistribution, while the same occupational group among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians is less in favour of redistribution. However, there is no clear evidence that supports the hypothesis that the impact of the two socioeconomic predictors on the preferences for income redistribution and government responsibility is weaker for Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent than for native Belgians (Hypothesis 1). At this point, there is no reason to conclude that due to their minority position, the effects of individual economic interests

on the welfare support of citizens with a migration background are to greater extent suppressed by their group interests than is the case for native citizens.

With regard to the relation between individual socioeconomic position and welfare chauvinism, the results point to a similar conclusion. Among Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent, the self-employed and people who report to have a more precarious income situation have more restrictive attitudes about newcomers' access to national welfare state benefits. Among native Belgians, on the other hand, the categories of routine non-manual workers and (un)skilled manual workers appear to report significantly higher levels of welfare chauvinism. These effects are in line with the existing welfare chauvinism literature and confirm that people with a vulnerable socioeconomic position have a greater interest in limiting newcomers' access to welfare state services (Mewes & Mau, 2012, 2013; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2012). However, while the parameters are distinct for the two groups, the regression coefficients do not differ significantly from each other. This indicates that, contrary to the expectations, occupational status and subjective income do not have a substantially stronger effect on the welfare chauvinism of native citizens than on the attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians (Hypothesis 2).

Regarding the role of political ideology, the results show that native Belgians who identify with the political right are less in favour of income redistribution and government responsibility which is in line with the existing literature and the expected ideological consistency between welfare attitudes and left-right placement (Jæger, 2008). Among the group of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, left-right placement has no significant effect on the redistributive attitudes but is related to their support for government responsibility. Based on the contrasts between the regression coefficients in the two samples, it can be confirmed that left-right placement has a significantly stronger effect on natives' support for redistribution, while the ideological grounds of attitudes about government responsibility do not differ between the two investigated groups. The hypothesized stronger effect of left-right placement on the welfare support of native citizens, can thus only be confirmed for attitudes toward redistribution but should be rejected for attitudes toward government responsibility (Hypothesis 3). Apparently, the impact of left-right placement on the latter is not outweighed by group related factors, and Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' opinions about the role of the government fit quite well into the conventional left-right ideological divisions.

As for welfare chauvinism, the results confirm that identifying with the political right rather than left is related to a greater restrictiveness toward newcomers (Crepaz & Damron, 2009). Although

this factor operates in the same direction among both native Belgians as well as Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, the estimated contrast shows that left-right placement has a significantly stronger effect on the opinions of the native group. This provides empirical support for the hypothesis that the welfare chauvinistic attitudes of Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent are to a lesser extent grounded in their left-right placement than is the case for native Belgians (Hypothesis 4). This finding suggests that for established outsiders, the effect of their individual ideological preferences on their attitudes toward new arriving immigrants is partially trumped by group related factors, which might be related to concerns about the interests of their own group in the native society or because they identify to a certain extent with the new arriving immigrants.

Table 5.5. Unstandardized effect parameters and p-values (native sample, non-native sample, contrast) of the models explaining support for redistribution, attitude toward government responsibility and welfare chauvinism

	Support for redistribution			Attitude toward government responsibility			Welfare chauvinism		
	Native	Non-native	Contrast	Native	Non-native	Contrast	Native	Non-native	Contrast
Gender (ref. Male)									
Female	.096 **	.051	.046	-.064	-.226	.162	.057	-.012	.070
Age	.003 *	.001	.002	.004	-.022	.026	.001	.007 **	-.006
Education (ref. Up to primary)									
Lower-secondary	-.054	-.141	.087	-.142	.085	-.227	-.136 *	.059	-.195
Higher-secondary	-.102	-.088	-.014	-.291	-.104	-.188	-.141 *	-.055	-.087
Tertiary	-.069	-.075	.006	-.307	.066	-.374	-.375 ***	-.108	-.267 *
Occupational status (ref. high/lower services)									
Self-employed	-.291 **	-.291 *	.001	-.389	.262	-.652	.162	.351 **	-.189
Routine non-manual	.115 *	-.065	.180	-.055	.218	-.273	.132 *	.028	.104
(Un)skilled manual	.097	-.180	.277 **	-.001	-.187	.186	.142 *	.103	.039
Unemployed	.106	-.106	.212	.244	.012	.232	-.058	.082	-.140
Retired	.031	-.374	.404	.053	.777	-.724	.116	-.246	.362
Full-time education	.149	-.099	.249	-.379	-.603 *	.224	-.022	.080	-.102
Other	.117	-.085	.202	.235	.179	.056	.140	.056	.084
Subjective income (ref. No difficulties)									
Just enough	.077 *	.029	.048	.167	-.048	.215	-.023	-.003	-.020
Difficulties to make ends meet	.177	.127	.050	.013	.330	-.317	.031	.156 *	-.125
Left-right placement	-.085 ***	-.015	-.067 ***	-.079 ***	-.087 **	.008	.060 ***	.025 *	.035 *
Perceived group discrimination	.090 ***	.133 **	-.043	.150 *	-.099	.249	.370 ***	.072	.298 ***
R²	20.7%	8.6%		7.5%	8.0%		37.9%	13.9%	

BNES (N=1521) and BEMES (N=796); * p<.05 ** p<.01 ***p<.001; fit indices Chi²=1508.27, Df= 543, RMSEA= 0.39, CFI= 0.861, TLI= 0.831.

Concerning the role of perceived group discrimination, the results show that perceptions of a disadvantaged group treatment are associated with higher demands for redistribution among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, as well as native Belgians. This suggests that economic redistribution can be considered as a policy solution to rectify the group's unjust situation, for both majority and minority group members. On the contrary, perceived group discrimination appears to be related to a greater demand for the governmental provision of social security among native Belgians but has no significant effect on the attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians about the role of the government. This suggests that Turkish and Moroccan Belgians might not consider an extensive role of the government in providing social security as a way of resolving their disadvantaged group position within the native society. Reinforced by the fact that the differences between the regressions coefficients in the two samples are not significant, the expectation that perceived group discrimination has a stronger effect on the attitudes about redistribution and government responsibility of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians than on the opinions of native Belgians has to be refuted (Hypothesis 5). In other words, perceptions about a disadvantaged group position are at least as relevant for the general welfare state support of native insiders as they are for established outsiders.

With regard to welfare chauvinism, native Belgians who report higher levels of perceived group discrimination are more willing to restrict the welfare state access of immigrants, confirming that immigrants are considered as possible challengers of the own group position and power surplus, which can be maintained by excluding the outsiders from the welfare state. To the contrary, there is no significant effect of perceived group discrimination on welfare chauvinism among Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent, and the discrepancy between the two groups is confirmed by the significant contrast of the two regression coefficients. This finding can be interpreted as support for the anticipated weaker relation between perceived group discrimination and welfare chauvinism among established outsiders because of their dual position and ability to relate to the experiences of new migrants (Hypothesis 6). On the whole, these results indicate that the dual position of established migrants and their descendants is especially relevant for investigating their solidarity towards newcomers and is able to cause competing mechanisms of threat and kinship.

Turning to the control variables in the model, a notable difference between the native and non-native group should be pointed out with regard to the effect of education on welfare chauvinism. Among native Belgians, the results confirm that the higher people's level of education, the less restrictive their attitudes are toward immigrants' welfare state access, which is a well-known

pattern from the literature on the determinants of welfare chauvinism that taps into the role of cultural capital (Mewes & Mau, 2012; van der Waal et al., 2010). However, this educational effect appears not to be universal as indicated by the absence of an effect of level of education on the attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians and the significant contrast of the effect of having a tertiary degree between the two samples. Somewhat alike, previous studies on immigrants' welfare attitudes reported little effects of education on their support for welfare spending (Renema & Lubbers, 2018) and preferred role of the government (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). This lack of educational division might be interpreted as an indication that there is less social distance among ethnic minorities with different levels of education (Heath et al., 2013, p. 74), or that immigrants' educational level is less a reflection of their socioeconomic status because they often have to accept jobs below their level and have difficulties obtaining higher status jobs (Renema & Lubbers, 2018). Further research, however, is necessary in order to disentangle the educational and cultural cleavages between and within the two sub-populations.

Finally, inquiring the bottom of Table 5.5 the results show that the included predictors based on socio-demographics, socioeconomic position, left-right placement and perceived group discrimination are better at explaining the welfare state attitudes of native Belgians than those of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. Whereas attitudes toward government responsibility are rather poorly explained among both groups, there are substantial differences between the proportions of explained variances of support for redistribution and welfare chauvinism between the two samples^{vii}. This suggests that further explanations are necessary to understand the welfare state attitudes of Belgians with a Turkish or Moroccan background. Based on studies that focus solely on the opinions of people with a migration background, these additional factors are most likely related to their distinct societal position, such as generational belonging, religious involvement, and ethnic identity or sense of belonging to the own ethnic group (e.g. Renema & Lubbers, 2018; and Chapters 2-4 of this dissertation).

Conclusions and discussion

Evaluating the effect of increasing societal heterogeneity on the future of Western welfare states requires an understanding of the welfare state opinions held by different groups in the population and how these opinions are formed (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). This study compares the operating mechanisms driving the welfare state attitudes of native Belgians and Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent, and shows how, despite sharing the legal citizenship status, the distinct

societal position of these two groups affects the way their attitudes are formed. When explaining the general support for the principle of redistribution and the government's role in providing social security of people with and without a migration background, it is important to take into account the minority status of the first and majority position of the latter. Yet, when focusing on their different attitudes toward new arriving immigrants or outsiders of the national welfare state, one must also acknowledge that citizens with a migration background hold a dual position as established outsiders.

Due to the minority group position of citizens with a migration background, it was anticipated that the impact of their individual economic interests and personal ideological predispositions on their welfare state attitudes would be outweighed by the importance they attach to their group's interests. With respect to economic self-interest, the effects of occupational status and subjective income are not entirely identical for native Belgians on the one hand and Turkish and Moroccan Belgians on the other hand. However, no clear evidence was found supporting the idea that these factors are less relevant for the opinions of the latter than for the first group. A remaining question is whether this means that the operationalization of self-interest was poorly chosen or that the underlying mechanism does not apply at all. Although documented in the literature (Klor & Shayo, 2010; Torrekens & Adam, 2015), the assumptions that minority group members have a stronger group identity and larger group interest in an extensive welfare state due to their welfare dependency could not be tested directly in this study. Furthermore, it remains unsure whether the effect of perceived group discrimination on welfare state attitudes is conditional upon or moderated by a strong group identity and the actual welfare state dependency of one's group. In order to fully understand how group interests outweigh self-interest and whether this applies more to people with a strong group identity and minority group members, further research requires measures of group identity that are more comparable for people with and without a migration background, as well as objective measures of group interests on an aggregated level. Although the current study is among the first to combine face-to-face survey data of natives citizens with a probability based sample of citizens with a migration background, the fact that these measures are lacking can be considered as a limitation.

Contrary to the economic self-interest predictors, the findings regarding the role of left-right placement were mostly in line with the proposition that personal political principles are partially outweighed by other factors, such as group membership, in the determination of the welfare state preferences of minority group members. As expected, there appears to be a lower ideological

coherence between left-right placement on the one hand and welfare chauvinism and support for economic redistribution on the other hand among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians than among native Belgians. This is also relevant from the perspective of policy makers and politicians, because it suggests that they cannot assume that voters with and without a migration background identifying with the same political family, also have similar preferences with regard to income redistribution and immigrants' welfare state access. The attitudes of the non-native group toward government responsibility, however, are equally associated with their left-right placement as is the case for native citizens, indicating that the role of the government in providing social security is not so much perceived in terms of group relations. This difference between the underpinning of support for redistribution and preferred government responsibility implies that these two general welfare state attitudes are not as strongly interrelated as is often assumed in the literature (Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003; Svallfors, 1997). In this regard, recent studies suggest that within the European context, people are increasingly opposed to income inequality while there is simultaneously more opposition to government intervention in social welfare (Breznau & Hommerich, 2019).

In addition to the predictors based on self-interest and political ideology, this study also investigated the potentially different effect of a less-explored explanation, i.e. perceived group discrimination. Contrary to what was expected based on their minority group membership, there is no stronger effect of perceived group discrimination on the welfare support of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, and perceptions of a disadvantaged group position relate to an increased demand for redistribution in both groups. This illustrates that the insights of group position theory are not only relevant for understanding the opinions of minority group members, but should also be acknowledged in research on welfare attitudes among the general population. A noteworthy finding is that, contrary to native Belgians, higher levels of perceived group discrimination among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians do not result in a stronger demand for government responsibility suggesting that they do not necessarily consider an extensive role of the government in providing social security as a way of resolving their disadvantaged group position.

Turning to the relation between perceived group discrimination and welfare chauvinism, or the willingness to exclude new arriving immigrants from the welfare state, the conceptualization of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians as established outsiders becomes more relevant. Whereas a perceived disadvantage group position clearly creates a willingness to exclude newcomers among native citizens who consider themselves as the established in relation to these outsiders, this sense

of group position has no straightforward on the attitudes of the established outsiders toward new arriving immigrants due to the ambivalence of their dual position. This can be considered as a manifestation of their ability to relate to the experience of being an outsider that they share with new arriving immigrants, and illustrates that when comparing welfare chauvinistic attitudes between native citizens and citizens with a migration background one should be careful not to neglect the dual position of the latter group. Nevertheless, it should be noted that a rather general measure of perceived group discrimination had to be used in this study in order to be able to compare the two groups. Since studies suggest that it matters in which setting people feel threatened (Meeusen et al., 2019) and whether their disadvantage is considered to be a personal experience rather than group position (Craig et al., 2018), the welfare state literature would benefit from further comparative research using more detailed measures on how people with and without a migration background feel disadvantaged and under which circumstances kinship rather than feelings of threat toward newcomers can be achieved.

Notes

ⁱⁱⁱ Chapter 2 of this dissertation illustrates that support for redistribution and attitudes toward government responsibility might have different determinants. For that reason, the two attitudes are analyzed separately in this study. However, because both revolve around solidarity within the national boundaries and have similar hypotheses regarding the effects of the predictors in this study and how they might differ between native Belgians and Belgians of Turkish and Moroccan descent, the overarching term ‘welfare state support’ is sometimes used in order to refer to both of them.

^{iv} It should be noted that this study is limited to investigating the impact of perceived group discrimination, and does not analyze the possible differential effects of other factors related to group dynamics such as group interests and group identity. Limiting the scope of in such a manner was mainly done for reasons of data availability. Group interest is usually measured by an aggregate form of self-interest indicators, such as the rate of group members that is dependent upon welfare benefits (Luttmer, 2001; Renema & Lubbers, 2018). In order to investigate the effect of group interest on welfare attitudes, a multilevel research design is necessary with more migrant groups (Renema & Lubbers, 2018) or multiple (urban) areas (Luttmer, 2001). Group identity, on the other hand, is considered in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation as a way of explaining the support for redistribution and welfare chauvinism among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. However, these chapters showed that there is a need to consider the duality of the identification of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. With the identity measurements available in the two surveys, a different effect of national identity alone on welfare state attitudes for native citizens and Turkish and Moroccan Belgians would be very difficult to interpret.

^v Chapter 4 of this dissertation goes deeper into the relation between perceived discrimination and welfare chauvinism among Turkish and Moroccan Belgians and distinguishes between discrimination perceived at the group and individual level. However, perceived individual discrimination could not be included in the analysis of the current chapter because there is no equivalent measure available for the native sample. Although especially the individual experience of unequal treatment appears to create kinship and more solidarity toward newcomers, the two concepts are positively correlated. Therefore it can still be expected that when only perceived group discrimination is included in the analysis, rather than both forms of perceived discrimination, this factor evokes a certain amount kinship of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians toward newcomers, cancelling out at least partially the threat mechanism.

^{vi} In addition to their similar position as established outsiders, the decision to pool together the group of Turkish Belgians and the group of Moroccan Belgians can be justified by the results of previous chapters that show little differences based purely on the country of origin of respondents, after taking into account other predictors such as socioeconomic status and perceived discrimination.

^{vii} An additional analysis was performed in order to see how much of the variance in the welfare state attitudes can be explained by a model that only contains the demographic and socioeconomic predictors. This analysis showed that these factors are able to explain between 7 to 22 percent of the variance among the native sample, compared to 5 to 10 percent among the non-native sample.

Chapter 6

General conclusion and
discussion

General conclusion and discussion

The primary tasks of the modern welfare state – reducing labour market uncertainty and distributing social services and benefits – used to be organized within well-defined boundaries which can be traced back to the processes of nation state-building of the 19th and 20th century (Marshall, 1950). Yet, the future of the national welfare state is perceived to be under pressure due to the effect of rising societal heterogeneity (Chung, Taylor-Gooby, & Leruth, 2018). Unprecedented levels of foreign-born individuals living in Western European countries (S. Castles & Miller, 2009) coincide with welfare state retrenchments and increased privatization (Pierson, 2002; Roberts & Saeed, 2012), which fosters perceptions of ethnic threat and enhances the awareness of group boundaries (Breznau & Eger, 2016). Based on the concern that the heterogeneity caused by immigration will erode solidarity and interpersonal trust, the idea of a welfare state backlash and decreased welfare state support of national citizens has received much scholarly attention (Eger & Breznau, 2017). The impact of diversity on welfare state solidarity, however, can never be fully grasped by focusing exclusively on the perspective held by native citizens and without understanding the welfare state attitudes of different groups in the population (Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). In addition, there is a growing diversification of diversity, meaning that there are not only more and more minority groups in Western societies but also increasing differences between these minority groups (Vertovec, 2007). Consequently, capturing the societal position of these groups requires new concepts and definitions that go beyond the citizen – non-citizen dichotomy and take into account their diverging degrees of societal membership (Brubaker, 2010b; Soysal, 1994).

This dissertation set out to understand and explain the welfare state attitudes of permanently settled migrants and their descendants, more specifically Belgian citizens with a Turkish or Moroccan background. As a way of recognizing the diversification of diversity and the increasing salience of group dynamics, the focus is on the dual position of established outsiders, and on how their welfare state attitudes can be explained by group identity and perceived disadvantaged group

position. The first three empirical chapters of this thesis explained the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians by perceived group discrimination and dual identity, while still taking into account classic predictors based on the self-interest and political ideology framework. Chapters 2 and 3 revolved around explanations for Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' support for income redistribution and government responsibility, and Chapter 4 focused on the grounds of their solidarity toward new arriving immigrants, or to what degree they are willing to restrict the welfare state access of these newcomers. Chapter 5 analysed how the origins of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' welfare state attitudes differ from those of native Belgians. In this final chapter, I provide an overview of the main findings of the different empirical chapters of this book and highlight their contributions to the existing literature. Subsequently, I give a short evaluation of the policy implications flowing from the findings of this thesis. Lastly, I discuss the limitations of this study and suggest avenues for future research.

Main findings and theoretical contributions

Within the general welfare state attitudes literature, people's immigrant status is often treated as a control variable and a proxy for economic vulnerability or having a relatively high risk of welfare dependency (Blomberg et al., 2012; Mewes & Mau, 2013). The results in this thesis clearly dispute the idea that immigrants form one homogeneous group of people who favour an open and comprehensive welfare state due to their vulnerable socioeconomic position and their individual interests. This in turn raises doubts about the welfare state magnet hypothesis, which builds on the assumption that immigrants select their destination country based on calculated interests about the generosity of the welfare state (Borjas, 1999). Rather than making use of a general population survey and being compelled to aggregate groups with varying cultural and socioeconomic characteristics into a single category, this study is one of the first to use a minority survey among a probability based sample of people with a migration background in order to investigate their welfare state attitudes. Instead of focusing on the existence of an opinion gap between people with and without a migration background (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Degen et al., 2018; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015), Chapters 2-4 home in on explanations for the attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians and demonstrate the need to recognize different divisions within this population, based on for example religious involvement and generational differences. This implies that the welfare state literature should be careful with lumping together different groups of non-natives and that it cannot be assumed that there is a clear-cut effect of 'being a migrant' on welfare

state attitudes. Furthermore, researchers interested in the determinants of attitudes held by immigrants or other minority groups, should be aware of the restrictions of general population surveys and consider using data with a special focus on these groups in order to take into account the particularities of their societal position.

Generally, there are two types of determinants considered to be crucial for welfare state attitudes and they can be traced back to the classic theories stating that human action is mainly driven by either a pursuit of self-interest or by normative orientations about the common good (Jæger, 2006; Kangas, 1997). In this regard, researchers continue to confirm the same hypotheses by finding similar effects of the variables related to self-interest and ideology. On the one hand, people who receive welfare benefits or are at risk of becoming dependent upon them are stronger supporters of the welfare state in general but are also more likely to prefer a welfare state that is restricted for immigrants (Mewes & Mau, 2012; Svallfors, 1995, 1997). On the other hand, people who affiliate with left-wing political parties are more in favour of a comprehensive welfare state and more willing to allow newcomers access to the benefits provided by the welfare state (Jæger, 2008; Papadakis, 1993; Papadakis & Bean, 1993). Although predictors related to economic self-interest and political ideology also matter for the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, their impact is dependent upon the specific attitude and differs in strength when compared to native Belgians. Whereas Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' support for redistribution and government responsibility is to a certain extent based on their occupational status, economic insecurity and subjective income (see Chapters 2 and 3), Chapter 4 shows that their welfare chauvinistic attitudes are only limitedly structured by their individual socioeconomic position. This means that their willingness to restrict the welfare state access of new arriving migrants is not a matter of calculated and economic self-interest. Furthermore, Chapter 5 showed that this rather limited impact of self-interest does not differ greatly between native, and Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' preferences about government responsibility are also rooted in their left-right placement, however, their attitudes about redistribution and the welfare state access of newcomers are hardly related to their political ideology. Regarding the latter, they clearly differ from native Belgians who exhibit more ideological coherence between their left-right placement and welfare state opinions.

As this dissertation shows, welfare state attitudes are shaped by more than people's individual material challenges or their political orientations, and should be explained by also considering

elements of group position such as identity and perceived disadvantaged treatment. The group perspective is likely to gain even more importance, as welfare state benefits are increasingly at stake within intergroup competition due to the growing immigrant presence and welfare restructuring (Breznau & Eger, 2016). Besides their actual position and living conditions, people's preferences about the welfare state are also affected by the perceived relative positioning of their group and the feeling that their group is unfairly deprived of desirable goods. In this regard, perceived group discrimination is associated with stronger support for income redistribution as a way of challenging the perceived injustice of one's group position (see Chapters 2 and 5). The sense of a disadvantaged group position not only produces a demand for the reduction of inequalities by the government among Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent but also among native Belgians. Additionally, the more native citizens perceive their group position to be disadvantaged, the more they support welfare chauvinism and the exclusion of immigrants from the welfare state in order to maintain their own power surplus as the established group, as shown in Chapter 5. Overall, this extends the insights of group position theory and relative deprivation theory (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1999; Stouffer et al., 1949), beyond research on intergroup attitudes (Walker & Smith, 2002) and collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2008), and implies that people's perceptions about the rightful position of the group they belong to, should be acknowledged consistently within the welfare state attitudes literature.

However, in order to fully understand the impact of group relations on welfare state attitudes, research should acknowledge the increased heterogeneity among national citizens. In this regard, this thesis innovates by investigating the attitudes of citizens with a migration background and demonstrates the relevance of differences based on the membership status of residing citizens. In order to capture the position of the research population, i.e. Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, the established-outsiders framework (Elias & Scotson, 1965) was applied. As described elaborately in the introductory chapter, they are considered to be established outsiders because of the combination of their long-term settlement and legal inclusion in the country of residence on the one hand, and their lasting social exclusion and disadvantaged position on the other hand. Conceptualizing permanently settled migrants and their descendants as such offers an interesting angle to investigate this population without essentializing their cultural and ethnic characteristics (Dahinden, 2016; Eve, 2011; Pratsinakis, 2018). This thesis used the framework to analyse the determinants of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians' welfare state attitudes, and showed that the concept of the established outsider is especially relevant for explaining the impact of their dual

identity and the ambivalent underpinning of their attitudes toward the welfare state access of newcomers.

Contrary to native citizens, established outsiders such as Turkish and Moroccan Belgians perceive their group position more in relation to the native society which, in case of their attitudes toward new arriving immigrants, results in opposing effects based on threat as well as empathy. Combining group position theory (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; King & Weiner, 2007) and group empathy theory (Sirin et al., 2016b), it is demonstrated that perceived discrimination has both positive and negative effects on solidarity between the members of different minority groups, either by increasing feelings of threat and competition, or by increasing group empathy through the ability to take the perspective of the other. Established outsiders who feel that their group is unrightfully disadvantaged within the native society, experience the arrival of newcomers as a threat and therefore wish to restrict their access to welfare benefits as a way of securing their own more established position. However, this threat based reaction may be altered by the empathy they feel toward each other resulting from the shared experience of being an outsider. The findings of Chapter 5 illustrate that when only perceived group discrimination is considered, there appears to be no effect on the welfare chauvinism of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians because the two opposing mechanism cancel each other out. Yet, by making a distinction between the feeling of being unfairly disadvantaged as a group or as an individual, Chapter 4 shows that especially the latter is able to increase feelings of commonality and empathy between members of different minority groups.

Even without a perceived disadvantage, the identification with a certain group affects people's attitudes toward welfare state solidarity. Referring to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) and the national identity argument (Marshall, 1950; Miller, 1995), this idea is already well-established within the general welfare state attitudes literature. Besides extending the empirical grounds of this argument beyond native majority group members (Johnston et al., 2010; Theiss-Morse, 2009; Wright & Reeskens, 2013), this study shows that in order to gain a full understanding of identification with the country of residence as a basis of welfare state support among people with a migration background, their identification with the ethnic group or country of origin, as well as the different combinations of the two identities must be taken into account (Berry, 2005; Hutnik, 1991). The main finding of Chapter 3 is that Turkish and Moroccan Belgians with a separated identity, i.e. those who show a strong attachment to Turkey or Morocco but are not attached to Belgium, are the

least inclined to support redistribution. Regarding the relation between identification and welfare chauvinism, Chapter 4 demonstrates that the group of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians with an assimilated identity, i.e. those who stated that they felt only Belgian, are substantially more reluctant to grant new arriving immigrants access to the welfare state. This implies that, similar to the general population, group identification has both bonding and bounding effects on the welfare state solidarity of citizens with a migration background, yet, because of their dual position, the effect of national identification is less straight-forward and difficult to compare with native citizens. In relation to the broader literature on ethnic minorities' group identification, these findings illustrate that dual identification is not only associated with political action and social protest (Van Zomeren et al., 2008) but might also affect the type of causes they would mobilize for, such as their demand for income redistribution and solidarity toward newcomers.

Policy implications

In addition to its academic relevance, the findings of this dissertation have several implications that can assist policy makers, politicians or interest groups in dealing with the growing diversity within the population and the various pressures on the welfare state. Based on the case of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, it appears that postwar labour migrants and their descendants are quite strongly in favour of the general principles of income redistribution and the reduction of class inequalities, as well as the government's responsibility to provide social security. This is relevant for policy makers that are concerned about a possible welfare state backlash due to the impact of migration related diversity (Eger & Breznau, 2017). It implies that, in addition to a hypothetical decreased welfare state support among native citizens caused by ethnic heterogeneity, the growing share of the population that brings about this diversity simultaneously entails people that strongly support welfare state solidarity. In times of welfare state retrenchment and budgetary pressures, knowledge about the grounds of the welfare opinions of different parts of the population is also important. Given their growing number and increasing political weight, it is likely that the preferences of citizens with a migration background will have an important impact on the future development of the welfare state. Due to compulsory voting and the open citizenship policies toward labour migrants in the postwar period, this is of particular relevance for the case in this study, i.e. descendants of the Turkish and Moroccan labour migrants who live in Belgium. The results of this study show that the welfare state preferences of this group are not purely based on self-interest and are only weakly connected to their left-right placement, at least in comparison to native citizens. In

other words, it should not be taken for granted that settled migrants and their descendants would become less supportive of income redistribution and less restrictive toward newcomers if their socioeconomic position would improve. Furthermore, compared to native citizens, voters with a migration background show less ideological coherence between their left-right identification and their attitudes toward welfare state topics.

As mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, there is an abundance of evidence on the disadvantaged position of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians with regard to their structural and economic integration and it is clear that policies should be developed in response to this (e.g. Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Additionally, this dissertation demonstrates that perceptions of group discrimination among this population are an important foundation of their welfare state preferences. Given that the persistence of the welfare state is dependent upon the policy preferences of its population (Brooks & Manza, 2007), I would argue that policies should also respond to these feelings of a disadvantaged group position and the related demand for income redistribution, otherwise Turkish and Moroccan Belgians might withdraw their support for the welfare state altogether.

Caused by continuing migration movements, there is substantial diversity within the non-native population in Western countries, resulting in a situation of super-diversity especially in the context of big cities. In addition to the existing knowledge about majority-minority relations, a better understanding of interminority relations is therefore of increasing importance (Verkuyten, 2018; Vertovec, 2007). Besides relevant cultural differences, policy makers should be aware that minority groups also have different interests and attitudes toward each other based on their status within the native society. For example, due to their dual position, Turkish and Moroccan Belgians might react with both solidarity and threat toward new arriving migrants and their possible access to the welfare state. For interest groups defending the social rights of new immigrants, it is beneficial to know that they are more likely to find proponents among settled migrants with a dual identity and that, in order to create a mutual coalition of minorities in favour of an inclusive welfare state, they should highlight the shared individual experiences of discrimination, rather than concerns about a disadvantaged group position.

Limitations and recommendations for future research

Although this dissertation contributes to our understanding of the welfare state attitudes of people with a migration background, this study also features some constraints that are discussed in the following paragraph. Since the limitations of each empirical chapter are already acknowledged in the different sections throughout the thesis, I want to highlight some overarching issues and suggest avenues for future research that might address them.

Although group identity and perceived group discrimination are both shown to be relevant for the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians, there are several issues unresolved regarding the role of these group related factors. A first promising path for future research would be to disentangle the effects of perceived group discrimination and perceived individual discrimination. Whereas the empathy increasing effect of the individual experience of unfair treatment on welfare chauvinism was theorized upon, it should be acknowledged that its negative effect on support for government responsibility was a rather unexpected finding. Based on insights about the development of political attitudes in response to personal welfare state experiences (Kumlin, 2004), it is possible that perceived individual discrimination reduces people's trust in the welfare state institutions and as such also their support for government intervention. This would imply that it refers to a more general mechanism that also affects native citizens who experience stigmatization or exclusion. However, this line of thinking could not be further explored in this dissertation because of the exclusive availability of overly general trust variables and the lack of comparable measures of individual discrimination for native citizens. In order to uncover whether there is a trust reducing effect of perceived individual discrimination that causes lower welfare state support, future studies should include more specific trust measures that are related to the working of the welfare state. Moreover, testing whether this also holds for citizens without a migration background, would require information on people's individual experience of stigmatization based on identity dimensions other than migration background, such as race, gender and sexual preference.

A second unresolved question on the role of group dynamics in the determination of welfare state attitudes is whether and how objective group interests, collective identity and perceived disadvantaged group position are interdependent. Besides perceptions about the rightful position of one's group, welfare state attitudes have also been related to objective group interests, mostly measured as the rate of group members that is dependent upon welfare benefits (Luttmer, 2001;

Renema & Lubbers, 2018). The effect of this aggregate factor could, however, not be investigated because it requires a multilevel research design with for example a variety of migrant groups (Renema & Lubbers, 2018) or multiple (urban) geographical areas (Luttmer, 2001). An investigation of the interrelatedness of the group factors would also encompass a great theoretical contribution. In this regard, Renema and Lubbers (2018) showed for example that the effect of objective group position on welfare state support is dependent upon people's sense of belonging to that group. More general, the psychological literature states that perceptions of discrimination or rejection have consequences for the identification of minority group members (Branscombe et al., 1999; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009), but also that group identity moderates certain effects of perceived discrimination (e.g. Yoo & Lee, 2008). The available data allowed me to explore whether the effects of perceived group discrimination on the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians are contingent on their group identification. Since this was not the case and given that the focus of this dissertation was on the added value of the dual position on the group related factors, a further investigation of how perceived discrimination and dual identity are interrelated was not pursued, despite the theoretical relevance of this topic.

Finally, although the focus on a well-defined population such as Turkish and Moroccan Belgians can be considered as a strength of this study, a further broadening of the scope to other non-native groups entails another avenue for further research. Therefore, I encourage future studies to expand the research population and investigate the welfare state attitudes of groups that differ regarding the degree to which they are established in their country of residence. On the one hand, they could extend the insights of this dissertation by investigating the attitudes of groups with a less established status in the native society. Due to the survey design, first generation immigrants and the least integrated members of the population are underrepresented in this study. Therefore, it remains unsure whether the findings are for example contingent on the citizenship status of the respondents and whether they also apply to people who are less integrated in the country of residence, e.g. people who do not speak one of the official languages. It is quite likely that they have a much lower sense of belonging to the native society and experience more unfair treatment than the population investigated in this dissertation. A possible way of testing this, would be to make use of translated questionnaires and a sampling design aimed at migrants without the national citizenship status.

On the other hand, an important contribution could be made to the insights of this dissertation by investigating the attitudes of non-native citizens that are more established, either in terms of their

cultural closeness to the native society or their generational status. Regarding the latter, it should be noted that the data used in this study does not cover the third or subsequent generations of descendants with roots in the postwar labour migration because they could only be identified if they were still living with their parents. The little amount of existing research on this group indicates that they do not advance socioeconomically compared to their parents and grandparents, and even regress in certain respects (Hammarstedt, 2009). Different questions come to mind when thinking about this issue; How many generations will it take for the descendants of the postwar labour migrants to attain a societal position that is equal to the native population? What happens if government policies do not succeed in improving the disadvantaged position of settled migrants and their descendants, generation after generation? Do those belonging to the third generation also consider the government as the legitimate actor to solve the inequalities they face? As a result of a continued disadvantaged position, the third generation migrant population might be very strongly frustrated about the incapability of the government to create more equal socioeconomic outcomes, leading to a complete detachment or separation from the native society and its institutions.

In addition to research among subsequent generations, the literature would also benefit from including established outsiders with a cultural and religious background that is more similar to the native population considering that the population investigated in this dissertation forms a rather distinct group in this regard. Although investigating the impact of culture or religion was beyond the scope of this dissertation given its focus on the established-outsidere figuration framework, I do not claim that culture is irrelevant in explaining welfare state attitudes. Taking several characteristics into account, the findings show little evidence of cleavages based on country of origin, however, they do suggest that the welfare state attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians are associated with their religious involvement. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to examine these factors more elaborately because of the strong overlap between the ethnic, religious and socioeconomic minority status of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians. Within the Belgian context, disentangling the effects of the dual position as established outsiders from effects of cultural or religious characteristics, could possibly be achieved by investigating the attitudes of settled postwar labour migrants from Italy and their descendants. In sum, understanding the impact of the prolonged 'being-foreign' of immigrants over different generations and the extent to which they remain established outsiders, can only result from investigating the third and fourth generation as well as minority groups that are perceived to be higher in the ethnic hierarchy (Hagendoorn, 1995).

Appendix

Investigating the treatment effect of having a migration background while considering large compositional differences

Goals and set-up

As mentioned in the theoretical introduction of this dissertation, different welfare state attitudes studies have examined the existence of an opinion gap between migrants and native-born citizens (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Degen et al., 2018; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). In fact, the underlying goal of their approach is to isolate the effect of being an immigrant or having a migration background from demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. In addition to the theoretical hesitations about the focus on migrant status alone as a determinant of welfare state attitudes, there are also methodological difficulties related to this approach. The focus of this section is on the different composition of these populations, which show many discrepancies with regard to demographic (e.g. age, education, marital status) and socioeconomic characteristics (e.g. labour market position, income, financial insecurity). To the extent that these characteristics also affect welfare state attitudes, they might confound the estimated effect of having a migration background if they are not accounted for. Since the net effect of 'having a migration background' – labelled as the treatment in this section - cannot be investigated by randomly assigning the trait to people and then measuring its effect on their welfare state attitudes, researchers look for other solutions in order to take into account the compositional differences as much as possible.

Within the welfare state attitudes literature, the most common method to estimate the effect of migrant status or having a migration background is to consider it as a dummy variable^{viii} in a regression analysis while controlling for the effect of the socioeconomic and structural indicators such as gender, age, level of education, work status, income, unemployment experiences, and being on welfare benefits (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Degen et al., 2018; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015). However, a problematic feature of this approach is that it does not allow to determine the degree of overlap between the group with and without a migration background, and to assess whether the model has successfully eliminated the systematic differences between them (Austin, 2011, p. 417). The main objective of this section is to perform a regression analysis with control variables on the data in this dissertation, and to compare this method with two other strategies in

order to see whether they have benefits over the regression approach. The first alternative is to create subsamples of natives and immigrants with a similar socioeconomic position and to restrict the analysis to them. A second alternative strategy is to make use of the technique of propensity score analysis (PSA), a more recent method that allows studies to approximate an experimental design. Throughout this section, 'having a migration background' will be considered as the so-called treatment effect that is estimated and I will refer to the group of Belgians with a Turkish or Moroccan background (or the research population of the Belgian Ethnic Minority Election Study) as the treated group and native Belgians (or the research population of the Belgian National Election Study) as the untreated group. In line with the rest of the dissertation, the outcomes that may or may not be affected by the treatment are people's attitudes toward redistribution, toward government responsibility and newcomers' welfare state access (i.e. welfare chauvinism). After illustrating the raw differences between the two samples for the investigated welfare state attitudes and the compositional disparities between the two datasets used in this dissertation, the three strategies for taking into account these compositional differences are tested in SAS 9.4: (1) a regression analysis with multiple control variables; (2) a comparison between two similar subsamples; and (3) the technique of propensity score analysis.

Illustration of the compositional differences between the BEMES and BNES samples

Let's start by looking at the descriptive information about the three examined welfare state attitudes as well as the results of a simple t-test between the sample of Belgian citizens of Turkish or Moroccan descent, i.e. respondents of the BEMES, on the one hand and the sample of native Belgian citizens, i.e. respondents of the BNES, on the other hand. Table A.1 shows that without taking their composition into account, the respondents with a migration background are significantly more in favour of redistribution and government responsibility than people without a migration background. Furthermore, they overall show significantly lower levels of welfare chauvinism and thus are less restrictive with regard to newcomers' social rights and welfare state access. Naturally, these raw differences cannot be interpreted as evidence of an effect of having a migration background on welfare state attitudes because they may be confounded by compositional differences between the groups.

Table A.1. T-test and mean scale of three dependent variables

	<i>Min.- Max.</i>	BEMES		BNES		T-test		
		<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. Dev.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. Dev.</i>	<i>T value</i>	<i>DF</i>	<i>P value</i>
Support for redistribution	1-5	3.834	0.763	3.748	0.735	-2.75	2462	0.006
Attitude toward government responsibility	0-10	8.393	1.445	7.84	1.347	-9.26	1701.6	<.0001
Welfare chauvinism	1-5	2.761	0.711	3.152	0.577	14.74	2104.1	<.0001

Table A.2 compares the two samples (BEMES and BNES) regarding age, level of education, occupational status, benefit reciprocity in the last 2 years, equivalized household income and subjective income. Compared with the native sample, the respondents of Turkish and Moroccan descent are much younger. In line with existing administrative data about this population (Van den Broucke et al., 2015), they are underrepresented in the higher educational categories and much more likely to have received social benefits. With regard to occupational status, the respondents of Turkish and Moroccan descent are overrepresented among the categories of skilled and unskilled workers, and the unemployed. Partly caused by the different age structures of the populations, the native respondents are strongly overrepresented among the retired while a large share of the respondents with a migration background is still full-time student. The differences in occupation and welfare reciprocity are clearly reflected in the incomes reported by respondents adjusted for the size of their household. Finally, the descriptive results regarding respondents' subjective evaluation of their income point in the same direction.

Table A.2. Descriptive statistics of the samples of the BEMES 2014 and BNES 2014

	BNES	BEMES
Gender		
Male	48.65%	49.14%
Female	51.35%	50.86%
Age (in years)	51.16 (18.29)	32.52 (11.33)
Highest obtained level of education		
No degree	1.32%	3.31%
Primary education	7.72%	5.71%
Lower secondary	19.46%	26.63%
Higher secondary	32.83%	47.31%
Non-university tertiary	26.05%	13.26%
University	12.62%	3.77%

Occupational status		
High and lower services	18.64%	10.55%
Self-employed	4.82%	4.36%
Routine non-manual	15.47%	9.75%
Skilled and unskilled manual workers	14.39%	20.87%
Unemployed	4.12%	15.37%
Retired	28.25%	1.37%
In full-time education	5.15%	20.18%
Other (disabled, ill, looking for first job,...)	8.81%	17.43%
Someone in household received welfare benefits in past 2 years		
Yes	22.66%	53.44%
No	77.34%	46.56%
Equivalentized monthly household income		
882€ and less	13.56%	41.51%
883-1164€	16.82%	18.70%
1165-1415€	17.83%	6.96%
1415-1771€	18.71%	6.04%
1772-2124€	10.61%	1.82%
2125€ and more	10.17%	1.25%
No answer	12.30%	23.72%
Subjective income		
We have more than enough, we can easily save money	13.47%	6.09%
We have enough to make ends meet without difficulties	50.85%	30.46%
We have just enough to make ends meet	29.64%	43.10%
We do not have enough and often have difficulties to make ends meet	6.04%	20.34%

Given that the characteristics listed in this descriptive table are also considered to be relevant predictors of people's welfare state attitudes, it is important that a researcher separates them from the migratory status of respondents when he or she wishes to estimate the effect of the latter trait. Otherwise, the estimated effect of having a migration background is likely to be confounded by these compositional differences. One of the most influential decisions for a researcher to make in this regard is which characteristics to take into account during the analysis. Ideally, all variables that both affect welfare state attitudes and that are related to having a migration background are considered, however, one should also strive for a parsimonious model. Finding this balance is an issue in all three strategies for estimating the effect of having a migration background that are proposed in the following paragraphs.

Considering three strategies for estimating the effect of having a migration background

Regression analysis with multiple control variables on total sample

A first strategy for estimating the effect of having a migration background, is to perform a regression analysis with a dummy for this characteristic while adding controls for different demographic and socioeconomic variables. Applying this technique to the BEMES and BNES data, Table A.3 shows the results of the regression analyses for the three welfare state attitudes. The control variables were added in a second step, after estimating only the effect of having a migration background in a first step. The results indicate that while the initial effect of having a migration background disappears for support for redistribution, there remains a significant positive effect on the preferred level of government responsibility and negative effect on restrictiveness toward newcomers' welfare state access when controlling for the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Although the interpretation of the effects of the controls are not further elaborated upon in this section, the results show that they are relevant for explaining all three welfare state attitudes which confirms our concern about their confounding effect when estimating the role of migration background.

Table A.3. Results of regression analyses

	Support for redistribution				Attitude toward government responsibility				Welfare chauvinism			
	β	P	β	P	β	P	β	P	β	P	β	P
Intercept	3.75	<.0001	3.39	<.0001	7.84	<.0001	7.29	<.0001	3.15	<.0001	3.02	<.0001
Migration background	0.09	0.01	0.05	0.24	0.55	<.0001	0.58	<.0001	-0.39	<.0001	-0.42	<.0001
Woman			0.09	0.01			-0.08	0.18			0.07	0.01
Age			0.00	0.03			0.01	0.02			0.00	0.01
Up to primary education			-0.08	0.50			0.20	0.35			0.01	0.92
Lower-secondary education			-0.07	0.54			0.18	0.36			-0.08	0.38
Higher-secondary education			-0.11	0.31			0.09	0.64			-0.15	0.10
Non-university tertiary education			-0.03	0.81			0.19	0.36			-0.41	<.0001
University			-0.05	0.65			0.15	0.51			-0.57	<.0001
Self-employed			-0.31	0.00			-0.25	0.10			0.31	<.0001
Routine non-manual			0.11	0.06			0.00	1.00			0.11	0.03
(Un)skilled manual workers			0.09	0.14			0.01	0.92			0.18	0.00
Unemployed			-0.01	0.85			0.25	0.06			0.04	0.54
Retired			0.04	0.59			0.14	0.27			0.09	0.14
Full-time student			0.07	0.27			-0.09	0.48			0.03	0.64
Other occupation			0.03	0.66			0.26	0.03			0.12	0.04
Received benefits			0.16	<.0001			0.14	0.04			-0.04	0.16
No difficulties to make ends meet			0.12	0.02			-0.05	0.60			0.10	0.03
Just enough to make ends meet			0.25	<.0001			0.14	0.17			0.13	0.00
Difficulties to make ends meet			0.34	<.0001			0.22	0.09			0.25	<.0001
R²	0.31%		5.81%		3.49%		6.92%		7.28%		19.54%	
Sample size	2464		2426		2469		2429		2452		2470	

T-test on subsample

An alternative technique to estimate the effect of having a migration background and circumvent the different composition of the two populations, is to define subgroups with similar socio-structural characteristics and restrict the comparison to them. This strategy has for example been used in studies looking at ethnic income inequality (G. K. Singh & Kposowa, 1996) and differences in job attainment between minority and majority group members (van Hooft, Born, Taris, & van der Flier, 2004). These studies limit their comparison to certain economic classes or people with a similar occupational status in order to take into account the role of ethnic labour market stratification and the expectation that minority–majority group differences are dependent upon occupational strata. Another example using this strategy is the study of Phalet and Swyngedouw (2002) regarding the different perspectives on citizenship, that compares the opinions of Turks and Moroccans with a limited group of lower educated and working class Belgians living in the same disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods.

Focusing on the welfare state attitudes of people with and without a migration background, two subsamples were formed by excluding respondents belonging to the highest educational category (university degree), the oldest respondents category (older than 65 years), and the two highest categories of equivalized household income (more than 1772€). As shown earlier in Table A.2, those specific categories are characterized by a strong overrepresentation of native respondents, and dropping them from the analysis limits the variance between the native and non-native dataset regarding level of education, age, and reported household income. Other possibilities of creating subsamples were also considered, based on welfare reciprocity or subjective income. Although the distribution of these variables also shows big differences between the two groups of respondents, it was decided not to apply these restrictions because they would require excluding a very large number of respondents.

Based on the newly created subsamples, a simple t-test was performed for the three welfare state attitudes. The results in Table A.4 are similar to the conclusions based on the regression analyses with control variables. The newly created subsamples of people with and without a migration background do not differ significantly from each other with regard to support for redistribution, yet, their attitudes toward government responsibility and welfare chauvinism still show significant differences. In other words, when the comparison is limited to Belgians younger than 65, without

a university degree, and earning less than 1772€, there appears to be only an effect of having a migration background on attitudes toward government responsibility and welfare chauvinism.

Table A.4. Results of simple t-test on subsample of respondents

	BEMES			BNES			T-test		
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. Dev.</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. Dev.</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T value</i>	<i>DF</i>	<i>P value</i>
Support for redistribution	3.829	0.762	809	3.782	0.720	811	-1.27	1618	0.204
Attitude toward government responsibility	8.398	1.438	814	7.866	1.341	811	-7.72	1615.9	<.0001
Welfare chauvinism	2.772	0.576	805	3.196	0.717	809	13.10	1543.7	<.0001

Propensity score analysis

Finally, a third alternative tested in this section is Propensity Score Analysis (PSA). Propensity score methods make causal interpretation of observational data more plausible, by adjusting for factors that may be responsible for differences between the groups' chances of getting a treatment. The propensity score is the estimated probability of being assigned to a treatment, given a set of observed covariates. Assuming that the estimation of the propensity score incorporates the reasons why people self-select to a certain treatment status, two individuals with equal propensity score are equally likely to belong to the treatment group, and can be considered as being randomly assigned to the treatment (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1984). Propensity Score methods are often used in fields such as economics, epidemiology, and medicine (Stuart, 2010). For an application in the literature on political attitudes, see e.g. Dinesen (2012) who estimates the causal effect of the destination-country environment on the trust of immigrants.

Before using this method to estimate the effect of having a migration background on welfare state attitudes, the process of Propensity Score Analysis is briefly described. Giving an elaborate discussion of the technique is beyond the scope of this dissertation. For that purpose, I refer the reader to the work of Rosenbaum and Rubin (1984), Stuart (2010), Austin (2011), and He, Hu, and He (2016). Propensity score analysis is generally done in different steps. The four key steps are: (1) to determine the measure of distance or calculate the propensity score, (2) to implement a matching method, (3) to assess the quality of the matched samples, and (4) to analyse the outcome and estimate the treatment effect. The first three steps might have to be iterated until well-matched

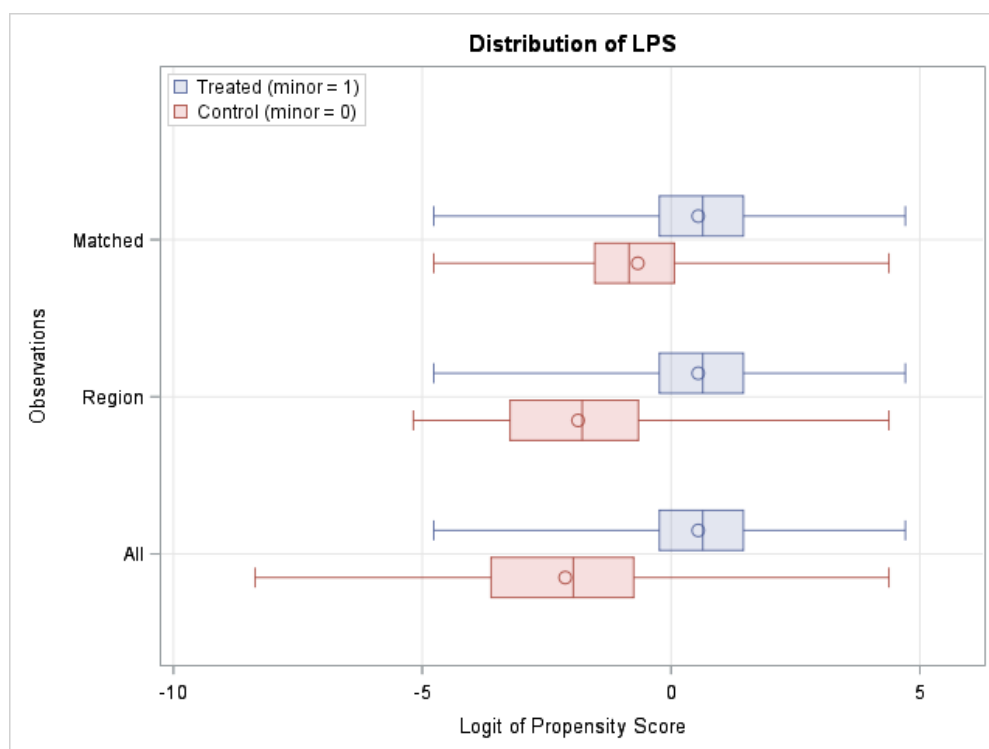
samples are obtained (Stuart, 2010). Step one is to estimate the propensity scores, which is often done through logistic regression. The choice of covariates that are used for estimating the propensity scores should be based on theoretical arguments, since they have to be related to the treatment assignment as well the outcome variable. The second step is to use the propensity score to perform a certain propensity score method for removing the effect of the confounding covariates. Propensity score matching revolves around the formation of matched sets of treated and untreated subjects with a similar propensity score value. Instead of matching each individual, propensity score stratification or subclassification divides subjects into mutually exclusive subsets according to their estimated propensity score. A third method, propensity score weighting, corrects for the selection bias by applying weights based on the propensity scores, rather than comparing the treatment and control groups directly at each propensity score or at small intervals (He et al., 2016). The next step in the process of propensity score analysis, independent from the chosen method, is to diagnose the quality of the resulting matched samples by assessing the covariate balance using both numerical and graphical diagnostics. The assessment of the covariate balance can be considered as one of the most important components of any propensity score analysis, and steps one and two of the process should be iterated until a well-balanced sample is attained (Austin, 2011, p. 411; Stuart, 2010, p. 10). After this iterative process has created treated and untreated groups with adequate balance, the researcher can continue with the fourth and final step; the outcome analysis. Assuming that there are no other confounding variables associated with both the outcome variable and the treatment group indicator after the matching process, the treatment effect can be estimated by an appropriate outcome analysis depending on the measurement level of the outcome variable.

In order to estimate the effect of having a migration background (i.e. the treatment) on welfare state attitudes (i.e. the outcome), I performed propensity score analysis on the BEMES and BNES samples using the PSMATCH procedure in SAS 9.4. First, using logistic regression, the propensity scores for belonging to the group with a migration background (i.e. the treated group) were estimated, based on the following covariates; age, gender, level of education, occupational status, having received social benefits, and subjective income. Table A.5 shows some descriptive information of the propensity scores for all observations of the two groups. As can be expected, the respondents of the BEMES have a higher propensity of belonging to the group of people with a migration background than the BNES respondents, based on the selected demographic and socioeconomic variables.

Table A.5. Propensity Score Information for all observations

Treated/BEMES					Control/BNES				
<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std Dev</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std Dev</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>
861	0.611	0.235	0.008	0.991	1569	0.214	0.234	0.0002	0.988

In a second step, the estimated propensity scores are used for optimal Propensity Score Matching without replacement. This means that the control units are selected simultaneously by minimizing the absolute difference in propensity scores across all matches (Austin, 2011). Control units cannot be matched to more than one treated unit, so in this case the 861 treated objects were matched with 861 observations of the untreated group. Next, the balance of the covariates between the treated and untreated group has to be assessed by looking at the distribution of the logit propensity scores and the standardized variable differences (Stuart, 2010). Figure A.1 graphically presents the distribution of the logit propensity scores for all respondents and the matched samples, showing that the overlap between the propensity scores of the treated and untreated group is poor, even after the matching procedure. For each covariate, Table A.6 reports the standardized differences of means and the variance ratios between the treated and untreated subjects, first for all observations and then for the matched objects. In order to be able to speak of well-balanced samples, the literature recommends that the standardized differences of means should not exceed the limits of -0.25 and 0.25^{ix} , and that the variance ratios of the matched observations should fall within the range of range of 0.5 and 2 (Stuart, 2010, p. 11). Although Table A.6 shows that the mean differences and variance ratios are substantially reduced after matching, multiple variables still have absolute standardized differences of means (e.g. age, being a full-time student, and having received social benefits) or variance ratios (e.g. the dummy variable of having a university degree) that exceed the recommended limits. Overall, the diagnostics point to an unsatisfactory covariate balance, which implies that the process should be iterated until treated and untreated groups with an adequate balance are attained (Austin, 2011, p. 411; Stuart, 2010, p. 10). In that case, a researcher has the following options; to select another set of variables to fit the propensity score model, to modify the specification of the propensity score model, to modify the matching criteria, or to choose another matching method (SAS Institute Inc, 2016, p. 7687). Accordingly, several adjustments were tested such as using a different propensity score estimation (e.g. by adding new variables or interactions) as well as a different propensity score technique (matching with replacement, stratification, weighting).

Figure A.2. Distribution of Logit Propensity Scores, optimal matching without replacement**Table A.6.** Standardized variable differences after Propensity Score Matching

	Standardized Mean Difference		Variance Ratio	
	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Matched Obs</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>Matched Obs</i>
Age	-1.227	-0.435	0.383	0.798
Woman	0.010	0.000	1.001	1.000
Up to primary education	0.081	-0.065	0.754	1.376
Lower-secondary education	-0.169	-0.189	1.246	1.289
Higher-secondary education	-0.298	-0.134	1.132	1.033
Non-university tertiary education	0.325	0.290	0.600	0.622
University	0.329	0.243	0.330	0.394
Self-employed	0.026	0.100	0.892	0.688
Routine non-manual	0.171	0.269	0.678	0.583
Skilled and unskilled manual workers	-0.169	0.061	1.336	0.927
Unemployed	-0.390	-0.287	3.338	1.984
Retired	0.822	0.025	0.068	0.637
Full-time student	-0.472	-0.349	3.413	1.980
Other occupation	-0.249	-0.139	1.763	1.298
Received benefits	-0.672	-0.426	1.412	1.105
No difficulties to make ends meet	0.426	0.327	0.841	0.847
Just enough to make ends meet	-0.287	-0.192	1.175	1.091
Difficulties to make ends meet	-0.431	-0.358	2.847	2.087

Performing this iterative process on the BNES and BEMES data showed that using the weighting method provided the best covariate balance between the treated and untreated group. Contrary to propensity score matching, which matches treated units with control units, propensity score weighting creates weight factors that can be applied during the outcome analysis for estimating the treatment effect. In order to estimate the average treatment effect for the treated (ATT or in this case the average effect of having a migration background on the attitudes of the BEMES respondents), the observations in the treated group receive a weight of 1 and the observations in the control group are weighted by the odds of their propensity score so that the untreated observations that are more similar to the treated group will have larger weights. While matching methods tend to reduce the sample size as they exclude individuals which cannot be matched, weighting methods allow using more of the sample units^x. Table A.8 reports the standardized variable differences between the treated and control group for all observations and for the weighted observations, illustrating that this method attains a better covariate balance than the propensity score matching performed before. However, still some of the balance diagnostics fall outside of the acceptable ranges (e.g. the rest category of occupational status), especially according to the less liberal recommendations used in the literature (Austin, 2009a). In the case of Propensity Score Weighting, an additional diagnostic that should be taken into account is the size of the weights that are assigned to the observations. A particular concern is that observations with very high weights may unduly influence the results and produce estimates with high variance (Lee, Lessler, & Stuart, 2011; Stuart, 2010). As Table A.7 shows, such extreme weights were assigned to the (BNES) observations without a migration background.

Table A.7. Weight summary for the observations without a migration background

<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std Dev</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>10th Pctl</i>	<i>90th Pctl</i>
1569	0.654	2.560	0.0002	79.661	0.008	1.454

Besides improving the specification of propensity score models, the problem of extreme propensity score weights might be dealt with by weight trimming (Lee et al., 2011), however, there is little guidance regarding the trimming level in the literature. Moreover, trimming reduces the covariate balance and is likely to increase bias if employed rigorously (Stuart, 2010).

Table A.8. Standardized variable differences after Propensity Score Weighting

	Standardized Mean Difference		Variance Ratio	
	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>ATT Weighted Obs</i>	<i>All Obs</i>	<i>ATT Weighted Obs</i>
Age	-1.227	0.077	0.383	0.938
Woman	0.010	-0.060	1.001	1.001
Up to primary education	0.081	-0.017	0.754	1.075
Lower-secondary education	-0.169	0.023	1.246	0.977
Higher-secondary education	-0.298	-0.143	1.132	1.036
Non-university tertiary education	0.325	-0.073	0.600	1.233
University	0.329	-0.025	0.330	1.203
Self-employed	0.026	-0.042	0.892	1.248
Routine non-manual (Un)skilled manual workers	0.171	-0.047	0.678	1.167
Unemployed	-0.169	0.039	1.336	0.952
Retired	-0.390	-0.099	3.338	1.190
Full-time student	0.822	-0.010	0.068	1.310
Other occupation	-0.472	-0.192	3.413	1.340
Received benefits	-0.249	0.339	1.763	0.699
No difficulties to make ends meet	-0.672	0.156	1.412	1.044
Just enough to make ends meet	0.426	-0.132	0.841	1.161
Difficulties to make ends meet	-0.287	0.073	1.175	0.987
Difficulties to make ends meet	-0.431	0.107	2.847	0.891

In sum, the different analyses point to the fact that the treated and untreated group show insufficient covariate balance, in which case it is recommended to refrain from performing an outcome analysis (Austin, 2011, p. 418). For the purpose of this methodological section, however, this recommendation is briefly neglected and the outcome analysis is performed anyway. Using the estimated ATT- propensity weights, a simple t-test is performed for the three welfare state attitudes of which the results are shown in Table A.9. Similar to the conclusions of the previous two strategies, the outcome analysis with application of propensity weights results in a non-significant difference of the support for redistribution between respondents with and without a migration background. After reducing the composition effects, the results also show that people with a migration background report significantly lower levels of welfare chauvinism but are more in favour of government responsibility.

Table A.9. Results of simple t-test, weighted by propensity score weights (ATT)

	BEMES			BNES			T-test		
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. Dev.</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>St. Dev.</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T value</i>	<i>DF</i>	<i>P value</i>
Support for redistribution	3.837	0.762	858	3.900	0.659	679	1.74	1523.1	0.082
Attitude toward government responsibility	8.398	1.442	861	8.076	1.442	679	-4.35	1538	<.0001
Welfare chauvinism	2.766	0.577	855	3.429	0.722	654	19.26	1223.9	<.0001

Evaluation of the strategies and concluding remarks

This section started by claiming that a researcher interested in estimating the effect of having a migration background on welfare state attitudes by comparing samples with and without this characteristic, should carefully consider the compositional differences between these populations. Three different methodological strategies were compared to account for demographic and socioeconomic differences between people with and without a migration background. In a first instance, I tested the effect of having a migration background in a regression analysis with multiple control variables. In addition to this strategy, applied by the existing studies on the welfare opinion gap between migrants and non-migrants (Dancygier & Saunders, 2006; Degen et al., 2018; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015), the use of similar subsamples and propensity scores was also tested on the data used throughout this dissertation. Overall, the different strategies pointed to very similar conclusions. Taking into account demographic and socioeconomic differences, the two groups did not differ significantly with regard to support for redistribution, while compared to the native respondents, those of Turkish or Moroccan descent were significantly more in favour of government responsibility and less willing to restrict welfare access of newcomers.

Despite the similar conclusions, this section illustrates that making claims about an effect of having a migration background on welfare state attitudes is problematic since there is so little overlap between the group with and without a migration background. Although the alternative methods also have difficulties in reducing the demographic and socioeconomic differences between the treatment groups, setting them side by side does highlight an important limitation of the regression approach with multiple control variables. More specifically, the latter does not allow to explicitly

judge the overlap in the distribution of the covariates and to assess the degree to which the systematic differences between the group are eliminated by the model.

Propensity score analysis, on the other hand, has the advantage that it examines the joint distribution of the included predictors and allows the researcher to assess the degree of overlap between the treated and untreated groups. In other words, propensity score methods will make it clear when there is a strong separation between the two groups and thus when it is impossible to separate the effect of the treatment from other differences (Stuart, 2010, p. 11), while “[...] *a naïve analyst may proceed with a regression-based analysis without being aware that the fitted regression model is interpolating between two distinct populations*” (Austin, 2011, p. 418). The analysis on the BNES and BEMES showed in this case that it is very difficult to reach a satisfactory balance between the investigated group of people with a migration background and the group without a migration background for the demographic and socioeconomic covariates. The literature then recommends to be very cautious during the outcome analysis or even refrain from estimating the treatment effect as such. Austin (2011, p. 418) formulates it as follows:

“When faced with the sparse overlap between the treated and untreated subjects, the analyst is faced with a choice between two alternatives: first, to restrict the analysis to comparing outcomes between the minority of treated and untreated subjects who have similar covariate patterns, and second, to discontinue the analysis, concluding that treated and untreated subjects are so different that a meaningful comparison of outcomes between the two groups is not plausible.”

The alternative method to compare only well-defined and subsamples with a similar socioeconomic position, however, greatly limits the sample sizes and does not allow to conclude anything about the categories of people that were excluded from the analysis, in this case the highest educated, oldest and people with the most financial security. In other words, there is a sincere trade-off between the comparability of the samples and the generalizability of the conclusions. I would argue that this strategy is probably more suitable for investigating outcomes (e.g. income level) that are strongly determined by one or a select group of variables (e.g. occupation) than for attitudes with a multitude of predictors like was the case here. Ideally, this strategy should be applied in advance when setting up a research design, rather than afterwards when performing an outcome analysis on existing general samples.

Overall the remaining unbalance between the groups with and without a migration background, suggests that it would be incorrect to consider the differences in welfare state attitudes between the

two samples as caused by having a migration background. In sum, this section warrants us for simply comparing the levels of welfare support between native Belgians and Belgians of Turkish or Moroccan descent and for making claims about a causal effect of belonging to the latter group on attitudes toward redistribution, government responsibility and the welfare state access of newcomers.

Notes

^{viii} Or combine two dummy variables to distinguish between natives, first generation immigrants and second generation immigrants (Degen et al., 2018; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2015).

^{ix} Or even -0.10 and 0.10 according to some authors (Austin, 2009a).

^x For a more elaborate discussion on the difference between propensity score weighting and matching methods, see for example Austin (2009b).

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Dutch summary

Er wordt vaak beweerd dat de toekomst van de moderne Westerse verzorgingsstaat onder druk staat door de aanwezigheid van migranten en de maatschappelijke diversiteit die daardoor veroorzaakt wordt. Hoewel het idee van een trade-off tussen diversiteit en solidariteit reeds veel wetenschappelijke aandacht heeft gekregen, concentreert bestaand onderzoek zich bijna uitsluitend op het perspectief van de natiestaat en de opinies van autochtone burgers. Tegenwoordig zijn er echter steeds meer mensen met een migratieachtergrond in Westerse landen, en tonen die groepen onderling ook vaker verschillen op het vlak van inburgering, cultuur en economische status. Om de impact van de toenemende diversiteit volledig te begrijpen is het bijgevolg nodig om de opinies van verschillende groepen in de bevolking te bestuderen, rekening houdend met hun unieke positie in de maatschappij. De voornaamste doelstelling van dit proefschrift was om deze lacune tegemoet te komen door de houdingen van Belgische burgers met een Turkse of Marokkaanse achtergrond ten aanzien van de verzorgingsstaat te onderzoeken. Concreet is deze studie gericht op houdingen ten aanzien van inkomensherverdeling, de verantwoordelijkheden van de overheid in het voorzien van uitkeringen, pensioenen en gezondheidszorg, en de toegang van nieuwe immigranten tot sociale rechten. Om hier meer inzicht in te krijgen werden de gegevens van het Belgische Nationaal Verkiezingsonderzoek van 2014 geanalyseerd, een enquête die bij zowel Belgen zonder migratieachtergrond, als Belgen met een Turkse of Marokkaanse achtergrond werd gehouden.

Hoe mensen staan tegenover de verzorgingsstaat wordt gewoonlijk verklaard door te kijken naar hun sociaaleconomische status en hun politieke voorkeur. Omdat migranten vaak een kwetsbare positie hebben, wordt er door velen van uitgegaan dat zij uit eigenbelang voorstanders zijn van een sterk uitgewerkte en toegankelijke sociale zekerheid. Uit de bevindingen in dit proefschrift blijkt dat Turkse en Marokkaanse Belgen grote voorstanders zijn van inkomensherverdeling en een sterk aanwezige overheid, maar dat die voorkeuren niet puur gebaseerd zijn op hun eigen economische belangen en maar in een beperkte mate samenhangen met hoe ze zichzelf plaatsen op de politieke links-rechts as. Daarentegen toont deze studie dat hun steun voor herverdeling en de verzorgingsstaat voortkomt uit de bezorgdheid die ze hebben over de benadeelde positie van hun groep in de samenleving en de mate waarin ze zich identificeren als Belg in plaats van Turk of Marokkaan.

Naast opinies over inkomensherverdeling en de rol van de overheid, onderzocht ik in dit proefschrift ook welvaartschauvinisme, of de mening dat de toegang tot de verzorgingsstaat voorbehouden is voor burgers van de natiestaat en dat nieuwkomers minder of geen sociale rechten zouden mogen hebben. Vooral in dit geval bleek het zinvol om de maatschappelijke positie van Turkse en Marokkaanse Belgen te beschouwen als die van ‘gevestigde buitenstaanders’. Aan de ene kant zijn ze burgers met de Belgische nationaliteit en dus meer ‘gevestigd’ dan recente immigranten. Aan de andere kant kampt deze groep met discriminatie en benadeling waardoor ze nog steeds als buitenstaanders gezien kunnen worden tegenover de autochtone Belgische bevolking. Die dubbele status zorgt ervoor dat Turkse en Marokkaanse Belgen nieuwe immigranten kunnen beschouwen als een bedreiging voor hun meer gevestigde positie, maar ook als lotgenoten die net zoals hen te maken hebben met vormen van achterstelling. Uit de analyses blijkt dat vooral individuele ervaringen van discriminatie – in tegenstelling tot percepties over de behandeling van de eigen groep - de basis kunnen vormen voor solidariteit tussen zogenaamde oude en nieuwe immigranten.

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