

Contents

Acknowledgments vii

List of Abbreviations xi

Introduction 3

- 1 Theorizing Immigrant-Excluding Welfare Reforms 11
 - The Progressive's Dilemma: Immigration versus the Welfare State?* 11
 - Immigrant-Excluding Welfare Reforms (and Their Alternatives)* 16
 - The Political Translation of Economic Facts* 22
 - Forces of Continuity: Institutionalizing Immigrants' Social Rights* 27
 - Forces of Change: Contesting Immigrants' Social Rights* 31
- 2 The Limits of Economic Explanations 41
 - Immigrants' Welfare Use and Public Opinion* 42
 - Immigrants' Welfare Use and Support for Welfare Exclusion in Three Countries* 48
- 3 Sweden: Universalism, Even for Newcomers? 66
 - A Story of Gradual Inclusion* 68
 - Framing Welfare Dependence as Utanförskap* 78
 - Anti-Migrant Politics in the Margins, but for How Long?* 95
- 4 Canada: Stability in a Country of Immigrants 109
 - Continuation of the Canadian Model of Immigration and Welfare* 111
 - Faulty Admission and "Bogus" Claimants: Framing Immigrants' Welfare Dependence* 119
 - Political Battles at the Margins of the Canadian Model* 136
- 5 Netherlands: The Sudden Surge of Selective Solidarity 147
 - A Recent History of Immigrant-Excluding Welfare Reforms* 149

vi Contents

*From Taboo to Cliché: Increasing Concerns about Immigrants’
Welfare Dependence* 157

Reaching the Boundaries of Exclusion 178

6 Conclusions 197

Appendix Tables 213

List of Interviews 233

Notes 237

References 265

Index 299