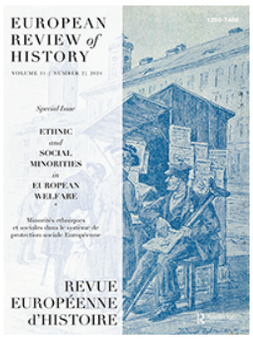

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction: minorities and the making of European welfare

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ABSTRACT

The development of welfare states across Europe in the twentieth century had different outcomes for different segments of society. In this special issue the dual character of welfare – that is, the aim of alleviating distress and creating social cohesion while creating divisions when determining who is deserving of what – is studied through the lens of ethnic and social minorities. Minorities, grouped together through joint experiences, heritage and/or social classifications, have been subjected to both inclusionary and exclusionary welfare policies. Thus, welfare in the form of social services, social security, education and health care is a key component in addressing, maintaining and creating majority-minority divisions. This article introduces the contributions to the special issue and outlines their historiographical and conceptual foundations. Special attention is given to how the authors in the special issue define welfare and minorities, as well as how the articles contribute to the study of these fields. In the introduction, we argue for a need to study the implications of welfare for minorities case by case, while at the same time outlining principal ways that minorities and welfare have been interlinked.

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Introduction

One of the major developments in twentieth-century European history is the gradual emergence of welfare states, with the aim of providing social security, sufficient health care and equal education for its citizens. A wealth of studies has shown the different routes taken by different states – generalized as welfare regimes or welfare models – in fulfilling this commitment, as well as the ways in which states have failed in doing so.[1] Essential to the emergence of any welfare system has been the categorization of people according to gender, class, age, ethnicity, employment and disability in determining who is deserving of what. These categorizations, alongside language, religion and sexuality, have also formed the basis for majority–minority positions in society. Through joint heritage, experiences and/or social classification minorities are defined as groups

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excluded from the majority, with a hierarchical power relation between them.[2] Welfare provisions have been used as mechanisms to address the specific needs and challenges faced by minority groups, ensured their well-being and promoted their integration into society. However, depending on the approach taken by the state and other welfare distributors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and religious associations, these provisions have also reinforced existing power dynamics, perpetuated discrimination or led to the creation of new marginalized minority groups. Thus, welfare can be seen as an essential component in maintaining and creating majority–minority positions.

In this special issue we study developments in welfare as they pertain to ethnic and social minorities across Europe from the early 1900s and well into the post-Second World War period. Through six case studies from Southern, Northern, Central and Eastern Europe the authors demonstrate how the emergence and distribution of welfare often relied on majority–minority divisions of citizens, as well as between citizens and non-citizens. In addition, welfare systems in our period also created new minorities based on social status or disability, who, as the century progressed, adopted group identities and political strategies similar to those of ethnic minorities.[3] The special issue is the result of the transversal project 'Social welfare and minority rights in Europe, 1850s-present' led by Karolina Lendák-Kabók and Hanna Lindberg, within the COST Action network 'Who Cares in Europe?' (CA18119, 2019–23). The COST Action explored the relationships among voluntary associations, families and states in the creation of social welfare in Europe, as well as how state welfare emerged from the social welfare provided by non-profit, non-state institutions and individuals.[4] The transversal project brought together historians and social scientists working on different facets of welfare state development and minorities in Europe, and this special issue displays the main contributions to the project.

The authors of the special issue show the multi-faceted ways in which welfare has been provided for minority groups in different European countries during the twentieth century. The articles focus on different types of minorities as well as on different forms and providers of welfare. Furthermore, they show that minorities have also been agents of welfare, securing and negotiating welfare solutions for their own group. In this introductory article we outline our historiographical and conceptual foundation for the special issue and discuss how the theme of minorities and welfare have been studied in previous research. In the following two sections we elaborate on what we mean by the concepts of welfare and minority, as they are both ambiguous concepts, understood differently depending on historical and analytical context. In the fourth section of the article, we present the main branches of previous research on welfare and minorities and how this special issue expands on the knowledge of this field. We conclude with reflections on how the field can be developed in the future.

Welfare and citizenship

We start from a relatively straightforward premise, that is, that welfare provision in our period was rarely a politically or economically neutral instrument of state policy. It was, rather, a partial reflection, either in its legislative design or in its delivery, of the socio-political values of the state in question. Through welfare, states and governments in our period often articulated the political ideals upon which they want to be

organized and upon which they wish to rule. Welfare systems can thus aspire to transform the elements of society towards a 'progressive' future, breaking down existing norms that are seen to have become defunct. That argument has been made by historians such as Tara Zahra, who has shown how childcare and education in the Bohemian borderlands were used by states to shape the national identity of future generations. Or, more recently, Maria Cristina Galmarini has studied care for the disabled and particularly the blind in the GDR and the USSR, arguing that a progressive and distinct welfare model existed under state socialism, one that supported the regimes' goals of political, social and economic transformation.[5] Alternatively, welfare systems can seek to restore traditional norms that are perceived to have been damaged or destroyed in crisis. A state can make welfare for its citizens a political and economic priority, investing effort and money in the delivery of welfare, and making social care a visible presence in the everyday life of the population. Alternatively, states can choose to withdraw from or only engage minimally with welfare delivery, leaving the field to private or charitable initiatives, or simply allowing market forces a free or freer reign.[6]

Welfare as envisaged by the state through legislation is of course not a fixed value. It can change according to value or political changes of the times in question, or changes in the political economy and capacity of the state in question. And welfare as set out in legislation from the top down is rarely identical to that delivered and received in practice, since even in the most centralized and authoritarian states, execution of policy at the local level frequently deviates from intention at the source. This is a point made by Tomasz Inglot in his study of welfare in Central European cases in the twentieth century. With an emphasis on welfare under state socialism, Inglot has shown how socio-economic and political crisis can account for significant deviations in otherwise identical/similar welfare under state socialism.[7] Nevertheless, as an articulation of a set of rights and values, welfare is an important element of the state's relationship to its population. In this sense, then, it can be considered alongside other such constitutive factors (depending on the state in question): voting or other political rights; rights under the law; and freedoms of association and speech.

Welfare policy can project aspirations and ideas not just about the larger socio-political shape of the population, but also project ideas about its individual components. Welfare can create an image of the ideal workforce and workplace. It can establish norms about social policy, healthcare and education, as well as about the dimensions and scale of disability and the relationship of the disabled to the able-bodied population.[8] Welfare provision also projects an image of the family, either as a socio-economic unit that needs to be stabilized or supported through social care, or as an alternative or ancillary provider of welfare itself. Through provision and receipt of welfare, the state can generate – willingly or not – categories of deserving and undeserving and of inclusion and exclusion, categories germane to the central concerns of our special issue. It can model preferential work environments and practices, family life and reproductive rights; it can broaden and narrow gender and generational gaps.[9] Increased migration during the twentieth century has meant that welfare states to a larger extent cater to people who are not citizens in the country of residence and through so-called 'welfare chauvinism' it can impose *de facto* boundaries of citizenship rights on the population in question.[10] Thus, by providing welfare

to its citizens, the state establishes a civic bond with its population, an understanding that certain rights and benefits will be extended to people depending on their position and status in society.

We acknowledge, of course, and our articles show, that the state itself is rarely the sole provider of welfare, and that alternative sources of welfare support can create additional projections of welfare that can complement or challenge that of the state. Welfare can thus be provided by charitable organizations, churches, philanthropic individuals and many more alternative sources. In many cases, these institutions foregrounded the establishment of state-led and state-financed welfare, and also continued to be of vital importance after the expansion of welfare states.[11] In this we adhere to the insight provided by Fabio Giomi, Célia Keren and Morgane Labbé in their volume *Public and Private Welfare in Modern Europe: Productive Entanglements* (2022) that the separation between mixed and unmixed models of welfare is perhaps less important than the variations of mixing between 'private' and state support for welfare provision. Most welfare regimes feature a mixed component: the question is what the ratios of that mixture are, and what the exact relationship between the state and non-state sectors is.[12] Furthermore, entanglements of welfare concern not only the mixing of private and public solutions within a state, but also the transfers of ideas, policies and people between different welfare states. Studying the historicity of Nordic welfare states, scholars such as Pauli Kettunen and Klaus Petersen have criticized the methodological nationalism often inherent in welfare state research, underlining instead the transnational character of welfare state development.[13]

Welfare provision is also not simply a matter of an active state imposing its values and largesse upon a passive population. Welfare provision and receipt is rarely a one-way street. Putative recipients of welfare are also often active agents in the extent and kind of welfare they receive. Either individually or collectively, through lobbying, support, protest or other kinds of political mobilization, citizens of a state can confront and negotiate with the state over their welfare provision.[14] They can communicate their wishes or requirements for welfare through a language of entitlements and rights. Depending on their existing political status, they can challenge welfare providers to alter and improve existing social care or to renounce proposed cutbacks. Moreover, the very establishment of welfare regimes and orders rarely, if ever, occurs in a vacuum: they are often rather the product of perceived or actual popular demand on the part of the people they intend to cater for.[15]

Welfare is channelled through different policies and arrangements, and is an ambiguous mechanism understood differently in different settings. Studies into welfare state history have often focused solely on developments within social policy, social security and social services, while omitting other areas that have generated welfare and equality. In their study on education in the making of Nordic welfare states, Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola and Heli Valtonen propose a broad understanding of welfare which includes education alongside health policies and housing conditions. Mass education specifically is a crucial element of equal citizenship and social justice.[16] We adhere to this broader understanding of welfare and especially see education as an integral part of welfare state development. As a tool for both integration and separation, especially in relation to minorities (see our fourth section and Adamopoulou's article "Divided attention?: the Greek state and the education of the Gastarbeiter children in the Federal Republic of

Germany (1960s–70s)" in this volume), education has been a central mechanism through which individuals' and groups' position in society are determined.

Each of our articles (which are presented more thoroughly in a later section) explores the relationship between the state, non-governmental organizations and/or the church and citizens belonging to minority groups, as well as how this relationship is in part or as a whole constituted through welfare provision and receipt. The articles look at intentions of welfare providers vis-à-vis welfare provision and policy, social care, education and the consequences in practice of those intentions for the population, and especially for social minorities. We show that welfare provision reinforces or even creates a civic relationship between the state and the individual. However, welfare not only creates a 'vertical' two-way relationship between the state and its population. It also generates horizontal differentiation within the population based on welfare provision and receipt. If we accept that welfare is an essential bond between the state and its institutions on the one hand and the population on the other, we can also accept that welfare generates hierarchies of entitlement and rights, as well as outright parameters of inclusion and exclusion. For groups minoritized because of their ethnicity or social position, the hierarchy of entitlement and dynamics of inclusion and exclusion becomes even more emphasized.

Meanings, understandings and borders of ethnic and social minorities

The articles included in this special issue focus on measures of welfare directed towards Romani groups, migrants, disabled people and ethno-linguistic minorities. These groups have different compositions and do not all fit with the definition of 'minority' in, for example, the United Nations Declaration on Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. In 1945, the American sociologist Louis Wirth famously characterized a minority group as 'any group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination'.[17] Wirth was later criticized for the inherent vagueness of the definition, and the same can be said for the current usage of the concept, shifting from simply being a descriptive designator for social, ethnic, linguistic or religious groups who are outnumbered by other groups to a legally defined concept singling out specific minorities and granting them specific rights.[18] Therefore, in this section we will outline different understandings of the concept and how the special issue broadens it.

If looking at 'minority' as an official and political category, the political changes that occurred throughout the twentieth century affected the ways in which it was understood. The concept of minority is firmly tied to the construction of the nation-state; without a nation-state structure there would have been no need for the recognition of minority rights.[19] Furthermore, the recognition of minorities and minority languages on the national level has been dependent on international agreements enacted in the wake of the twentieth century's major political upheavals.

The post-First World War political climate saw the rise of the politicization of the minority concept, and applied to groups who did not fit into the nation-state structure of the new political order created at the end of the war. One important milestone in the development of minority rights was the establishment of the League of Nations in 1920,

which promoted the protection of minority rights, particularly in relation to language, religion and culture.[20] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948 would reassess the understanding of minority rights. Article 2 of the UDHR proclaimed that everyone is entitled to rights and freedoms without distinction of any kind, including race, religion or language. This broader understanding of equality and non-discrimination laid the foundation for recognizing minority rights beyond traditional demographic categories.[21]

The subsequent decades witnessed the development of legal frameworks and international instruments specifically focused on minority rights. International covenants adopted in the 1960s elaborated on the rights of individuals belonging to minority groups. Notably, the understanding of minority rights expanded to include protection against discrimination, promotion of cultural diversity and participation in decision-making processes. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities, adopted in 1992, emphasized the collective dimension of minority rights and the importance of preserving and developing minorities' cultural, religious and linguistic identity.[22]

There are, however, limitations to studying the concept of minority as solely a politically designated concept, as 'minority' goes beyond the political categorization of individuals and groups. As Will Kymlicka states, ethno-cultural groups in Western societies such as national minorities and immigrants have been positioned, and position themselves, in very different ways in relation to the nation-state (and their kin-states), and only a fraction can claim minority rights.[23] Social groups centred around disability or sexuality do not have protection under minority legislation, but some members of these groups have embraced (while others have criticized) the concept of minority and are often termed as minorities in both popular and political discourse.[24] Other groups may fit the UN criteria of national minority but the political climate or the historical context of the nation prevents an official recognition of the groups as such. The Finland-Swedes, studied in Hanna Lindberg and Mats Wickström's article "Intra-minority welfare in the post-war period: new expertise on private and public solutions to Finland-Swedish population and welfare problems", number only 5% of the Finnish population, but as Swedish is an official language in Finland, their rights are not governed by minority rights. However, since the second half of the twentieth century the Finland-Swedes have identified themselves as a minority in political and public discourse.[25]

Furthermore, the concept of minority is not only a term which is used by the state or in the self-identification of social groups. The concept is also an analytical tool, the development of which engaged sociologists in the decades following Wirth's definition.[26] As an analytical tool we understand minority in this special issue to designate segments of society who are grouped together by the state, feel a sense of communality, and/or share common features based on, for example, ethnicity, language, disability or place of origin. Another common feature is the need for special protection or specific measures to safeguard their rights, to ensure the reproduction of the group or to keep the cultural features of the group intact. This need can either be formulated by an outside entity such as the state, non-governmental organizations or religious associations, or by the group itself. However, the opposite can also occur regarding minorities: that is, that the state can put in measures to *prevent* reproduction or *hinder* the public display of cultural features of a social group.

Furthermore, as, for example, Leo Lucassen has argued, a sense of communality or group adherence can be a consequence of rather than a prerequisite for the state's categorization and/or stigmatization of certain groups. That is, people who would not otherwise necessarily have associated with one another develop a bond through common experiences of categorization. In his study, Lucassen focuses on people defined as 'gypsies', but the same process can take place for other so-called social minorities.[27] In this process the development of social policy and the welfare state has been crucial. The creation and distribution of welfare has relied on the categorization of citizens to be able to determine who deserves what, and who are left without. As, for example, Oksana Vynnyk shows in her article "We swear to fight for the inviolability of the borders of our motherland': disabled veterans and social welfare in interwar Lviv", the status of the disabled veteran in interwar Lviv merged people of different ethnicities and who had fought for different armies under a common social category and whose background formed complex relationships of unity and divide.

All definitions of minority groups and minority–majority relations deal with power relations, and as in Wirth's definition inequality and discrimination is often a decisive factor for what constitutes a minority, even more so than actual numerical size. Researchers have to an increasing degree chosen to use the concept *minoritized* instead of minority to emphasize the power dynamics of majority–minority relations.[28] In most cases the majority not only holds the political power but also the power of definition over the minority. Therefore, the concept of minority is closely entangled with concepts such as marginalization, stigmatization and subordination.[29] However, while marginalization and stigmatization has been true for many minorities, it is not always the case, and instead of presupposing marginalization and stigmatization of minority groups, we argue that these issues should be studied case by case. In this special issue, for example, Lindberg and Wickström's article demonstrates how some ethnic and linguistic minorities do not fit into a mould of marginalization and that the loss of power does not necessarily equate to full marginalization in society. Furthermore, when studying the twentieth century, especially the latter part of the century, we can also see the emancipatory usages of the concept of minority, that is, how the self-identification as a minority can be a way of asserting political agency and distancing oneself from other categorizations. In the case of disabled people, for example, the concept of minority has been applied as a way to disassociate from victimization and instead underline the structural discrimination facing people with disabilities.[30]

Even in the context of the power relations, it is also important to note that minorities are not homogenous, and that power relations also affect the inner dynamics of minorities, with some members holding greater political and cultural influence than others. Neither are minorities closed off entities. People's lives are constructed through several societal positions and individuals face intersecting forms of discrimination based on factors such as race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and disability. Oksana Vynnyk exposes in her article multi-layered negotiations between ethnicity and social position in the distribution of welfare for war veterans. Kimberlé Crenshaw originally applied intersectionality to women of colour in the United States, and in recent years there has been a growing recognition of intersectionality and multiple identities within minority groups in the European context as well.[31] For example, Davis and Žarkov argue that the specifically European contribution to intersectionality studies was the intersectional

perspective on Muslim women; intersectionality has also informed studies on Roma women, as well as women belonging to national minorities in different European states.[32] In this sense we argue that Vynnyk's article adds another layer to European intersectionality, focusing on disabled veterans, who through their gender and social position represented complex relations of disadvantage and privilege.

We have categorized the groups studied in the special issue as ethnic and social minorities, within which different groups are represented, however, united by demanding or being targeted with welfare distribution. The articles in the special issue deal with migrants (Adamopoulou) or substate minorities (Vynnyk; Lindberg and Wickström), who due to a change of borders and political systems in the past have become minorities in their state of residence. Romani populations, whose mobile way of living created a complex relationship with the state and other providers of welfare, are also included in the special issue (Al Fakir). When studying the introduction of social welfare and its effects on minorities we also include internal migrants (Canepa). Displacements of populations after the Second World War called in many cases for large-scale welfare programmes, and although not foreign on a national level, the treatment of 'internal minorities' exposes the expansion and adaptation of social welfare.

The articles also deal with what we have termed social minorities, that is groups constructed around social differentiations, in the special issue primarily in relation to disability (Vynnyk; Lindberg and Wickström; Newman and Lendák-Kabók). Although the minority status of these groups can be contested from a judicial point of view, as outlined previously, the convergence between different welfare providers and these types of minorities is crucial to the understanding of the introduction of social welfare in the twentieth century. By defining who had the right to disability welfare, the state had an integral role in the creation of minorities based on different forms of disability.

Welfare in the creation, protection and assimilation of minorities

How have ethnic and social minorities been studied in previous research into the history of the welfare state? As we see it, this has been done mainly in four ways. First, studies into the history of ethnic minorities, especially Indigenous and Romani populations, have exposed the assimilation policies of the welfare state, channelled mainly through education and measures of social work and social welfare. Assimilation into the majority culture was for a large part of the twentieth century seen as the only desirable route for these minorities. The role of education in shaping societal norms and values was seen as crucial, including the idea that education could be used as a means to promote assimilation and unity within a society, often at the expense of minority cultures and languages.[33]

Second, studies of the early developments of social policy across Europe have uncovered the ethnic bias of welfare distribution. When distinguishing between deserving and undeserving welfare recipients, different criteria could be used for members of minority groups, and ethnic bias could characterize the daily practices of social policy and social work.[34]

Third, studies on eugenic policies, measures and ideologies that were adopted by different states in the interwar era, have exposed how they targeted both social and ethnic minority groups. People with different disabilities were at the centre of eugenic measures set out to strengthen the genetic make-up of the nation, and, for example, the Nordic

countries introduced marriage and sterilization acts in order to prevent disabled people from passing their genes on to following generations.[35] Furthermore, although most countries did not go as far in their racial discrimination as Nazi Germany, members of ethnic minority groups were in some countries targeted in eugenic legislation or particularly vulnerable to being subjected to measures of racial hygiene.[36]

And, fourth, when looking at studies into contemporary history, the migration flows of the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries have also garnered much attention. In countries with traditionally strong welfare states and relatively homogenous societies, migration and the subsequent development into multiethnic and multicultural societies in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has been studied in multifaceted ways. Focus has been on the ways in which migrants are discriminated in welfare distribution and accused of violating welfare systems. Studies have also focused on shifts in welfare ideology and support as a consequence of migration and the increase of so-called new minorities.[37] In relation to immigration and ethnic minorities there have also been attempts at distinguishing between different welfare regimes, most notably by Diane Sainsbury.[38] According to Arshad Isakjee, ethnicity and migration have, however, proven to be more challenging ways to classify specific regimes, compared to the vast literature on gendered welfare regimes.[39] The heterogenous ethnic composition of different countries, combined with differences in social political arrangements, has discouraged from more elaborate regime theorization.[40]

The articles in this special issue expand on these fields, but also highlight other ways that minority groups have been affected by welfare-state building. Issues of integration are important in several articles, but they show different ways in which welfare was used as a tool for integration depending on the minority in question. In her article "Guarding the boundaries of belonging: the Church of Sweden, Gypsy mission and social care in the 1910s–40s", Ida Al Fakir focuses on the Church of Sweden during the first half of the twentieth century and its social welfare work with minorities, particularly Romani groups. Al Fakir shows the means to and logic behind the welfare work of the church, a quasi-state actor, among Romani groups, as well as how a crucial element of this was the deliberation on how different minorities should be categorized and how these categorizations formed the basis for the church's engagement. Al Fakir's article demonstrates a paternalist attitude on the part of institutional actors towards minority groups deemed in need of better integration through welfare.

Like Al Fakir, Oksana Vynnyk also exposes the borders of and entanglements between social and ethnic minorities. In her article Vynnyk explores the diverse ethnic composition and history of interwar Lviv by focusing on disabled veterans, such as soldiers from the Polish Army and the Ukrainian Galician Army, who had fought on opposing sides but who resided in the same area. Vynnyk highlights how their activism and relationship with the state shaped their identity. The article also examines how the Polish government and local authorities utilized social welfare to reinforce the Polish state on the eastern borderlands, influencing the experience of war disability and the formation of new civic identities in interwar Lviv.

Giacomo Canepa's article "Bastion of Italian-ness": the nationalization of welfare and the changing meaning of rehabilitation in post-war Italy (1945-1959)" deals with Italian 'national refugees' into Italy after the Second World War. Canepa demonstrates how welfare was intended to integrate an incoming group of refugees into

a post-war state whose political and social foundations were vastly different from the Fascist state that it followed. Here, the incoming group was of the same national background as the population itself, and welfare was seen as a tool to reinforce national identity in the renewed state. In Canepa's article, provision of welfare, at least in the eyes of the state, had the capacity to diminish or even remove a sense of minority difference.

The circumstances are quite different in the case of Hanna Lindberg and Mats Wickström's article, where focus is instead on how a minority itself worked towards securing welfare for its own group through both private and public solutions. The article studies how the Finland-Swedish minority worked to secure their future during the post-war period, a time when the minority was quickly decreasing in number and its political influence waning. Compared to many other studies into minority history this article exposes a different side to the state/citizen/minority spectrum: a minority with strong legal rights and the economic resources to produce welfare for its own group. The article furthermore shows the continued use of eugenic practices in relation to ethnic and social minorities, but also how these were increasingly criticized in the post-war era.

The strengthening of national identity is also at the forefront of Maria Adamopoulou's article on the Greek 'Gastarbeiter' community in the Federal Republic of Germany. Adamopoulou uncovers an important aspect of this minority's history and shows how the Greek state reached beyond its borders to shape the welfare environment of its émigré Gastarbeiters, especially within the field of education. That is, instead of focusing on the country of residence, Adamopoulou turns the gaze towards the country of origin, and thereby shows how the welfare of a minority was a transnational concern. Here, anxiety about the erosion of national identity, especially amongst children, created the impetus for a welfare provision designed to preserve precisely that identity.

Finally, John Paul Newman and Karolina Lendák-Kabók show in their article "War, Minorities, and Crisis Points in Yugoslav Welfare" how the shifting political values of Yugoslavia at three crisis points in the country's twentieth-century history also created shifting dimensions of welfare citizenship, putatively conservative in the interwar kingdom, putatively progressive after 1945. Newman and Lendák-Kabók use war veterans as a gateway for re-thinking minority issues and minoritization in Yugoslavia's post-war periods. They show how, in a state where war service often granted an emphatic welfare privilege, wartime experience and record also contributed to welfare inclusion and exclusion. In the case of Yugoslavia and its complex nationalities policies, welfare offers an alternative perspective on hierarchies of citizenship.

Thus, like previous research into welfare and minorities, the articles in this special issue expose how different strands of welfare were used to integrate minority subjects, but also how this integration was dependent on the conformation to national ideals by the minority in question. Furthermore, they show that issues of identity and belonging were at the forefront in negotiations on who was deserving of what, and that these issues were by no means clear cut. Minorities are heterogenous groups, and different modes of classification by outside entities as well as differing attachments within the minority have created dynamic relationships with the state and other welfare providers, as shown by several articles in the special issue. The articles also show that minorities were not only passive recipients of welfare but could also be actively involved in shaping the forms and distribution of welfare. And, finally, the articles, especially those focusing on social

minorities, show that welfare could be a component in creating and shaping minorities, as welfare provisions also produced minority positions.

Future paths

The six articles that constitute this special issue demonstrate the multitude of ways states and other welfare providers have addressed issues of welfare and care for minority groups throughout the twentieth century. The articles span across different countries and regions in Europe with different routes taken in their welfare state development. The articles furthermore focus on different minority groups, such as substate minorities, migrants, internal minorities and social minorities, that is, groups minoritized because of their social position. The articles also recognize the importance of non-governmental organizations and religious associations in providing social welfare for both citizens and denizens,[41] as well as the role of the country of origin for migrant groups. One of the points that we want to underline is the need for the topic of minorities and welfare to be studied case by case. The heterogeneity of ethnic relations, majority–minority dynamics and welfare structures across Europe has proven to make typologizations of welfare and minorities difficult, and the studies included in this special issue highlight the varied routes taken by states, religious associations and NGOs in providing welfare for minorities.

That being said, the existing literature together with the articles in this special issue point to principal ways in which the relationship between welfare and minorities can be understood. First, *existing welfare measures* have been *enacted differently* depending on the majority/minority position of the subject. Second, *new welfare measures* have been *introduced* in response to majority–minority relations, and, third, *welfare* has *produced* new minorities on the basis of social position. We argue that when looking at the twentieth century, the development of public and private solutions to welfare have been key components in creating, reinforcing and addressing minority–majority relations. Welfare measures have both explicitly targeted minority groups, or the practical enactment of welfare has varied depending on the majority–minority position of the recipient. For social minorities such as different disabled groups, welfare in the form of education, health care and social services has been essential for the creation of collective identities and political agency, as communality is based on common experiences and a joint struggle for social rights. Thus, minorities have been affected by welfare state development both in the process of initiating welfare measures and in the outcome of them.

The contributions to the special issue do not of course cover all aspects of entanglements between welfare and minorities, and there are many ways that the theme can be expanded on in the future. As stated in the previous section, welfare has often been studied as a tool for assimilation and/or subjugation, and the picture painted of minorities in these studies is most often based on sources produced by the ruling majority. We have argued for the potential to study minorities to an increasing degree as active agents of welfare, that is, how minorities worked to secure and provide welfare for its own group. When studying the later decades of the twentieth century and the rise of minority activism there are more opportunities to study minority-centred welfare from an inside perspective.

Focusing on minority activists is of course also one type of top-down study, as the activists do not represent all members of the minority group. Therefore, another way of balancing the top-down perspective is to look at the experiences generated by welfare distribution among minority subjects. The field of the history of experience provides a fruitful direction to do so, where studies on the so-called lived welfare state have exposed experiences of the welfare state in people's everyday lives, as well as how the emergence and expansion of welfare institutions have created frameworks for experiencing.[42] The study of experiences of people belonging to minorities would further expand our knowledge of the individual–society relationship produced by the welfare state.

Notes

1. For welfare state typologies and critique of them, see e.g. Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*; Korpi and Palme, "The Paradox of Redistribution"; and Baldwin, "Can We Define a European Welfare State Model?"
2. For minority classifications, see the third section of this article.
3. On disability as a social category, see Kudlick, "Disability History." For suggestions on how to move the social model forwards, see Shakespeare, *Disability Research Today*.
4. Who Care in Europe? Accessed February 24, 2024. https://whocaresineurope.eu.
5. Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*; Galmarini, *Ambassadors of Social Progress*; and Galmarini, *The Right to Be Helped*. See also Shaw, *Deaf in the USSR*.
6. An important comparative study between Great Britain and Germany in the context of welfare delivery after the First World War is Cohen, *The War Come Home*. For studies on Nordic welfare states, see e.g. Christiansen et al., eds., *The Nordic Model of Welfare*; Edling, ed., *The Changing Meanings of the Welfare State*; Hilson, *The Nordic Model*; Kettunen et al., eds., *Nationalism and Democracy in the Welfare State*; Kettunen and Petersen, eds., *Beyond Welfare State Models*; and Kananen et al., eds., *Conceptualizing Public Health*.
7. See Inglot, *Welfare States in East Central Europe 1919–2004*. Chiara Bonfiglioli has shown how local factors became important in the Yugoslav context in her study *Women and Industry in the Balkans*.
8. On disability and the development of welfare, see e.g. Brégain, "The ILO and the Shift towards Economic Liberalization"; Leppälä, "Duty to Entitlement"; and van Trigt, "Farewell to Social Europe?"
9. There is vast research on the interconnection between gender relations, family structures and the development of welfare. See, e.g. Koven and Michel, "Womanly Duties"; Melby et al., eds., *Gender Equality and Welfare Politics in Scandinavia*; Pateman, "The Patriarchal Welfare State"; and Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origin of the Welfare State*.
10. On welfare chauvinism, see, e.g. Keskinen et al., "The Politics and Policies of Welfare Chauvinism"; and Careja and Harris, "Thirty Years of Welfare Chauvinism Research."
11. For studies on the history of the mixed economy of welfare, see e.g. Giomi et al., eds., *Public and Private Welfare in Modern Europe*; Harris and Bridgen, eds., *Charity and Mutual Aid*; Katz and Sachß, eds., *The Mixed Economy of Social Welfare*; and Stewart, "The Mixed Economy of Welfare in Historical Context."
12. Giomi et al., "Productive Entanglements"; Even under state socialism, where the ruling party claimed a state monopoly on the delivery of welfare, at least semi-private and local initiatives existed in some cases. See e.g. Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry in the Balkans*.
13. Kettunen and Petersen, "Introduction." See also Conrad, "Social Policy History after the Transnational Turn."
14. It is a point set out by Mark Crotty, Neil J. Diamant and Mark Edele in *The Politics of Veteran Benefits in the Twentieth Century*.

15. For contributions on the individual–society relationship within welfare state building, see Haapala et al., eds., *Experiencing Society*.
16. Buchardt et al., "Introduction," 20–2.
17. Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups," 347.
18. For criticism against Wirth's definition, see e.g. van Amersfoort, "'Minority' as a Sociological Concept," 183–4.
19. Barth, *On Cultural Rights*, 37–8.
20. Wippman, "The Evolution and Implementation of Minority Rights," 599–602.
21. Barth, *On Cultural Rights*, 69–84.
22. Ibid., 89–98.
23. Kymlicka distinguishes between five ethno-cultural groups in Western societies: national minorities (divided into substate nations and indigenous peoples); immigrants; isolationist religious groups (including Amish and Hasidic Jews); metics (illegal immigrants and guest-workers); and racial caste groups (such as African Americans). Kymlicka, "Western Political Theory," 23–47.
24. For the concept of minority in relation to disability and sexuality, and how the concept has been criticized, see e.g. Kudlick, "Disability History"; Grue, *Discourse Analysis and Disability*, 36–7; Petchesky, "The Language of 'Sexual Minorities'"; and Davis, "Deafness and the Riddle of Identity."
25. Allardt and Miemois, "A Minority in Both Centre and Periphery."
26. E.g. Wagley and Harris, *Minorities in the New World*; Schermerhorn, "Toward a General Theory of Minority Groups"; van Amersfoort, "'Minority' as a Sociological Concept"; and Smith, "Some Problems with Minority Concepts."
27. Lucassen, "The Power of Definition," 89–90.
28. Wingrove-Haugland and McLeod, "Not 'Minority' but 'Minoritized'."
29. On marginalized groups and the development of welfare, see Baár and van Trigt, *Marginalized Groups*.
30. See, e.g. Longmore, "A Note on Language," 422–3. On the recognition of minority languages as emancipatory processes, see e.g. Lane, "The Birth of the Kven Language."
31. Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins."
32. Davis and Žarkov, "EJWS Retrospective on Intersectionality"; Kóczé and Popa, "Missing Intersectionality"; Vincze, "The Racialization of Roma"; Aavik, "Strategies of Managing"; Lendák-Kabók, "Ethnic Minority Women"; and Lendák-Kabók, *National Minorities in Serbian Academia*.
33. Danka and Rostas, "Setting the Roma Policy Agenda," 69; Elenius, "The Role of Ethnic Minorities"; Kortekangas et al., eds., *Sámi Educational History*. For education and social welfare as ways to strengthen minority cultures, see e.g. Mezger, *Forging Germans*, 29–68; and Roman, "From Christian Mission to Transnational Connections."
34. Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization*, 89; Montesino and Ohlson Al Fakir, "Public Health Categories in the Making of Citizenship"; and Szikra, "Social Policy and Anti-Semitic Exclusion."
35. See e.g. Broberg and Roll-Hansen, eds., *Eugenics and the Welfare State*; Felder and Weindling, eds., *Baltic Eugenics*; Tanner, "Eugenics before 1945"; and Weindling, "Conceptualising Eugenics and Racial Hygiene."
36. Mattila, "Sterilization Policy and Gypsies in Finland"; Sokolová, "Planned Parenthood Behind the Curtain"; and Turda, "In Pursuit of Greater Hungary," 588–9.
37. See e.g. Brochmann et al., *Immigration Policy*; Brochmann and Hagelund, "Migrants in the Scandinavian Welfare State"; Fertikh, "From Territorialized Rights"; Kettunen et al., eds., *Race, Ethnicity and Welfare States*; Tervonen, "Borders of Welfare"; Vad Jønsson et al., eds., *Migrations and Welfare States*; and Wickström, "Conceptual Change in Postwar Sweden."
38. Morissens and Sainsbury, "Migrants' Social Rights, Ethnicity and Welfare Regimes"; Sainsbury, "Immigrants' Social Rights in Comparative Perspective"; and Sainsbury,

Welfare States and Immigrant Rights. See also Van Der Waal et al., "Three Worlds of Welfare Chauvinism?"

39. For welfare regimes and gender, see e.g. Lewis, "Gender and Welfare Regimes"; Pascall and Lewis, "Emerging Gender Regimes."; and Korpi, "Faces of Inequality."
40. Isakjee, "Welfare State Regimes," 10.
41. 'Denizen' refers to a foreign resident permitted certain rights in their adopted country.
42. Annola et al., eds., *Lived Institutions*; and Haapala et al., eds., *Experiencing Society and the Lived Welfare State*.

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