

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xiii
<i>List of tables</i>	xiv
<i>List of contributors</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xix

Introduction	1
---------------------	---

MARIANNE TAKLE, JANIKKE SOLSTAD VEDELER, MI AH SCHOYEN,
KJETIL KLETTE-BØHLER AND ASGEIR FALCH-ERIKSEN

<i>Citizenship among socially marginalised groups</i>	1
<i>Studies of citizenship and exclusion</i>	4
<i>Citizenship: laws and public policies</i>	5
<i>Citizenship: on-the-ground experiences of membership</i>	7
<i>References</i>	10

PART I

Citizenship: laws and public policies	13
--	----

1 The Norwegian welfare state: towards a crossroads?	15
---	----

ARE VEGARD HAUG

<i>Introduction</i>	15
<i>The welfare state: origin, perspectives and types</i>	16
<i>A contested framework: the three worlds of welfare capitalism</i>	18
<i>Current challenges facing the welfare state model</i>	20
<i>Challenge I: maintain political and union support</i>	21
<i>Challenge II: handling a more heterogeneous society</i>	25
<i>Challenge III: increased inequalities and social exclusion</i>	27
<i>Discussion: the link between the three elements of citizenship</i>	29
<i>Conclusion and the way forward</i>	30

<i>Do we today see indications of the erosion of the democratic, social and economic values that constitute the cornerstones of the Nordic model?</i>	30
<i>Under what conditions does the welfare state change?</i>	31
<i>References</i>	31
2 Social exclusion of citizens of democratic welfare states	34
ASGEIR FALCH-ERIKSEN	
<i>Introduction</i>	34
<i>Social exclusion across four ideal types of citizenship</i>	35
<i>Three challenges of modernity to the socially excluded</i>	40
<i>The call for reconciling cosmopolitanism and civic-republicanism</i>	43
<i>Enforcing social inclusion</i>	44
<i>Conclusion: the call for social sustainability</i>	45
<i>References</i>	46
3 The Norwegian welfare state adjusting to crisis: temporary changes in unemployment benefit regulations during the COVID-19 pandemic and their long-term implications	48
KRISTIAN HEGGEBØ AND AXEL WEST PEDERSEN	
<i>Introduction</i>	48
<i>Income maintenance schemes in Norway</i>	49
<i>Income support for people with health problems</i>	49
<i>Income support for people out of work</i>	50
<i>The Norwegian welfare state adjusting to crisis – options and obstacles</i>	52
<i>The COVID-19 pandemic in Norway</i>	53
<i>Health crisis</i>	53
<i>Labour market crisis</i>	55
<i>Temporary changes in unemployment benefit regulations</i>	56
<i>Discussion</i>	58
<i>Summary and conclusion</i>	60
<i>Epilogue</i>	61
<i>Funding</i>	61
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	61
<i>References</i>	61

4 The exclusionary potential of work inclusion policies: employers addressing their responsibilities towards disabled people	64
KAJA LARSEN ØSTERUD, JANIKE SOLSTAD VEDELER AND NORA FRAMSTAD	
<i>Introduction</i> 64	
<i>The Inclusion Dugnad – taking one for the team?</i> 65	
<i>Notions of the ideal worker and ableism</i> 66	
<i>Methods</i> 67	
<i>Findings</i> 68	
<i>Inclusion as a charitable act</i> 68	
<i>Difficulties in addressing disability as an asset</i> 70	
<i>Concluding discussion</i> 73	
<i>Funding</i> 74	
<i>References</i> 74	
5 Social exclusion and disability: exploring the role of ingroup/ outgroup dynamics in employment	77
JASKIRAT KOHLI AND JANIKE SOLSTAD VEDELER	
<i>Introduction</i> 77	
<i>Social identity theory</i> 79	
<i>Methods</i> 80	
<i>Findings</i> 81	
<i>Ingroup favouritism</i> 81	
<i>Intergroup threat</i> 82	
<i>Outgroup homogenisation</i> 84	
<i>Outgroup disadvantages</i> 85	
<i>Outgroup altruism and tolerance</i> 87	
<i>Concluding discussion</i> 88	
<i>Funding</i> 89	
<i>References</i> 89	
6 The right to respect for family life: do parents have a right to parenting support?	92
SIMEN MØRSTAD JOHANSEN	
<i>Introduction</i> 92	
<i>Background for the Norwegian and Romanian family interests triangle</i> 94	
<i>The family interests triangle according to a HRS</i> 96	

<i>Methods and data</i>	97
<i>The family interests triangle in Norway and Romania</i>	98
<i>Primary preventive policies with universal and targeted measures</i>	98
<i>Secondary preventive measures: voluntariness and coerciveness</i>	100
<i>Is the family interests triangle aligned with the human rights standard?</i>	102
<i>Conclusion</i>	103
<i>References</i>	104

7 Citizenship for future generations: the inclusion of future generations in welfare state considerations 108

MARIANNE TAKLE

<i>Introduction</i>	108
<i>Including new citizens</i>	109
<i>Who are the future generations?</i>	110
<i>The extension of boundaries over time</i>	111
<i>The inclusion of future generations in constitutions</i>	112
<i>Citizenship for future generations</i>	113
<i>The Norwegian Constitution</i>	114
<i>Future national citizens or all unborn people</i>	115
<i>Conclusion</i>	117
<i>References</i>	118

PART II

Citizenship: on-the-ground experiences of membership 121

8 Affective citizenship: Social exclusion of families with disabled children during the COVID-19 pandemic 123

SIGURD EID JACOBSEN AND KJETIL KLETTE-BØHLER

<i>Introduction</i>	123
<i>Implementing the UN CRPD and being disabled during the pandemic</i>	123
<i>Citizenship in theory: from rights and duties to affective citizenship</i>	124
<i>Data and methods</i>	126
<i>Affective ramifications: “Moses was better off in the desert”</i>	127
<i>Concluding remarks</i>	130
<i>References</i>	131

9 Norwegian labour activation: building or limiting social citizenship for service users far from the labour market?	134
HELLE C. HANSEN AND ERIKA GUBRIUM	
<i>Introduction</i> 134	
<i>The notion of social citizenship, a sense of belonging and participation</i> 135	
<i>The Norwegian Qualification Program</i> 137	
<i>Data and methods</i> 138	
<i>Findings</i> 139	
<i>Enhanced competence and social participation</i> 139	
<i>Adhering to the adult worker norm: civic and economic participation</i> 140	
<i>Broken promises and disillusion about labour market participation</i> 142	
<i>Concluding discussion</i> 142	
<i>References</i> 144	
 10 Economic preconditions for full citizenship: refugees' economic incorporation into the Norwegian welfare state	 148
JON IVAR ELSTAD AND KRISTIAN HEGGEBØ	
<i>Introduction</i> 148	
<i>Definitions, hypotheses and design</i> 149	
<i>Data and methods</i> 150	
<i>Years since arrival and level of economic incorporation</i> 152	
<i>Why was the first hypothesis not supported?</i> 153	
<i>Why was the second hypothesis not supported?</i> 155	
<i>Summary of findings</i> 158	
<i>Concluding remarks</i> 159	
<i>References</i> 160	
 11 “I am torn to pieces”: transnational citizenship and COVID-19	 162
JUSTYNA BELL, ANNE BALKE STAVER AND IDA TOLGENSBÄCK	
<i>Introduction</i> 162	
<i>Method</i> 163	
<i>Citizenship from above</i> 165	
<i>Dual citizenship</i> 165	
<i>Multilevel citizenship</i> 166	
<i>Citizenship from below</i> 166	
<i>Victories and losses</i> 168	
<i>Concluding discussion</i> 172	
<i>References</i> 173	

12 The democratic deficit, political participation and demands for social inclusion in truncated welfare states	175
BARBARA A. ZARATE-TENORIO	
<i>Introduction</i>	175
<i>Previous research on democratic legitimacy</i>	176
<i>The democratic deficit</i>	177
<i>Description of variables</i>	179
<i>Outcome variables</i>	179
<i>Explanatory variables</i>	180
<i>Control variables</i>	180
<i>Results</i>	181
<i>Conclusion</i>	186
<i>References</i>	186
<i>Appendix</i>	189
 13 Citizenship in democratic welfare states: a typology of social exclusion	 193
MARIANNE TAKLE AND ASGEIR FALCH-ERIKSEN	
<i>Introduction</i>	193
<i>Part I: citizens and the mechanisms of social exclusion</i>	195
<i>Part II: empirical findings – at the margins of the welfare state</i>	197
<i>Part III: a typology for social exclusion</i>	202
<i>Conclusion – democratic design with constitutional restraints</i>	205
<i>References</i>	207
 <i>Index</i>	 209

Figures

1.1	The distribution of seats in the Norwegian Parliament (Stortinget), 1945–2021	23
1.2	Active members of political parties and trade unions in Norway (in per cent, 1997–2017)	25
1.3	Children in households with a persistently low income. Children with and without an immigrant background (SSB, 2021)	29
3.1	New daily and cumulative number of confirmed COVID-19 cases in Norway, 21 February 2020–31 December 2020	54
3.2	New daily and cumulative number of hospital admissions associated with COVID-19 in Norway, 21 February 2020–31 December 2020	54
3.3	Registered monthly unemployment rate in Norway, January–December 2020, in percentage	55
3.4	Number of applications for unemployment benefits, 01 March 2020–30 April 2020	56
10.1	Mean refugee personal income as a percentage of mean personal income among age-comparable natives, two refugee cohorts, men and women pooled	152
10.2	Average work incomes, measured in Basic Amounts, during 2003–2020 for the refugee Cohort 2000 and the native Controls 2000, men and women pooled	154
12.1	The democratic deficit in Latin America	178
12.2	Average marginal effects of explanatory variables on the democratic deficit in Latin America, with 95% confidence intervals	182
12.3	Effects of main explanatory variables on the democratic deficit in Latin America	183
12.4	Participation in Latin America	184

Tables

2.1	Ideal types of citizenships	37
2.2	Citizenship and social exclusion	38
5.1	Overview of employer representatives	80
10.1	Overview, refugee samples Cohort 2000 and Cohort 2010 and age-comparable native control samples Controls 2000 and Controls 2010	151
10.2	Work income drops (%) from one year to the next among “work life insiders” in refugee Cohort 2000 and native comparison sample Controls 2000	155
10.3	Linear regression analyses of the pooled refugee cohorts ($N = 27,970$)	157
12.1	Summary Statistics	189
12.2	Democratic Deficit Multilevel Model with Random Intercepts	190
12.3	Models of the Democratic Deficit and Citizen Participation Multilevel Logistic Regressions with Random Intercepts	191
13.1	Citizenship and social exclusion	206