

**Constructing Solidarity at Post-National Level:
The Case of European Social Policy**

by

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any award or any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. It is affirmed by the candidate that, to the best of her knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

The main question that this research will highlight is whether an effective social policy model can be created at European Union (EU) level so that European level solidarity, a sense of mutual obligation, can be established. Through analyzing the dynamics that lie behind the solidarity feelings of people and their expectations from social policy, the study will try firstly, to understand the dynamics needed for the creation of European level solidarity and secondly, to highlight people's expectations from the European social policy which in turn will be used in defining the principles that should be followed in the construction of European social policy. Instead of analyzing EU as a structure on its own, the study will try to situate it in the broader frame of globalization and will try to analyze the development of European level policy making both as a reflection of and as a reaction to globalization. Therefore, this study will also provide an inquiry into how people are affected by the changes that come along with globalization and the insecurities they feel through an analysis of EUROBAROMETER (EB) surveys. Relying on this analysis, the study will also examine the policies that need to be developed to ease this sense of insecurity and to protect people from the challenges created by globalization. Lastly, the thesis will evaluate the extent to which people are willing to be bound with new levels of solidarity.

Keywords: Solidarity, post-national polity, the European Union, social policy.

ÖZET

Bu araştırmanın ışık tutmaya çalıştığı temel soru Avrupa Birliği düzeyinde geliştirilecek sosyal politikalar yoluyla Avrupa Birliği seviyesinde bir dayanışma duygusunun oluşturulup oluşturulamayacağıdır. Araştırma, birlik duygusunun altında yatan dinamikleri ve vatandaşların sosyal politikadan olan beklentilerini inceleyerek, Avrupa Birliği düzleminde oluşturulacak sosyal politikanın üzerine kurulması gereken temel prensipleri ortaya koymaya çalışacaktır. Bu çalışma Avrupa Birliği'ni başlı başına bir yapı olarak incelemek yerine Avrupa Birliği'nin geliştirdiği politikaları hem küreselleşmenin bir parçası hem de karşı bir reaksiyon olarak değerlendirecek. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma EUROBAROMETER araştırmalarına dayanarak aynı zamanda insanların küreselleşmeyle gelen değişimlerden nasıl etkilendiğini araştırarak. Bu analizden yola çıkarak Avrupa Birliği düzleminde geliştirilmesi gereken politikalar ve bunların hangi koşullar altında ve ne oranda ulus-ötesi bir düzlemde dayanışma duygusunu sağlayacağı irdelenecek.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Dayanışma, ulus-ötesi siyasa, Avrupa Birliği, sosyal politika

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ABBREVIATIONS

CEEP	European Centre of Enterprises with Public Participation and of Enterprises of General Economic Interest
EAGGF	European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund
EB	EUROBAROMETER
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
ESM	European Social Model
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EU	European Union
FIFG	Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance
NGO	Non-governmental Organizations
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
SEA	Single European Act
UNICE	European Employers' Confederation

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The main question that this research will highlight is whether an effective social policy model can be created at European Union (EU) level so that European level solidarity, a sense of mutual obligation, can be established. Through analyzing the dynamics that lie behind the solidarity feelings of people and their expectations from social policy, the study will try firstly, to understand the dynamics needed for the creation of European level solidarity and secondly, to highlight people's expectations from the European social policy which in turn will be used in defining the principles that should be followed in the construction of European social policy. Instead of analyzing EU as a structure on its own, the study will try to situate it in the broader frame of globalization and will try to analyze the development of European level policy making both as a reflection of and as a reaction to globalization. Therefore, this study will also provide an inquiry into how people are affected by the changes that come along with globalization and the insecurities they feel through an analysis of EUROBAROMETER (EB) surveys. Relying on this analysis, the study will also

examine the policies that need to be developed to ease this sense of insecurity and to protect people from the challenges created by globalization. Lastly, the thesis will evaluate the extent to which people are willing to be bound with new levels of solidarity.

Globalization is a term with the underlying idea of “progressive integration of economies and societies” (The European Commission 2004a). However, it has many faces and multiple reflections on people’s, societies’ and states’ lives. On the one hand, intensified trade relations and advanced telecommunication opportunities have opened doors for unprecedented interaction among societies and have stimulated high levels of development. On the other hand, since everybody does not equally benefit from globalization; it has also created new challenges to people’s security and well-being. New forms of interaction have led to new social and political structures that transcend the borders of nation-states, such as the EU. These new structures accompanied with new threats necessitated the creation of new policies and instruments. In this sense, social policy has begun to be highlighted as an effective tool firstly, to equip nation-states to deal with pressures of globalization and secondly, to equip new social structures with necessary solidary ties so that they will survive in the global structure.

When we look at the creation of social policy, as Habermas suggests (1998) we would see that the difference between the legal equality that people have and the actual inequality that they experience gave rise to the social welfare state. In other words, social policy is developed as a mechanism to ensure solidarity by compensating for the lack of equality. However, as the nation-state suffers from the pressures of globalization, the social policy mechanisms become less and less

effective in creating an acceptable level of social justice and keeping solidarity alive. This loss of solidarity can lead to political fragmentation within the nation-state structure which is already under the pressure of globalization. Therefore, not only the nation-state but also the social policy that has developed under the nation-state structure face the pressures of globalization.

As the national basis of the solidarity is shaken and replaced by multicultural society as a response to globalization, what constitutes solidarity is also changing. As Habermas (2001a: 75) argues, globalization creates constant intercultural contacts and multiethnic connections which in turn result in ongoing construction of new modes of belonging. Since the people for whom one needs to feel responsible is transcending national boundaries, solidarity that ties the group also needs to transcend the characteristics of nations. However, in order for solidarity to be successfully established at post-national level, the very concept of solidarity has to be rethought so that it would be more open to diversity and emerge not as a substitute for national-solidarity but instead as a complement to it.

The EU, which started out as a model of economic integration, has now attained a significant level of political integration with associated institutions and policies. However, the sustainability of this economic and political integration depends on the achievement of social integration, which now has become one of the most important concerns of the EU. Creating a European level solidarity is not only necessary for the maintenance of the already existing level of integration, it is also necessary to further the integration as it is envisaged by the EU. Moreover, given the nature of the EU as an unfinished integration process, it is apparent that the EU will be integrating more members in an increasing number of policy areas. With this structure in mind, the

need for social integration is widely acknowledged at the EU level and finds its reflection on the policy making processes especially on the development of European social policy in an increasing number of issue areas with a growing importance attached to it. However, despite the policies developed at the EU level and the great hopes attached to it, the level of achievement falls short from what is expected and what is needed.

1.2 Purposes

As it was stated above, this thesis investigates the possibility of constructing solidarity at post-national level and the role of social policy in this process, if such solidarity is possible. How and the extent to which European social policy contributes to the establishment of European level solidarity constitutes the case study of this analysis. In dealing with these questions, this thesis analyzes and critically engages in three different but interrelated debates: on the possibility of solidarity beyond the nation-state; on the construction of post-national polity and on European social policy. In elaborating on these questions, this thesis engages in a critical reading of Habermas on the possibility of post-national solidarity; analyzes its reflections on the post-national polity making at the EU level and conducts empirical analysis of the role and the level of accomplishment of the European social policy.

In discussing the possibility of post-national solidarity, this thesis criticizes the arguments that accept the creation and continuation of solidarity as an indispensable part of nation-state. It follows the Habermas' idea (2001a) that solidarity is a "learning-process" which can be re-created at the post-national level. Starting from this point of view, this thesis questions the ways in which such a "learning process"

can be realized and puts special emphasis on the need for the creation of a European-wide public sphere as Habermas suggests. In this analysis, the role of social policy as an important instrument is discussed and critically elaborated on by focusing on the European social policy as a case study.

In evaluating the EU as a case, this thesis puts important emphasis on the important characteristics that distinguish the EU from a nation-state. While the EU can now be considered – with some reservations – as a social, political and economic entity, it is nonetheless, a project-in-making that witnesses continuous progress and higher levels of integration as the time passes. Therefore, while this thesis elaborates on the creation of solidarity at EU level and the role of the European social policy in this process, it also refrains from suggesting a single definition of solidarity and a single mode of social policy that is valid for the EU. Instead, as an important part of its contribution to the discussion, the emphasis of this analysis is on the dynamic nature of the solidarity as well as the social policy that can and should be created at the EU level.

With this purpose, while this study acknowledges the diversity of the issue areas that European social policy encompasses, it chooses to concentrate on three main issue areas: poverty/unemployment, enlargement and immigration. These three areas are chosen because they are crucial in understanding the EU for two reasons. First of all, while these three areas are not the only issue areas that the EU tackles with, they nonetheless, reflect the changing nature of the EU and the different challenges it faces: internal challenges, i.e. poverty/unemployment, challenges as a reflection of dynamic nature of the EU, i.e. enlargement, and challenges that arise from globalization, i.e. immigration. Secondly, while these issue areas are evaluated

separately in this analysis, their interrelated nature is underscored as an important indicator of the nature of the EU.

Given the complicated nature of the subject, this thesis tries to integrate different aspects in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the issue. For that reason, one of the main highlights of this thesis is the idea that the EU level solidarity has a complicated nature. The EU now may be considered as a political entity on its own, it is nonetheless composed of several nation-states and each nation-state has distinct identities, cultures and, political and economic structures. Being aware of the importance of this fact, this thesis highlights three points in its evaluation of European level solidarity. First of all, the study argues that European level solidarity, if it can be established, will not replace the national solidarities but instead will create an additional level of solidarity which will constitute a sense of belonging among citizens of member-states. Secondly, as what binds people at the national level evolves over time, the solidarity that is created at the EU level should be able to adapt to such developments. Thirdly, since the EU has not yet reached its final geographical borders, the solidarity that will be created at EU level should be able to absorb new member states' identities, social, political and economic structures.

Through engaging in these interrelated debates, this study aims to contribute to different literatures in multiple ways. The existing literature discusses the possibility of constructing post-national solidarity generally in the abstract (Calhoun 2004; Ferris & Page 1994; Lavalette & Pratt, 1997; Lupel, 2005; Mullard & Spicker, 1998; de Swaan 1994; Murphy, 2005; Shabani 2002; Zürn, 1999). This thesis through its analysis of European social policy aims to contribute to this literature with its effort to combine theoretical framework with empirical study. By combining critical

theoretical analysis with the empirical analysis of European social policy , this thesis aims to contribute to both the post-national solidarity literature, and the European social policy literature. Being aware of its complexities, this analysis emphasizes the evolving nature of the social policy across issue areas and over time. As stated above, while only the employment related issues were under consideration of European social policy during 1970s and 1980s, today, European social policy includes issues ranging from social exclusion to regional disparities. The literature on the European social policy is generally composed of detailed studies on specific issue areas such as pension systems or education related problems. While these studies bear great importance, in order to develop a more comprehensive analysis of European social policy, it is important to have a wider perspective on the issue. Therefore, through incorporating a theoretical discussion into the analysis of specific issue areas, this study aims to contribute to the European social policy literature.

1.3 Methodology and Structure

Introduction: In this chapter, the subject of the thesis was introduced. The background and the justification of the study were presented. The contributions of this study to the literature were identified and the organization as well as the methodology of the thesis was presented.

Theoretical Background: In the second chapter, the theoretical framework used in this study will be introduced. Special attention will be given to the literature on post-national solidarity especially to the different conceptualizations of post-national solidarity. Therefore, the second chapter will question whether solidarity can be

established at the post-national level and it will also inspect the role that social policy can play within a post-national structure. The main reference point in this discussion will be Habermas' "The Post-National Constellation" (2001a). However, in order to develop a comprehensive analysis of the subject, related works in the literature will also be elaborated. Related concepts such as "democracy", "nation-state" and "globalization" will be identified and their relations to the concept of "post-national solidarity" will be discussed.

Situating European Social Policy in a Historical Context: The third chapter will provides a historical account of the evolution of European social policy. This historical account will not only include the way that the European social policy has developed overtime but will also highlight the main issue areas as well as social policy instruments developed by the EU. The way the European social policy contributes to the construction of a post-national solidarity will be discussed. In this historical account, the EU treaties, laws and regulations will be consulted as primary sources.

In addition, the EU's self-evaluation of its effectiveness will be presented through an analysis of the EU documents i.e. white papers, communications and reports. The perceived level of the effectiveness of social policy instruments will be elaborated through EB surveys. People's awareness of the EU activities in social policy and the perceived level of effectiveness will be analyzed based on the Special EB 202 titled "Communication of European Union Employment and Social Policies" (2004). Moreover, in order to identify the people's expectations from the European social policy and the extent to which solidarity is being established at the EU level,

several EB surveys (2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a and 2006b) will be utilized. This, on the one hand, will provide a comprehensive analysis of the issue and on the other, will illustrate how people's perceptions evolve over time. However, it is important to note that, while EB surveys present an important source to evaluate public opinion within the Union, they also constrain this analysis. That is why, the analysis of public perception in the EU will be limited to the questions that are raised in the surveys.

European Social Policy in Action: Tackling with Poverty/Unemployment, Enlargement and Immigration: In the fourth chapter the three main challenges to the European level solidarity which constitute the main focus of this analysis (i.e. poverty/unemployment, migration and enlargement) will be presented. The significance of these issue areas, their relation to each other as well as their importance to the European social policy will be elaborated.

In this chapter, the concepts of poverty/unemployment, enlargement and immigration and their effects on the EU will be identified. The ways in which these issue areas affect European level solidarity will be discussed. The measures taken by the EU through social policy instruments will be highlighted by giving reference to primary sources (i.e. laws and regulations). Then, how the EU evaluates its level of success in dealing with the problems will be analyzed through EU documents (i.e. reports, communications). In addition, in order to identify to what extent (i) the EU is seen responsible for dealing with these issue areas, (ii) the European social policy is perceived successful by the citizens, EB surveys (2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a and 2006) will be analyzed. Special attention will be

given to questions that explore “main concerns of citizens”, “citizens expectations”, “EU’s priorities” and “EU’s positive effect”. Policy proposals will be developed based on the main problems and challenges highlighted throughout the analysis.

Concluding Remarks: In this final chapter, the theoretical and analytical framework, the content of the study and the findings of the research will be summarized. The main points and arguments discussed in previous chapters will be emphasized. The strength and weaknesses of this study will be pointed out and prospects for future studies will be developed.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

In the search for understanding possibility of creating post-national solidarity through post-national social policy, this thesis will advance two main arguments. One is that solidarity is not natural but constructed, and second is that there is a reciprocal relationship between solidarity and society/community. That is to say, society does not necessarily precede solidarity; instead they need to mutually reinforce each other. Therefore, while community develops ties of solidarity among people, solidarity also creates society. Therefore, as opposed to the argument which suggests that national solidarity is natural and thus, nation-state is the only level that solidarity can emerge, it will be argued that, solidarity can be created at post-national level through implementation of social policy instruments.

However, when we look at the issue in the European context, this neither means establishment of a state-like entity at European level nor replication of nation level solidarity at the EU level. Instead, both the envisaged post-national polity and post-national solidarity need to go above and beyond both the structure of a nation-state and the meaning of solidarity at national level. Moreover, the solidarity that is argued

to be created at European level is aimed at neither duplicating nor replacing nation-level solidarity. Based on the current literature, this thesis will advance several propositions regarding how feelings of mutual responsibility can be created at European level. Firstly, needs to incorporate a new level of solidarity instead of replacing already existing levels of solidarity. Secondly, post-national solidarity needs to be open to change so that it could reflect and respond the evolution that the EU experiences as an ongoing integration project. Thirdly, since post-national polity that is envisaged is neither an extension nor a replication of a nation-state structure, neither the solidarity that will be created at this level nor the social policy instruments utilized towards this end should be aimed at eliminating national structures. Instead, post-national solidarity should go beyond the national understanding of solidarity and differences should be accepted as a source not as a threat or as an obstacle. Therefore, post-national solidarity created at European level should follow the “unity in diversity” principle of the Union and should be responsive to the evolving nature of the EU.

2.2 The Discussion on the Conceptualization of Solidarity

In order to discuss the possibility of creating sense of mutual obligation at levels that transcend national boundaries, it is necessary firstly to elaborate on solidarity at national level. The analysis of the ways in which solidarity is constructed and perceived at national level will provide insights in understanding what kind of solidarity can and should be established at post-national level in general and at European level in particular. However, in order to elaborate on the relationship between solidarity and nation-state, different conceptualizations of solidarity need to

be identified. Therefore, this subsection aims to highlight different conceptions of solidarity in the literature with the purpose of illustrating three main points: the relationship between solidarity and community is reciprocal therefore it is possible to create solidarity at post-national level because community is not a precondition for solidarity; in order for attempts to create post-national solidarity to be successful, differences among members should be seen as valuable sources, not as threats; therefore, post-national solidarity needs to be inclusive and; there is a normative dimension to solidarity which brings social policy into the picture.

As it was stated above, the way the concept of solidarity is defined is crucial in questioning whether solidarity can be reestablished at a level that transcends national boundaries. While the concepts of solidarity and community/society are inherently linked, the interaction between the two deserves further explanation. It would be argued in this analysis that the interaction between the concepts of solidarity and community/society is reciprocal. On the one hand, as it is argued by Preuss (1998: 281) “community creates duties of solidarity, i.e., particular duties among the members of the community”. Therefore, as Preuss argues on the one side of the interaction, community has a significant role to play in creating and enforcing solidarity among its members.

On the other hand, while community has an important role to play in the construction of solidarity, it is also important to pay attention to the other side of the relationship which is the role of mutual obligations in establishing communities. This analysis is crucial because it is this understanding that makes the discussion on post-national solidarity possible. Therefore, as opposed to nationalist views that argues such obligations can exist only at nation-state level (which will be elaborated in the

following section), following Preuss' argument I will argue that while community has a role in the creation of solidarity, solidarity has also a role in creation and maintenance of community. Preuss (1998:281) in his analysis inversely states the causality between community and solidarity by suggesting that "solidarity, i.e., a specific set of moral duties which individuals owe each other, is not the result, but rather the source of their community". Therefore, while community serves as a basis for the creation of solidarity, solidarity is also crucial in the creation of community and that is why it is argued in this study that solidarity has the potential to create community that transcends the borders of already established structures.

Although solidarity has the aim of binding people together with feelings of mutual obligation, certain conceptualizations of solidarity also has the potential to make solidarity to work as an exclusionary mechanism. That is to say, as Bayertz (1998:3) suggests, the concept of solidarity lies on the "principle of mutual responsibility between the individual and society"; however, "the inherently 'communitarian' character of solidaristic duties makes them vulnerable to cultural relativism and to mechanisms of exclusion" (Preuss 1998: 283). Therefore, as Preuss (1998: 283) expresses, it is widely believed that the smaller the community with more "homogeneous in terms of values and ideals of justice" is, the stronger the sense of solidarity that binds them together. This idea is also one of the main arguments against the possibility of creating post-national solidarity. That is because; according to this understanding the long-established differences among members of different nation-states inevitably curtails the solidary feelings among people. However, this understanding also undermines the very structure of nation-state and "the abstract character of its social relations and institutions". This communitarian understanding

also challenges the national solidarity because as it will be elaborated in detail, nation-state in itself encompasses variety of differences among its citizens.

Moreover, the understanding that sees homogeneity as a prerequisite for solidarity and community would clash with the very essence of the concept of “solidarity” in its modern sense (Preuss, 1998). In his argument, Preuss (1998: 283) ties the emergence of “solidarity” as a modern concept back to the French Revolution which was then coined as “fraternity” in line with the “ideas of freedom and equality with the principle of fraternity, not charity”. It is this idea, according to Preuss (1998:283) that solidarity has “overstepped the narrow barriers of “face-to-face” communities and commands moral duties vis-à-vis aliens, in the last instance even vis-à-vis all human beings”. Therefore, the very essence of the solidarity in its modern sense is about binding people who are not necessarily alike or in direct contact with each other. Thus, as national solidarity reflects us, solidarity is not necessarily based on the similarities among members that it binds and does not necessarily require homogeneity. Instead, the role of solidarity is to bind people who are otherwise not similar or in contact with each other. That is why differences among members of community or members of different communities do not necessarily diminish the possibility of creating post-national solidarity.

It is inevitable that the creation of solidarity has preconditions. At the first stage it requires construction of a new form of collective identity as in the case of ‘nation’. According to Habermas (2001a:82) these identities could only be realized through the social integration that is based on mutual understanding, intersubjectively shared norms, and collective values. While realization of these preconditions has

significant importance, the way they are realized illustrates differences in different levels of solidarity.

At this point, the way the concept of solidarity is defined gains significant importance. For instance, Dean (1995:115) defines three types of solidarity: affectional solidarity, conventional solidarity and reflective solidarity. In the *affectional* type, solidarity grows out of feelings of mutual love and friendship. In the *conventional* type, solidarity grows out of ‘common interests and concerns’. In other words, *conventional solidarity* provides ‘limits beyond which one as a *member* cannot go’. According to Dean (1995:116) both *affectional* and *conventional* types of solidarity foresee intrinsic limits to solidarity which results in isolation of group members against the outside. However, according to Dean (1995:117), both definitions of solidarity are inadequate in reflecting the needs of post-national structures. Therefore, following Dean’s argument I will argue that in order for post-national solidarity to be successful, it needs to transcend conventional solidarity and become reflective solidarity. However, as it will be analyzed in following chapters, the EU although has achieved conventional solidarity to a certain extent; it still lacks *reflective solidarity* which is an important obstacle in front of full realization of post-national solidarity.

Creating a *reflective solidarity* as Dean argues necessitates the new solidarity to clear itself from exclusionary dimensions. “If solidarity is not to be discarded as yet another exclusionary ideal, then it will have to be conceived in a way which takes seriously the historical conditions of value pluralism, the ever-present potentiality of exclusion, the demands of accountability and the importance of critique” (Dean, 1995:123). Therefore, as Dean (1995:123) proposes, as opposed to conventional

solidarity that sees “dissent” as a “potential disruption”, *reflective solidarity* needs to “build dissent into its foundations”. Thus, “By viewing the “we” as constituted through the communicative efforts of “I’s”, *reflective solidarity* changes the boundaries of community, the demarcation between “us” and “them”” (Dean, 1995:123).

With this idea, the differences between the members of the community should be valued and seen neither as an obstacle nor as a threat to solidarity. According to Dean’s argument, *reflective solidarity* needs to be above and beyond “common interests and concerns” of citizens. This aspect of Dean’s argument urges us to rethink the concept of European identity. That is because; if European identity is to be established, it has to be cleared from exclusionary connotations it may have. This understanding is crucial because one of the most important concerns in the search for the establishment of post-national solidarity is historically established differences between people. However, as it is illustrated in Dean’s argument, it is not enough to seek for a different level of solidarity, in order for this to happen, the way the concept of solidarity is defined has to be rethought.

As it is argued above, establishing solidarity at a level that transcends national boundaries requires a different approach which values and promotes cultural differences. This in turn means abandoning the view that sees differences and divergence as an obstacle to solidarity. As Preuss (1998: 288) argues

Rather than struggling for one universal realm in which homogeneous and unitary principles of moral obligations apply equally to all of its inhabitants, we should attempt to develop concepts of international solidarity that accept a diversity of cultures and standards of responsibility. International solidarity requires the possibility of cooperation and communication between collectivities who do not share

the same moral principles – and this points to the law as the most appropriate means for achieving this objective.

What Preuss' argument reflects for the creation of European level solidarity is that, the way that goes to creation of post-national solidarity does not go by unification through elimination of differences. Instead, it requires integration of different cultures and belief systems together. This understanding as it will be discussed in the following chapters also finds its reflection in EU policy making, as it is coined with the term “unity in diversity”. While this perception illustrates a significant awareness on the part of the EU towards the fulfillment of necessities of creating a post-national solidarity, as it will also be discussed in the following chapters, this awareness was not enough for the realization of *reflective solidarity* at EU level.

By giving reference to actively created nature of solidarity, this thesis attributes a significant role to social policy in the creation of solidarity. However, in order to discuss social policy at post-national level, it is important to highlight social policy at national level. The way solidarity is defined also affects the way the social policy is perceived. Preuss (1998: 283) stresses that the concept of solidarity joins two “seemingly contradictory” elements. On the one hand, it puts emphasis on “duties of care” which is something fundamentally based on ‘*personal* feelings of sympathy’ whereas on the other hand, these ‘duties’ are directed towards “*impersonal addresses*” i.e. aliens. Bayertz (1998: 3) also envisages a dual structure for the concept of solidarity and suggests that solidarity is now understood as a “mutual attachment between individuals, encompassing two levels: a *factual* level of actual common ground between the individuals and a *normative* level of mutual obligations to aid each other, as and when should be necessary”. As Preuss (1998: 281) argues

solidarity “includes both the empirical reality of a community of interests, objectives, and standards, as well as the assertion of mutual moral obligations which can be more or less cogently deduced from this community”. According to Preuss’ argument, solidarity is created by the community as a result of both needs of everyday life and idea of moral obligation towards the others.

Therefore, social policy has the role to combine these two levels together and to materialize the normative obligation that people feel to another into mechanisms through which people receive benefits. Therefore, at post-national level, as it was the case in national level, social policy has the role to both promote and materialize feelings of solidarity. Thus, following this argument, I will assert that European social policy should be handled in such a way that it not only promotes feeling of duty among citizens but also creates mechanisms through which this feeling of duty is materialized which will in return strengthen the solidary feelings among people.

The reasons for states to implement social policy instruments are also important point of discussion. While some thinkers put emphasis on the role of social policy as a way of compensating inequalities that market creates, some thinkers argue that the creation and maintenance of solidarity has the utmost importance for the implementation of social policy. For instance, Prosser (2006: 364) opposes the understanding that sees regulatory tasks undertaken by the state as a response to market failure. He suggests that this understanding connotes the idea that state regulations to provide social justice is the ‘second best to market allocation’ which is something that Prosser believes to decrease the role of solidarity which he thinks as an important source of rationale for regulation. Therefore, following Prosser’s argument, I will suggest that the link between solidarity and social policy has a value that

transcends economic concerns. The need for binding people with feelings of solidarity is not and should not be a mere response to inequalities that market creates. Instead as it is discussed above it needs to have a normative side which in turn will enable solidarity to transcend the exclusionary connotations it has. That is why European social policy needs to be created in such a way that it becomes something above a compensation mechanism for the market related concerns. This in turn requires social policy mechanisms to be developed comprehensive enough to respond challenges and divergent needs that go beyond market related concerns.

2.3 The Creation of Nation-state and the Role of Social Policy

Since the most profoundly developed social structure in today's political order is nation-state, it is crucial firstly to question the concept of "nation" and its relation with the concept of "solidarity". What binds people at national level, in other words, what makes them a nation, i.e. the solidarity among them, should be questioned.

The first question we need to address is whether nation is natural or a socially constructed entity. This questioning is crucial because arguments that take nation as natural instead of constructed regard construction of a political community that is above and beyond a nation-state as impossible. The constructed nature of nation-state and the transition from tribal relations to nation-state structure is crucial. It is important because it would support the argument of this analysis by suggesting that while skepticism about transition to post-national structure is quite normal, this does not mean that this process is unprecedented. The emphasis on the socially constructed nature of solidarity is also crucial in arguing for the role of solidarity in the creation of post-national social structures.

There are many theorists who argue that as opposed to what nationalistic tales suggest, ‘the people’ is a construct, and thus, the feeling that binds people together, “does not simply emerge but is actively created” (Cram, 2006: 253) and therefore, “it is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way around” (Gellner 1983: 55). Renan (1990: 19) argues for instance, that “nationalism is less a romanticized notion of emotional attachment to a homeland or culture than a choice, or act of will, even a calculated decision concerning the costs and benefits of affiliation”.

Anderson (1991:4), an important theorist of nationalism, argues that “nation-ness” is a “cultural artifacts of a particular kind”. In other words, nations are “imagined political communities”. They are imagined because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 1991:6). Therefore, Anderson argues that every community that exceeds face-to-face contact is ‘imagined’. Anderson strictly opposes the idea of nations as natural communities and further his argument by quoting Gellner (1965) that “nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist”. Pensky (2000:66) puts a similar analysis and suggest that “‘nation’ consists of an imaginary solidarity among strangers that cements the otherwise fragile bonds of reasonable cooperation”. Therefore, the ties that bind people into together at national level is not a natural one. As it was socially constructed at national level, it can be reconstructed at European level, because, as it was also argued in the previous section, homogeneity is not a precondition for solidarity to be created, instead the role of solidarity is to turn heterogeneous groups of people into “imagined communities”.

The idea that “nation” and therefore solidarity that binds people at the national level are social artifacts paves the way to the questing of whether solidarity can be recreated at post-national level. The understanding that argues against the natural and therefore indispensable relationship between nation and solidarity has significant place in the literature. For instance, Pensky (2000:65) furthers Anderson’s argument by suggesting that

... nations are, to use Benedict Anderson’s often quoted phrase, “imagined communities”, “cultural artifacts” whose claims to such substantial forms of collective identity as racial or ethnic homogeneity, a shared language, history and destiny, or even a “common sense of the good” are invariably the artificial constructs of a population that needs to adopt to changing political and cultural conditions and to generate better and stronger forms of social solidarity.

Pensky’s emphasis on the “need to adopt to changing political and cultural conditions” is crucial in pointing the need to create new “imagined communities” because changing structure of the world, especially pressures that globalization brings require to bind people in a level that transcends national boundaries.

Habermas (2001a) also provides important insight by arguing that what makes the modern state a nation-state is the symbolic construction of ‘people’. This is realized through shift of loyalty from people’s immediate surrounding, such as their tribes, to a broadened group that is called ‘nation’. According to Habermas, this shift is a result of two processes. One is the creation of modern law that sets the basics of state legitimacy. Second is the creation of social solidarity. As a result of these processes, as Habermas (2001a: 64) argues, people feel “responsible enough for one another that they are prepared to make sacrifices – as in military service or the burden of redistributive taxation”. What provides legitimacy to the nation-state is the belief that people are not only subject to the law but also the author of the law. Therefore,

while the creation of modern law is crucial in providing legitimacy to the state (so that people would submit to the rules imposed by it), solidarity is the glue that holds the society together. Therefore, especially due to the critical importance that democracy has in the European context, public involvement is also a crucial point in creating “people”. Following Habermas’ argument, I would argue that this understanding needs to find its reflection in the post-national context so that both the EU is perceived as legitimate and a sense of mutual obligation is created.

When we question the possibility of post-national solidarity at European level the discussion is inevitably intertwined with the discussion on democracy. That is because, the concept of social justice and the social policy it required, which will be discussed further in detail, are intertwined with the concept of democracy in European context. For that reason, solidarity that will be created at European level and the social policy that is utilized in this direction inevitably interlinked with the emphasis on democracy at European level.

At this point, Habermas’ analysis on solidarity at national level and the concept of social justice provides important insight. Habermas (2001a: 76) identifies a mutually reinforcing relationship between a democratic nation-state and solidarity. On the one hand, solidarity is a precondition for creation of a nation-state. On the other hand, the strength of a nation-state lies in its ability to fill the holes in the social integration. Solidarity that is constructed under the nation-state is reproduced through political participation and recognized standards of social justice. Therefore, the ‘integrational force of nationality as a way of life’ also constitutes the basis of civil solidarity (Habermas, 2001a: 80). This mutual relationship also constitutes the key point that brings social policy into the picture. That is because, “the democratic

process can defuse the danger of collapse of solidarity only if it fulfills recognized standards of social justice” (Habermas, 2001a: 76).

As it is stated above, solidarity is marked with people’s willingness to sacrifice for others; however, this willingness should also be supported with certain level of social justice standards so that people make sure that others will also make the same sacrifices in return for them. This understanding is also crucial for post-national solidarity. Following this argument, I would argue that in order for post-national solidarity to be established people should know that the sacrifices they make for others will be returned. At this point, the importance of European social policy comes into the picture as the mechanism to ensure reciprocity of the duties among people.

Although there are different definitions of solidarity developed by different thinkers, as it was discussed in the previous section, social policy is almost always seen as an important source of creating and maintaining solidarity, in whatever way we understand it. The difference between the legal equality that people have and the actual inequality that they experience gave rise to social welfare state. In other words, social policy is developed as a mechanism to ensure solidarity through compensating the lack of equality. However, as nation-state suffers from the pressures of globalization, the social policy mechanisms become less and less effective in creating an acceptable level of social justice and keeping solidarity alive.

The loss of solidarity has great potential to lead political fragmentation within the nation-state structure which is already under pressure of globalization. Therefore, not only the nation-state but also the social policy that has developed under the nation-state structure is under pressure. Habermas (1998: 124) argues that “the critical function of the welfare state in protecting and enhancing the public sphere,

particularly via its system of legal rights and backed up by its social policy configuration, must be transferred from the nation-state to larger political units growing to catch up, so to speak, with a transnationalized economy”. Therefore, based on Habermas’ argument I will argue that the nation-state is not the only social structure that has the potential to provide social justice. Similarly, the social policy as it is developed under nation-state is not the only form of social policy. Therefore, not only the nation-state but also social policy—its objectives and tools—can be constructed and reconstructed.

One of the studies that challenge the perceived relationship between nation-state and social policy belongs to Esping-Andersen who strictly opposes the argument that envisages the link between social policy and welfare state (nation-state) as inevitable. Esping-Andersen (1999: 34) believes that while social policy can exist without welfare state, the opposite is not true and argues that

Social policy has existed as long as there has been some kind of collective political action in address to a social risk. It was social policy, not a welfare state, when the Romans meted out food for the poor, when church, guilds, or nobility distributed charity and alms; or when nascent nation states and absolutist monarchs legislated poor relief (and welfare plans for public employees).

Therefore the brief survey of the literature suggests that while nation-state was a response to the challenges that people were facing at particular time in the history, this neither means that it is the only level of community that can be “imagined” or the only level that solidarity can be established. Instead both the solidarity and the social policy mechanisms that are created to ensure solidarity at national level can and should be recreated at post-national level. However, the way solidarity is defined and social mechanisms that are utilized needs to be revisited since post-national solidarity

needs to go above and beyond its meaning at national level. While the first two sections were dwelled upon the concept of solidarity and situated it in national context, the following sections will question the dynamics that requires the creation of post-national solidarity as well as the meaning that solidarity need to have at post-national level.

2.4 The nation-state in Struggle: the Forces of Change

While the previous sections were devoted to the questioning of the possibility of creating post-national solidarity, this section will question the mechanisms that makes this transition necessary. Therefore, in this section, following the argument that was developed in the previous sections, it will be argued that, the evolving nature of the social, political and economic structure of the world, especially the pressures of globalization, necessitates the creation of solidarity that goes beyond national boundaries.

Habermas (2001a) suggests that every social structure, such as religious communities, empires and states, has evolved through reoccurring ‘opening’ and ‘closure’ periods. As a response to changing pressures, social structures need to adjust themselves to new demands. For that reason, they go through an ‘opening phase’ so that new forms of social integration can be realized. Once the challenges are met, they close themselves and constitute new forms of social structures. Therefore, the opening phase of nation-states, which is caused by globalization, is not a unique process. However, what is problematic is that this opening is not yet concluded with a closure. The uncertainty about the new social structure that will result from closure creates anxiety and trigger doubts about the possible post-national social structures.

Therefore, the main problem is that the ‘post-national constellation’, as Habermas refers it, is yet to be realized.

As Habermas (1998: 398) argues, the nation-state was “a cogent response to the historical challenge of finding a functional equivalent for the early modern form of social integration that was... disintegrating. Today we are confronting an analogous challenge”. Therefore, following Habermas’ argument I will argue that transition from national to post-national social structures is possible.

Habermas (2002: 14-15) interpreting Hegel’s theory argues for the need for creating post-national polity and suggests that every historical structure inevitably disappears. Therefore, the level of achievement that the nation-state has arrived is “ironic”. The construction of nation-state was a reaction to and reflection of the needs of the first modern societal integration. Likewise, we are experiencing such a need due to globalization, which severely limits nation-states’ capabilities to respond to the needs of society on their own or in cooperation with each other. This in turn, gives rise to the possibility of creating post-national community.

As it was discussed above, it is also important to note that the discussion on the concept of nation-state especially in the European context is inevitably intertwined with the concept of democracy since it is an integral part of the political system in Europe. Since democracy is not only an embedded part of the nation-state in Europe but also a value that is attributed utmost importance, the questioning of the capabilities of nation-state is also related with nation-states’ ability to promote and protect democracy. As Held (1995: 16) refers, there are many critics who see the problem of political accountability in modern democracies as a “national problem”. The inability of representative democratic structures to react to the needs of citizens

are believed to be solved through “making the political process more transparent and intelligible, more open to, and reflective of, the heterogeneous wants and needs of “the people”” by critics such as Machperson (1977); Barber (1984); Pateman (1985) (Held, 1995: 16).

While many critics try to develop representative democracies to respond the upcoming challenges within the nation-state structure, critics such as Held (1995) believes in the inefficiency of such attempts. Held (1995: 16-17), by giving reference to Offe (1985) suggests that

The problem, for defenders and critics alike of modern democratic systems, is that regional and global interconnectedness contests the traditional national resolutions of the key questions of democratic theory and practice. The very process of governance can escape the reach of the nation-state. National communities by no means exclusively make and determine decisions and policies for themselves, and governments by no means determine what is appropriate *exclusively* for their own citizens (emphasis added).

Therefore, as Held (1995) argues, while the inefficiency of representative democracies is recognized, conventional national solutions to the problems are far from being adequate. As the problems that challenge people transcend national borders, the solutions to tackle with emerging challenges need to transcend the national borders.

As it was discussed in the previous section, the idea that nations and the solidarity that binds them as cultural artifacts is an important point in further arguing for the reconstruction of solidarity at post-national level. However, it is also important to note that while it is argued that solidarity can be reconstructed at the level that transcends the boundaries of nation-states, it is not argued that solidarity can or should be reconstructed in the same ways at the post-national level. As it is also

frequently stated in the literature, the way nation and national solidarity that binds them has historical backgrounds that urged them to evolve the way they did. Solidarity that binds people at the national level has evolved in relation to and as a reflection of the need of the construction of nation-state building processes.

As it was the case in the construction of nation-states, post-national political structures are also reflections of the needs and challenges of today's world structure. For many challenges that nation-states are facing, globalization can be highlighted as the main source of struggle. Globalization can be explained as "the stretching and deepening of social relations and institutions across space and time such that, on the one hand, day-to-day activities are increasingly influenced by events happening on the other side of the globe and, on the other, the practices and decisions of local groups or communities can have significant global reverberations" (Held, 1995: 20). Therefore, Held (1995: 20) defines globalization as "action at distance" by referring to Giddens (1990) and suggest that "the particular form of action at distance that is of concern here is engendered by the stretching and deepening of relations across the borders of nation-states and at increasing intensity". That is to say that, not only the activities in all aspects of life are becoming world-wide but also "the levels of interaction and interconnectedness" among states are becoming intensified (Held, 1995; McGrew, 1992).

While globalization is changing the nature of relations between different actors, it also presents increasing difficulties especially for nation-states. Moreover, globalization not only increases the problems that nation-states are facing but also curtails their power to deal with already existing and newly emerging challenges. The economic structure that globalization creates comes along with new ways of social

interaction and necessity to establish new political structures that have the capability to respond them. Pensky (2000: 67-68) states this need by suggesting that

In the context of globalization, national differences are in any event becoming increasingly irrelevant in the face of current patterns of economic influence, global and regional migration, technological development, the rise of international institutions and arrangements, and the globalization of ecological and economic risk. Nations, in other words, lose their relevance to the degree that the nation-states that institutionalize them steadily lose their basis of legitimacy under the pressure of economic and political globalization.

While globalization puts pressure on nation-state as well as on feelings of mutual responsibility that bind people at national level, solidarity has an important role in coping with challenges which brings us the search for a new level of solidarity. Calhoun for instance puts emphasis on solidarity as an important component of a society which is crucial in coping with the pressures. Calhoun (2004: 237-238) suggests that

One of the dominant patterns in modern history is the organization of power and capital on ever larger scales, and with new intensity. This precipitates a race in which popular forces and solidarities are always running behind. It is a race to achieve social integration, to structure the connections among people, and to organize the world. Capital and political power are out in front—sometimes in collusion and sometimes in contention with each other. Workers and ordinary citizens are always in the position of trying to catch up. As they get organized on local levels, capital and power integrate on larger scales.

Therefore, solidarity is crucial not only in binding people together and allowing them to organize as societies, but also in equipping them in their battle with outside pressures. Since the already existing levels of solidarity lack such a capability, the search for new forms of solidarity is needed.

At this point, cosmopolitan theory provides important insights regarding both the need and the possibility of creating post-national solidarity. The cosmopolitan

theory of democracy suggests that “state sovereignty, like national identity, ought to be regarded as a pragmatic arrangement for the full global realization of human rights; as an institution it has no independent legitimacy, for there is no internal connection between popular sovereignty and the *raison d’etat* of specific states” (Pensky, 2000: 75). Therefore, realization of human rights in particular and principles that come along with the idea of democracy in general are not necessarily realized in the context of nation-state. Sovereign states have to be, according to this understanding, understood as historical constructions that came into being as a result of the necessities that historical developments presented. Hence, post-national polity needs to be developed according to the new conditions that world order suggests and the challenges that people are facing. Therefore, with the emphasis put on “actively created” nature of solidarity, I will argue – following Habermas’ argument – that in order for feelings of mutual obligation to be established at post-national level through social policy mechanisms, post-national polity is necessary. However, I would also argue that this does not mean replication of a nation-state at post-national level; instead it requires creation of effective mechanisms so that it would provide what nation-states are no more able to do.

Therefore, as it is elaborated in this section, there are important developments that both challenge national solidarities and nation-states’ capabilities to respond to social, political and economic challenges that people are facing to keep solidarities alive. While up to this point the possibility and the necessity to develop post-national solidarity and the role that social policy needs to play in this process is discussed, the following sections will be devoted to the discussion on necessary characteristics that post-national solidarity should have and the role of social policy which will be

followed by the discussion on whether the EU has the potential to be a successful example of such a post-national polity.

2.5 The Transition from National Solidarity to Post-National Solidarity and the Role of Social Policy

As it was discussed in previous sections, according to the literature, history suggests that post-national solidarity is possible given the experience of how national solidarity has been established. However, once post-national polity and solidarity is perceived as possible and even inevitable, the question that needs to be addressed is what kind of post-national solidarity is desirable? At this point two additional questions should be addressed. One is the role of social policy and whether it can be realized on a post-national scale. Second, if it is possible to develop social policy on a post-national level, then what it should be composed of. I will argue that in order for post-national solidarity to be successful firstly, it should transcend the meaning that solidarity has in the national context and be more open to diversity. Secondly, while pressures especially that come along with globalization urges to create solidarity that goes beyond and above national solidarity, it needs not to aim to replace already existing levels of solidarity but instead needs to emerge as a new level of solidarity that will equip people better to challenges they face.

As the national basis of civil solidarity is shaken and replaced by multicultural civil society as a response to globalization, what constitutes solidarity is also changing. As Habermas (2001a: 75) argues, globalization creates constant intercultural contacts and creates multiethnic connections which in turn results in ongoing construction of new modes of belonging. Since the people for whom one needs to feel responsible is transcending national boundaries, solidarity that ties the

group also needs to transcend the characteristics of nations. While post-national social structures are something above and beyond national structures, people's identities that are constructed under the nation-state structure will not disappear. Therefore, one of the most important characteristics of the post-national solidarity should be recognition of multiple identities. Social policy that will be developed in the post-national structures should also be responsive to multiple and overlapping identities, and create an environment of mutual recognition of identities rather than trying to merge them into one.

Abizadeh (2005) contributes an important point to the discussion on the need for post-national solidarity to be able to incorporate different cultures and social structures together instead of trying to unify or replace them. Abizadeh (2005: 45) counters the arguments that suggest solidarity is inevitably exclusionary. He indicates that their very premise is incorrect due to the fact that "they equate identity of an individual with collective identity. Former inevitably needs an "other" whereas latter not". By this argument, Abizadeh does not disregard the differences that exist in a society, especially in a one that transcends national boundaries, but he argues that the differences do not necessarily lead to exclusion. Therefore, by suggesting that "It is one thing to say that identity presupposes *difference*; it is quite another thing to say that identity presupposes an external *other*", Abizadeh (2005: 45) argues that a society is not necessarily based on the commonness within itself and rests its solidarity on the exclusion of an external "other". Therefore, as it was elaborated in the previous sections, solidarity at post-national level does not need to be based on othering differences, instead as Dean (1995) puts it, it is the *reflective solidarity* that does not presuppose exclusion is the one that is needed at post-national level.

The similar argument is also valid for the discussion on what kind of post-national social policy is necessary for creating feelings of mutual obligation at post-national level. At this point Habermas' argument will also be important in forecasting what kind of solidarity and social policy is necessary for post-national polity. What Habermas (1996) suggests for social policy "is no less than the role of a legally grounded mediator between the ideal and the real of European solidarity. The shape of this reconstituted tension must ultimately include a European public sphere at the centre of debate on the future of Europe" (Murphy, 2005: 144). Therefore, as it was the case in the creation of national solidarity, social policy needs to play an active role integrating people together and as Habermas suggests this requires creation of European public sphere, as it will be further elaborated in the following section.

2.6 The Prospects of Success: Can EU Be a Successful Case?

While there are different conditions that need to be fulfilled in order for post-national solidarity to be achieved as it was discussed in the previous sections, the questioning of post-national solidarity in the European context requires further elaboration. Social policy instruments initiated at European level, the extent to which they are directed towards the creation of European level solidarity as well as how these attempts are perceived by the citizens will be elaborated in the next chapters. This section, will provide a brief analysis of how the efforts on the part of the EU to create European level solidarity is evaluated in the literature.

Cram (2006: 241) by using Morgan's (1989) terminology explains the attempts to create a European level solidarity as an attempt of "self-interested "fiction"". In other words, Cram perceives attempts to establish European level solidarity as a

“fiction” created by the EU institutions, especially by the Commission, to increase their validity through artificially created sense of belonging at the European level. With this purpose Cram (2006) argues that the EU encourages civil society involvement at EU level. Cram (2006: 241) also argues that the experience that nation building process suggests is that with the active involvement of people through democratic processes has the potential to turn the “fiction” into “a self-fulfilling prophecy”. Therefore, Cram argues that as it was the case in the nation-building process, creating “the People” may start out as a “self-interested “fiction””, but as the process goes, it eventually becomes the “reality”. Thus, while European level solidarity may seem like a dream today, as it was the case in the nation-building process, solidarity can be recreated at EU level and therefore “fiction” may play an important role in “inventing the people”. Cram’s argument for the need for public involvement also coincides with Habermas’ argument on the need for a public sphere which is, as it will be evaluated in the following chapter, one of the main points that the EU tries to achieve.

Similar to Habermas’ argument, Cram (1997) suggests that from the very beginning of the integration the Commission has acted as a “purposeful opportunist” by aiming to “generate a constituency of support for its activities by involving a wide range of actors within the policy process”. Following Cram’s argument I would suggest that the EU’s active role in creating solidarity in the EU is a signifier of the argument that solidarity is social construction which can precede community.

Another argument about the transition from national solidarity to European solidarity is the one developed by Cram (2001) who explains it with the term “banal Europeanism”. She drew on the concept of “banal nationalism” coined by Billig

(1995) that refers to “everyday representations of nations that works in the way of creating solidarity”. Cram (2006: 242) argues that European solidarity will be strengthened “so far as individuals increasingly “forget to remember” that the current situation is not how things always were. From this perspective, the EU institutions become accepted as legitimate operators in a given area of activity regardless of the individual or group’s experience (positive or negative)”. Therefore, according to Cram the more the EU’s involvement is normalized, the more the feeling of being a “European” develops.

Similarly Renan (1990: 11) argues that “collective forgetting of inconvenient pasts” has significant importance for safeguarding national identities. With a similar argument Billig (1995: 38) suggests that “the nation which celebrates its antiquity, forgets its historical recency”. Following this understanding Cram (2006: 253) argues that “collective forgetting takes place through the normalization or domestication of previously unfamiliar practices. Thus, as patterns of behavior shift, what at first appeared “new” gradually becomes unremarkable”. Cram (2006: 253) further emphasizes the fact that a part of *raison d’être* of the EU was to “create lasting habits of peaceful cooperation between previously warring nations and to tie Germany irrevocably into a union with its European neighbors”. Thus, we could say that “collective forgetting” has significant importance in the case of EU. That is because, although the EU was born out of bitter memories of WW2 with the aim of eradicating the possibility of a similar devastating experience through economic cooperation, now almost in all areas of political, economic and social life the EU has a role to play. While this was something unimaginable around fifty years ago, it is now almost normal to have the EU in every aspect of policy making and implementation.

Therefore, as it was the case in the nation-state, the more the solidary bounds among people strengthens, the more the community is normalized and gives the feeling to the people that it is the only form of community that could bind people together. However, the very process of transition from tribal solidarity to national solidarity suggests, solidary bounds can be recreated at the levels that was not imagined before.

As opposed to arguments put forward in this analysis, there are also theories which argue against the possibility of creating post-national solidarity based on the idea that solidarity cannot precede community. Habermas (2001b: 15-16) criticizes Eurosceptics who rejects the possibility of creating a European level solidarity based on the argument that “there is as yet no European people”. According to Eurosceptics what is missing is “the collective singular of ‘a people’ capable of defining itself as a democratic nation”. However, Habermas criticizes this argument by suggesting that citizens of a nation should be distinguished from a community that is shaped by “common descent, language and history”. That is because, this confusion, according to Habermas (2001b: 16),

Fails to capture the voluntaristic character of a civic nation, the collective identity of which exists neither independent of nor prior to the democratic process from which it springs. Such a civic, as opposed to ethnic, conception of ‘the nation’ reflects both the actual historical trajectory of the European nation-states and the fact that democratic citizenship established an abstract, legally mediated solidarity between strangers.

Therefore, following Habermas’ argument, I would argue that inexistence of “people” of Europe does not prevent the possibility of creating feelings of mutual responsibility at European level. That is because, as it was discussed above, the very meaning of solidarity is to bind people who are otherwise dissimilar to each other, as it was the case in the national context.

Although the lack of united community at European level does not prevent creation of solidarity at European level, there are important conditions to be fulfilled in order for such solidarity to be established. For instance, Habermas (2001b: 17-18) argues that while European level solidarity can and should be established, democratic deficit remains as an important issue to be tackled. In order for democratic and legitimization deficit to be handled, “European-wide public sphere”, i.e. “a network that gives citizens of all member states an equal opportunity to take part in an encompassing process of focused political communication” needs to be established.

Through a “democratic public sphere”, “relevant societal problems [will turn] into topics of concern, and to allow the general public to relate, at the same time, to the same topics, by taking an affirmative or negative stand on news and opinions”. However, according to Habermas (2001b: 18) this public sphere “must not be imagined as the projection of a familiar design from the national onto the European level. It will rather emerge from the mutual opening of existing national universes to one another, yielding to an interpenetration of mutually translated national communications”.

Therefore, while active public participation is necessary to create European level solidarity, as it was discussed above, post-national solidarity cannot be a replication of national solidarity. The way solidarity is conceptualized and social policy mechanisms utilized to this end should be responsive to the divergences that post-national community involves. As it will be analyzed in the following chapter, the EU follows this principal in its social policy initiatives.

A European public sphere, however, will not automatically emerge. According to Habermas (1999: 57) “in order to foster “democratic will-formation” on a pan-European scale, “greater social solidarity at the base” must be developed”. However,

such a social solidarity cannot be realized automatically. It can only come through a social learning process. Habermas (2001: 102) suggests that this learning process is similar to the one that was experienced in nation building process. According to Habermas, “It is this learning process that can lead to a “European civil solidarity”, but it is a learning process that has to be stimulated via the development of tools for social integration — the clear and obvious one being social policy”. Therefore, following Habermas’ argument, I would argue that while active public participation is necessary for the creation of European level solidarity, since public sphere through which people contributes would not emerge on its own, social policy mechanisms need to be initiated so that a learning process that leads to public participation is realized. Thus, based on Habermas’ argument I would assert that, in order to establish post-national solidarity, there needs to be a post-national polity so that feelings of mutual responsibility can be actively created.

It is argued in this section that, following the theoretical framework established in the previous sections the EU has the potential to be an example of post-national solidarity established through post-national social policy. However, in order for this to be achieved certain conditions such as creation of public sphere, alleviation of democratic deficit, re-conceptualization of solidarity need to be realized. The mechanisms through which the EU tries to achieve post-national solidarity and the limits to its success will be the main subject of inquiry in the following chapters.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter sought to highlight three main discussions. First purpose was to highlight the interaction between nation-state and solidarity in order to illustrate that nation-

state and solidarity are not intrinsically linked to each other and therefore, to demonstrate the *possibility* of creating post-national solidarity. Second aim was to analyze the challenges that nation-state and national solidarity faces, and therefore to point out the *need* to create post-national solidarity. Thirdly different conceptualizations of solidarity are differentiated in analyzing what kind of solidarity is *desirable* at post-national level with the idea that post-national solidarity needs to transcend the conventional conceptualizations of solidarity at national level. Thus it was argued that, post-national solidarity needs to incorporate national level solidary feelings and perceive national differences not as obstacles or as threats but as enriching and indispensable parts. All three analyses also highlighted the significant role that social policy plays in creating solidarity and pinpointed the role that social policy needs to play in the creation of post-national solidarity. This analysis was followed by the inquiry of the EU as a post-national polity which has the need and the possibility to create post-national solidarity. These inquiries will be reflected into the evaluation of evolution that the EU experienced, social policies developed, the level of solidarity that has been achieved and the main challenges ahead in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

SITUATING EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has aimed to explore the literature on the discussion on whether solidarity can be created at post-national level through social policy. Based on the analysis conducted, three points were highlighted. One is that pressures that come with globalization challenge national solidarities and necessitate a search for new forms of solidarity. Second is that solidarity is a social construct and therefore, it can be recreated at post-national level through social policy mechanisms initiated at post-national level. However, as the third point indicates, post-national solidarity should not aim at replacing already existing levels of solidarity and instead should go beyond the meaning it has at national level and; moreover, need to be cleaned from any exclusionary connotations it may have.

Based on the theoretical framework established in the previous chapter, this chapter aims to situate the EU into the context. With this purpose, this chapter aims to shed light on two complementary aspects. In the first part, the reasoning behind the creation of European social policy as it was envisaged and evaluated by the EU institutions will be elaborated. This part will put significant emphasis on the

importance given to solidarity in the design and implementation of European social policy. This part will be complemented with an evaluation of European social policy from a historical perspective which will help to evaluate both how European social policy has evolved and how it has contributed to the creation of feelings of mutual obligation at European level. This analysis will be accompanied by a brief analysis of people's perception about the EU. This analysis will be crucial because the general perception that people have about the EU and its role in social policy will provide important insights about the level of solidarity that has achieved so far. The brief analysis of people's perception about EU's involvement in social policies will also constitute an introduction to the analysis of main challenges that the EU experiences as threats to its efforts to create European level solidarity which will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter.

Through the analyses listed above, it will be argued in this chapter that the EU has a social dimension as an integral part of its integration process. However, the importance given to the social aspect of integration has gained significant importance over time. While the social policy instruments were more about dealing with economic concerns in the beginning, the importance of solidarity has been recognized over time which led the EU to adopt more integrated policies towards establishing European level solidarity.

It will be also emphasized that since the EU is an ongoing integration process, while the Lisbon Strategy provides an important step towards the creation of an integrated approach to the social policy (which is necessary since creating solidarity has multiple dimensions) this needs not to be seen as the best step that can be reached. Therefore, in order for European social policy to be effective in creating European

solidarity, it will be argued that, European social policy needs to be not only responsive to the multiple dimensions of solidarity but also to the evolving nature of the Union. In addition, it will be argued that as opposed to enthusiasm attached to European social policy, especially to the latest social policy initiative of the Union, the Lisbon Strategy, the European level solidarity is yet to be achieved. The analysis of public perception about the EU suggests increasing awareness about the EU's involvement in social policy areas, as well as increasing expectations from the EU to take a more active role. However, the analysis also suggests that people are skeptic about EU's role in social policy mechanisms, which proves that European-wide public sphere which is necessary for the creation of solidarity at post-national level is yet to be realized.

3.2 The Rationale of European Social Policy

As Duchéne (1994: 363) refers, the European integration has always had a societal dimension since the establishment of European Coal and Steel Community. Jean Monnet said “we are uniting people, not forming coalitions of states”; therefore, it has been claimed that Jean Monnet “was interested less in perfected constitutional blueprints than in shaping human patterns of response to induce a change in process” (Duchéne 1994: 367). Starting from the Schuman Declaration and the Rome Treaty, there were important components concerning social policy though “the degree and concrete methods of implementation were left open to discussion” (Hikuma, 2003: 111-112).

As many researches indicate, due to political ideologies attached to it, social policy has significant importance to nation-states which makes them reluctant to

transfer their power over social policy to the EU (Swaan, 1992; Hantrais, 1995; Hikuma, 2003). However, as Leibfried and Pierson (1995: 44) suggest:

The process of European integration has eroded both the sovereignty and autonomy of Member States in the realm of European social policy. National welfare states remain the primary institutions of European social policy, but they do so in the context of an increasingly constraining multi-tiered polity.

As it has been explained in the previous chapter, creating solidarity is important for the EU not only to acquire legitimacy in the eyes of people but also to prevent any backlashes which would damage the integration project. With the importance given to the issue, the concept of solidarity is generally coupled with concepts of cohesion and social inclusion. By assuming that cohesion is necessary for the creation of solidarity, we could define it as “the degree to which disparities (imbalances) in economic welfare between countries or regions within the Union are socially and politically tolerable” (Molle and Boeckhout, 1995). Therefore, creating an atmosphere of a tolerable version of equality within the European community has the highest importance.

In order to deal with the issue of solidarity, the EU defined its goal as “to make work a real option for everybody” as well as provide equal opportunity for all. In this regard, fighting social exclusion especially for those who are vulnerable constitutes an important portion of the issue (The European Commission, 2005a). Since the main motto of the EU is “unity in diversity”, the concept of European citizenship which marks solidarity within the Union requires a “multifaceted” perception of the citizenship. Therefore, in order to incorporate people from different cultures, social, economic and political structures, it is necessary to acknowledge multiple interests and social identities of people as well as guaranteeing them equal rights and

opportunities (Cattacin et al., 1999). Therefore, as also discussed in the previous chapter, even though creating solidarity within the Union is a necessity, this does not connote unification of different cultures and societal structures. Instead, it requires harmonization of efforts so that people can coexist peacefully and enjoy their ways of life with proper economic and social opportunities. The EU is very much enthusiastic about social policy developed in the EU. In a report prepared by Directorate General for Education and Culture (2000: 3) it is stated that

Thanks to what has become known as the ‘European social model’, people in the EU are not left to the mercy of market forces. On the contrary, they have access to one of the strongest social safety nets in the world. This is because the European Union firmly believes that while strong competition between companies is necessary to improve productivity and growth, strong solidarity between citizens is equally vital to create stable society and widely shared prosperity.

Although the importance of solidarity for the Union is highly acknowledged, in the initial phases of integration, perceptions on the part of both the Member States and the EU was that the main threat to solidarity is economy related issues, especially regarding job opportunities. Therefore, it was believed that solidarity could be secured through work related social provisions. Thus, providing work for all is seen as primary mode of integration into the society and the motor behind solidarity. However, creating cohesion and social inclusion requires more than that and the issue of solidarity requires a broader perspective. Moreover, with the primary emphasis on work related issues, issues of gender, race, class, low pay and the working poor are unintentionally silenced. With that attitude, the issue of solidarity is “reduced to manageable portions by defining it as a problem of marginalized individuals and their pathologies while more problematic and emotive terms such as poverty and inequality are avoided” (Atkinson, 1999: 161). Therefore, the initial criticism towards the

European social policy is that it only tries to deal with the symptoms but not with the real causes behind the problems of solidarity.

In the last two decades, new social conflicts that challenge solidarity have risen in addition to the old ones (Delanty, 1997: 75). These partly came from the changes within the EU i.e. intensified integration and problems associated with enlargement and partly came from external pressures mainly due to global developments such as economic pressures and immigration. This in turn affected the perception of both Member States and the EU on the nature of the problems and necessary measures to be taken. Due to increased awareness, it became apparent that in order to secure the EU from social tension both among citizens and against the EU itself requires active policies to deal with challenges that threaten cohesion and solidarity within the Union.

In line with the increasing emphasis put on the importance of ensuring solidarity within the EU, both the Member States and the European Commission have expressed their concerns that there are important segments of society that are marginalized which threaten to cause a “breakdown of social solidarity and cohesion” (Atkinson, 1999: 149). With this fear in mind, the concept of “social inclusion” has gained importance.

It was stated in the White Paper (1994) that “Social policy at European level has a vital part to play in underpinning the process of change. The Union cannot do everything and should not seek to supplant the responsibilities at national, regional and local level” (The European Commission, 1994: 7). The main logic behind the establishment of European social policy is that “Europe needs a broadly based, innovative and forward looking social policy if it successfully to meet the challenges

ahead” (ibid). Therefore, the main motive behind the European social policy is to deal with “change” that mainly globalization brings and challenges associated with it.

As it was argued, the pace of globalization urges the EU to strengthen and consolidate its social dimension. It is widely believed in the EU that, notions of social justice and social protection enable faster integration (Jordan, 1998). Not only faster integration of the European project but also EU’s ability to integrate itself to globalization in an unproblematic fashion requires social justice at European level. Therefore, globalization in addition to the pressures of continent-wide integration is seen as a crucial source of pressure that makes it inevitable for the EU to develop social policy and social policy is also seen as an instrument to better utilize the opportunities of globalization.

Many critiques suggest that pressures of globalization that creates important challenges for the EU in many issue areas not only requires development of proper social policy instruments but also is an important indicator of the insufficient level achievement of already established social policy measures. Da Costa (1997: 101) emphasizes this relation by saying that “social problems”, “the new dimensions of social stratification”, “a sense of insecurity with respect to future” and “the disproportionate share of social costs of industrial restructuring that is borne by labor” are significant signs that prove the fact that importance of social policy was underestimated.

Understanding the European Social Model (ESM) “which is a vision of society that combines sustainable economic growth with ever-improving living and working conditions” that is tried to be established through European social policy, requires firstly identifying its differences from nation-state models and policies. As Kleinman

and Piachaud (1993: 3) states “the ESM is not a reality in the sense in which we think of national welfare states, it is an overarching aspirational model incorporating the broad parameters to which European welfare states conform”. Although the EU has increased its role in social policy making, the main responsibility to provide social services and harmonize them with the EU model rests with the Member States which is also reflected in the underlying assumption of the Lisbon Strategy. It was argued in the previous chapters that the aim of the Union should not be to replace already existing systems but instead to create an extra layer of solidarity so that people are more equipped to tackle with challenges they face, which as the above analysis suggests is reflected in the understanding that the EU has.

Although there are differences between national systems; there is supposedly a distinct ESM which is marked with mutually reinforcing relationship between economic growth/efficiency and social progress (The European Commission, 2004a). Since this is increasingly challenged by the pressures of globalization, reemphasis on social policy at EU level became necessary. However, one crucial aspect in understanding European social policy is that, as it is discussed above, the European social policy requires harmonization of policy efforts but not the unification of them. What is aimed is the “convergence of goals and policies over a period of time by fixing common objectives ... [which] will permit the coexistence of different national systems and enable them to progress in harmony towards the fundamental objectives of the Union” (The European Commission, 1994: 12). Thus, the need for the European social policy is born out of the perception that new challenges under pressures of globalization require creation of policies at the Union level since nation-states are no longer able to cope with them on their own. However, it also highlights

the fact that the structure of each nation-state is different so as the challenges that they face. Therefore, while a European level involvement is perceived as essential, this does not connote unification of different structures. This is an idea which is very much in line with “unity in diversity” motto of the EU. This understanding is an important indicator of the idea that post-national solidarity needs to be above and beyond national solidarity but not a substitute to it. However, although this basic understanding is appreciated by the Union, the extent to which it achieved to develop solidarity at European level will be analyzed in the following section.

3.3 The Evolution of European Social Policy

This section will provide a historical account of how European social policy has evolved over time and illustrate the importance that the aim of creating European solidarity has gained in this process.

The European social policy has evolved tremendously both with regards to substance and instruments over time. We could identify four stages that mark this transformation. In the first stage; regulations for the free movement of workers after the Treaty of Rome are utilized. In the second stage; with the Single European Act (SEA) of 1986, directives for health and safety are initiated. In the third stage; after the Maastricht Treaty of 1993, agreements are signed by the European social partners to coordinate social policies. In the latest stage; open method of coordination OMC to implement a common strategy is introduced after 1997 Amsterdam Treaty (The European Commission, 2004a) which will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

As it can be followed from the stages presented above, what is perceived as problem and social policy instruments utilized to deal with them also reflects the EU integration process. As the integration moves from merely an economic one to an all encompassing social, political and economic one and as more Member States are included into the process both how the challenges are perceived and how they are tackled have changed.

As it was stated above, the initial steps reflect the earlier understanding of the issue which ties social policy essentially to work related concerns. In the years following the Treaty of Rome, the main emphasis of the social policy was to find ways to enhance freedom of movement of workers within the Community. The ESF was used for the purpose of “generating employment opportunities through the promotion of employment facilities and support for the geographical and occupational mobility of workers” (O’Shea, 1999: 204-205). However, at the initial stages, the resources devoted to the fund were minimal, so was the achievement. The limited level of achievement in the early stages were also very much related to the Member States’ reluctance to share their power in social policy. That is why, even though harmonization of social regulations were envisaged in the Treaty of Rome, unanimity mechanism was preferred (ibid).

The idea of a European social policy was reviewed in the mid-1980s as a response to increased integration and the need to respond the challenges that enlargement brought (Bean et al., 1998). The objective of achieving further integration within the Union (Community of the time) and reducing disparities between different regions are introduced by the SEA as a necessity comes with the creation of the single market. With this purpose, in the 1994-1999 period, around 170

billion ECU are directed to the structural and cohesion policies (main instruments of the European social policy) (Keane, 1999). The introduction of qualified majority voting to certain social areas led to certain level harmonization and also reflected the increasing awareness on the part of the Member States about the importance and necessity of effective social policy instruments.

The SEA has made social policy as a major issue for the EU. However, the competence of the EU in social policy mostly remained in the area of regulation and was mainly symbolic (Mullard, 1997). The introduction of the Single Market which involves the free movement of labor, capital, goods and services also brought commitment to the creation of “Social Europe” that would create a “minimum floor of rights for all citizens”, so that the Single Market will not be in jeopardy. Therefore, with the SEA, while main responsibility of social policy still rests with nation states, the EU through the Social Charter of 1989, has created a “a discourse of right” for people, which could be perceived as an important step (ibid).

The Social Charter of 1989 puts emphasis on rights with special emphasis on rights of part-time workers, rights to equal pay, equal opportunity (Mullard, 1997). Therefore, we could conclude that the Social Charter is an instrument of compensation on the one hand, to deal with the problems that Single Market brings. On the other hand, it is an instrument to promote social dimension to the integration process so that integration can continue without interruption. Even though both the SEA and the Social Charter presents important steps in creation of European social policy, it still reflects the nature of European integration in that period, which was mainly economic.

The 1992 Maastricht Treaty constitutes an important step on the road to the creation of a comprehensive European social policy. Due to UK's veto, social chapter was not included into the Maastricht Treaty but Protocol in Social Policy was agreed by eleven states and this opened an important door for progress in the area of social policy (O'Connor, 2005). With the Protocol, the power of the Council was strengthened vis-à-vis Member States. The Protocol enabled the Council to adopt "by means of directives, minimum requirements for gradual implementation, having regard to the conditions and technical rules obtaining in each of the Member States' but recognizing the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality" (Hemerijck, 2002: 207). Therefore, while the importance given to the EU level institutions was increasing, the role of Member States remained crucial.

With the transition from European Community to EU, components of social policy other than economic ones gained importance in line with the intensification of integration. We could observe this transition from the Article 2 of the Treaty of European Union:

The Community shall have as its tasks [...] to promote throughout the Community a harmonious and balanced development of economic activities, sustainable and non-inflationary growth respecting the environment, a high degree of convergence of economic performance, a high level of employment and of social protection, raising of the standard of living and quality of life and economic and social cohesion and solidarity among member states.

Here we can see that elements to secure further integration such as social cohesion and solidarity have gained importance.

Following the Maastricht Treaty another important step was taken which is the White Paper, *European Social Policy: a Way Forward for the Union* that was prepared in 1994. The White Paper pointed out the core values that underlie the ESM

as “democracy and individual rights, free collective bargaining, the market economy, equality of opportunity for all and social welfare and solidarity” (European Commission, 1994: 9). The White Paper also called for the “adaptation of the ESM to underpin the process of change and ensure “a unique blend of economic well-being, social cohesiveness and high overall quality of life” (European Commission, 1994: 7).

The mid-1990s were characterized by the accession of new Member States to the EU that brought Scandinavian model of “virtuous complementarity between economic, social and employment policy”. The integration of new countries also urged the Union to reconsider their approach to social policy with increasing attention paid to social policy as an “investment, not as a cost” and to the “productive role of social policy within the framework of virtuous circle combining flexibility and security, adaptability and employability” (The European Commission, 2004a: 23). This change in perception has led to changes both in political terms and institutional provision with the Amsterdam Treaty. The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty was crucial to the incorporation of the Agreement on Social Policy into the main body of the treaty.

It is stated in the Amsterdam Treaty that:

The Community shall have as its task ... to promote throughout the Community a harmonious, balanced and sustainable development of economic activities, a high level of employment and of social protection, equality between men and women, sustainable and non-inflationary growth, a high degree of competitiveness and convergence of economic performance, a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment, the raising of the standard of living and quality of life, and economic and social cohesion and solidarity among Member States.¹

Here we could see that mainstreaming gender along with the emphasis put on creating solidarity has gained importance.

¹ Article 2 of the Treaty establishing the European Community as amended by the Amsterdam Treaty.

The Amsterdam Treaty is also significant since it has made social policy “truly EU-wide”. Up till the Amsterdam Treaty, ESM was mainly based on Agreement on Social Policy which was added as a protocol to the Maastricht Treaty and on the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers adopted in 1989 by the Heads of State and Government. The Charter included “safety and health protection at work, training and equal treatment for men and women”. However, the Charter was not legally binding and while the Agreement on Social Policy enabled the EU to take necessary actions to implement measures indicated by the Charter, it did not provide a European-wide policy since the United Kingdom signed neither the Agreement nor the Charter. With the Amsterdam Treaty; however, social policy has become an integral part of the European law which is applicable in all Member States (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 7).

With the increasing importance given to the components of integration other than work related concerns, the resources allocated to the related funds have also increased over time. For instance, leveling social and economic differences is now one of the primary aims of the EU and 213 billion EUR is allocated through Structural Funds for supporting social and economic restructuring for the period 2000-2006. Structural Funds are composed of four instruments which are European Social Fund (ESF), European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF), the Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance (FIFG) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) with the common mission of “reduce[ing] the differences between the peoples and the regions of the EU” (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 14). Those four funds are spent to meet three objectives: “promoting the development of regions whose development is lagging behind” (Objective 1);

“supporting the economic and social conversion of areas with specific difficulties” (Objective 2); “providing funding to help adapt and modernize education, training and employment policies and systems” (Objective 3) (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 14).

It is important to note that, work related issues still constitute an important concern for the EU. To this end, over 60 billion EUR over the period 2000-2006 was allocated through the ESF which aims to support projects related to development and improvement of employment, educational and vocational training (The European Commission, 2003). The ESF is the “EU’s financial instrument for investing in people”. Since 1957, the ESF is used a “joint funding principle to add to what Member States do to improve people’s job prospects and help develop their skills”. The ESF focuses mainly on the “support individual people need to become more employable, but can also be used to help improve systems and structures to make the labor market itself work better” (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 13-14).

In addition to these instruments, the role of Social Dialogue where Member States learn from other’s experiences became an important part of European social policy. It was launched by Jacques Delors in 1985 and recognized and strengthened with the SEA, the Maastricht Treaty and the Treaty of Amsterdam (The European Commission, 2004b).

With the increasing importance given to social cohesion, the EU invests heavily on human capital through Structural Funds. However, it is important to highlight that as it is also admitted by the Commission, those resources could be better utilized to deal with the challenges of solidarity. At this point, The ESF could play a catalyst role

for “national and regional investments to contribute to employment and life long learning, to increased quality and productivity at work and social inclusion” (The European Commission, 2004b). By this way, social policy could promote “adaptability and employability of people” so that they can resituate themselves according to the needs of globalization.

Another important instrument to make everybody equally equipped to deal with challenges that globalization creates and to promote a whole scale development for the EU so that an EU level solidarity can be established is known as EQUAL. EQUAL aims to eliminate all forms of discrimination and inequalities. This is aimed to be achieved through mechanisms of “age management, life-long learning, business creation and a better integration into the labor market of less favored groups such as people with disabilities, migrants and ethnic minorities” (The European Commission, 2004b: 8). EQUAL also emphasizes a “transnational approach” through a mechanism that requires those who want to receive fund from EQUAL needs to initiate a project that has partners at least from two Member States (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 16).

Despite the significant developments, in order for European social policy to succeed, there are some significant conditions to be realized. As it has been argued throughout the analysis, which also finds its reflection on the policies developed by the EU, in order for the European social policy to succeed, it is necessary to promote an integrated approach to the issue. This means on the one hand, the problems of inequality, marginalization, social exclusion, poverty are all interrelated and therefore, solving these problems requires acknowledging the importance of the problems and the interconnected nature of the issue and tackling with them accordingly. On the

other hand, in order to be able to develop a successful social policy, it also needs to be developed in such a manner that social policy is not perceived as a cost but as a benefit to the Union which is something that goes hand in hand with economic development.

Thirdly, it also needs to be recognized that the problems, needs and the demands at the European level are significantly different from those of the nation-states. Therefore, successful European social policy needs to be able to respond to those different needs and demands on the one hand and should be able to adapt itself so that it will not fall short of the needs of the Union.

Another important point that deserves attention but most often goes unnoticed is the importance of the involvement of the multiple actors both at the local, national and European level to the policy making and policy implementation process. That is crucial because the lack of paying enough attention to these points would only add up to the already growing democratic deficit problem of the EU. The EU already suffers from its lack of ability to explain itself to the citizens that leads to either disinterest or dissatisfaction on the part of the citizens which in turn constitutes an important barrier in front of the creation of European-wide public sphere that is necessary for the creation of European level social cohesion and solidarity. That is because it wouldn't mean anything for the EU to develop well-structured, integrated, forward looking policies for its citizens unless it can communicate its policies with its citizens. This communication inevitably requires a European-wide public sphere where citizens actively involved in policy making and policy implementation mechanisms in various capacities. Being aware of this necessity, it is stated by the Commission that "the task of employment and social policy include further development of civil dialogue, i.e.

negotiations between the social partners at European level” (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 4). This point is crucial, because as Habermas suggests, creating post-national solidarity at European level requires creation of public sphere at European level which in turn requires active participation of citizens to the process.

The need for the involvement of various actors has also been recognized by the Commission which states that “Solving Europe’s social problems requires input of as many players as possible, which is why European employment and social policy is operated both in conjunction with the Member States and in cooperation with associations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)” (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 4). With this purpose, “Platform of European Social NGOs” has been established in the mid-1990s with the purpose of promoting contribution of NGOs’ to European social policy. According to the Commission “NGOs are ... competent and important partners of the EU in implementing social policy measures, and they constitute a vital link between the EU and its citizens through these contacts” (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 4).

In addition to the involvement of NGOs, the EU also cooperates with several organizations and interest groups such as trade unions and employer’s organizations which are referred at “social partners”. They are believed to “play an important role by contributing, in line with established procedures, to the shaping and substance of European employment and social policy” (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 4). In 1985, the European Employers’ Confederation (UNICE), the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and the European Center of Enterprises with Public Participation (CEEP) have begun to work together. With the Agreement on Social Policy (1992) trade unions and employers’ organization have

become special advisers to the European Institutions. The Amsterdam Treaty increased their importance and these organizations became joint decision makers which mean that when they are entered into agreements they can now present those agreements to the European institutions to be integrated into the European law. (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 4).

3.4 An Attempt towards a Comprehensive Social Policy: The Lisbon Strategy

As we could follow from the brief historical account of European social policy, the EU has tried to pursue policies to ensure that economic and social progress goes hand in hand. However, as also suggested by the historical account, proper combination of those policies are yet to be realized. Being aware of this problem, the EU in 2000, Lisbon Heads of State and Government Meeting agreed to develop an “integrated strategy” for “more and better jobs and increased social cohesion, by promoting mutually reinforcing policies to address the needs of competitiveness, employment, social progress and environmental sustainability” (The European Commission, 2004c: 10) which is known as the Lisbon Strategy.

The Lisbon Strategy aims at bringing together economic, employment and social policies by focusing on commonly defined objectives of improving competitiveness, moving towards full employment and promoting social inclusion (The European Commission, 2004a). Therefore, the Lisbon Strategy aims to integrate different components of social policy together. The underlying assumption is that those policies are not in conflict; on the contrary, they reinforce each other (ibid).

Along with the Lisbon Strategy “Social Policy Agenda” was issued in 2000 (COM(2000) 379) with the aim of strengthening “the role of social policy as a

productive factor” (The European Commission, 2000: 5). With the Social Agenda, the importance of social policy as a major source of integration was reemphasized while the need for modernizing social model is acknowledged:

In the past, social policy has enabled the European Union to manage structural change whilst minimizing negative social consequences. In the future, modernizing the European social model and investing in people will be crucial to retain the European social values of solidarity and justice while improving economic performance.

Increasing the quality of social policy is stated as one of the main priorities of the Union and it is stated that the main objective is to “modernize and improve social protection to respond to the transformation to the knowledge economy, change in social and family structures and build on the role of social protection as a productive factor” (The European Commission, 2000: 20). With this purpose, the Social Agenda aims to “promote an inclusive society and to equip individuals for the changing world of work in an era of globalization and technological change”. “It drew together key lines of action under three main headings: job, skills and mobility, the changing world of work and an inclusive society” (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 4).

The Lisbon Strategy aims at responding globalization through providing investment and job creation in new areas (The European Commission, 2004a: 18). Through enhanced cooperation of policies in areas ranging from industry to education, the EU tries to turn challenges of globalization into opportunities through which it aims to create solidarity. The EU strongly emphasizes Lisbon Strategy’s role in dealing with the pressures of globalization. In the Commission Report it is stated that:

The EU has long pursued policies ... which seek to ensure that economic and social progress go hand in hand. In particular in Lisbon in 2000, the Heads of State and Governments agreed on integral strategy for reforms which intended to lead Europe becoming the most competitive knowledge based society in the world, with more and better jobs and increased social cohesion, by mutually reinforcing policies to address the needs of competitiveness, employment, social progress and environmental sustainability. This strategy is also the basis for the EU's policy response to impact of globalization on business, jobs and citizens in Europe.

Here we could see that social policy is regarded as a crucial instrument not only to deal with the problems of globalization but also to better utilize opportunities presented by globalization.

The main target set by the EU in Lisbon is that by 2010, the EU will be "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion". A particularly important role is assigned to modernizing the ESM through the OMC (European Council 2000).

Another crucial point of emphasis in the Lisbon Strategy is cooperation and covers regional development, employment, social policy and structural norms. This is very much in line with the "integrated approach" that is aimed by the Lisbon Strategy. The EU encourages governments to promote programs in order to reduce regional disparities and foster core labor standards and social dialogue (The European Commission, 2004b). However, it is also important to note that the level of achievement will be tested over time.

The ideals that are envisaged by the Lisbon Strategy are reemphasized in the subsequent meeting in Barcelona, 2002. At this meeting European Council defines the "European social model as being based on good economic performance, a high level of social protection and life long learning and on social dialogue" (The European

Commission, 2004b). Therefore, the integrated approach to social policy is solidified and now it is the norm in the EU.

Even though, the Lisbon strategy was initiated with great expectations attached to it, as many critics underline, there is an important gap between the rhetoric and the reality. While what the Lisbon Strategy envisages in rhetoric is highly acknowledged, the perceived capacity – expectation gap raises concerns about to what extent the Strategy can be implemented (The European Commission, 2004a). There are many phases identified regarding to the implementation process of the Strategy. Two important phases are planned to be completed by the year 2010. The first phase of the implementation that covers 2000-2005 period has been completed without serious problems. One point where the phase has not been concluded properly is the preliminary implementation in the Member States. The level of success varies severely among Member States; mainly due to the reluctance on the part of the Member States.

The second phase that has begun with the 2005 mid-term review, envisages more ambitious goals and; therefore, is exposed to more challenges. The main emphasis of this period is the implementation of the Strategy at the national level (The European Commission, 2004a). This requires harmonization of EU level and national level policy initiatives, mechanisms and instruments. Since this would inevitably have implications on both the EU and the nation-states, it raises tension and causes conflict between the EU and Member States and also among Member States.

The midterm review of the Lisbon Strategy was accompanied with a new Social Agenda prepared for the period of 2005-2010. The Social Agenda issued in 2000 was evaluated such that “The Agenda makes it possible to facilitate the modernization of

national systems against a background of far-reaching economic and social changes. It supports the harmonious operation of the single market while ensuring respect for fundamental rights and common values” (The European Commission, 2005b: 2). The new Social Agenda puts special emphasis on the need for European level solidarity. For this to be realized, a two-fold strategy is developed. First emphasis is on the need to strengthen “citizen’s confidence” (The European Commission, 2005b: 3). Therefore, it is acknowledged by the Commission that in order for social policy instruments to become effective, citizens’ positive perception of EU policies and active involvement of citizens is required.

The second pillar of the strategy is the emphasis on the need to link the policies about employment with those about “equal opportunities and inclusion”. The need for an integrated approach has been recognized throughout the EU history. What is important is that Social Agenda “combines the consolidation of a common European framework with implementation of diversified measures to respond specific needs” (The European Commission, 2005b: 3). This aspect is crucial because the high hopes attached to European social policy is mostly based on the idea that social policy mechanisms developed at European level has the capacity to respond to the dynamic nature of the developments. This needs to be an indispensable aspect of the European policy making since it is the only way that the EU could respond to its widening and deepening aspects of its evolution on the one hand, and to the needs of globalization on the other. Failing to do so would make the EU face with the same challenges that nation-states are facing now. However, in order for desired outcomes to be reached, the EU should not only be able to respond to the diversified needs of its citizens but also to anticipate the forthcoming challenges. The Commission also puts emphasis on

this aspect in the Social Agenda by stating that “against a background of increasing economic integration and intensified global competition, the EU must be capable of anticipating, triggering and managing economic change more effectively” (The European Commission, 2005b: 6).

Although achieving the Lisbon objectives requires willingness on all parties, the main responsibility, nonetheless, rests with the Member States. That is because, since the objectives are set and initial mechanisms are introduced, it is now governments’ responsibility to provide the coherence and the consistency between the policies they agreed at EU level and implementation at national level. This would not only requires them to adopt the EU policies at the national level, but also urges them to promote active participation of relevant stakeholders of civil society to the Lisbon structure (The European Commission, 2004a). That would mean serious changes in the policy making and implementation structures of the Member States which is something they are not always willing to do.

Although the short and medium term objectives of the Lisbon Strategy requires constant redefinition so that it would keep up with new challenges and demands; the long term objectives are considered as valid by all actors. These objectives can be identified as promoting competitiveness, both within the EU and the EU’s competitiveness in the global economy; more and better jobs for all and social inclusion (The European Commission, 2004a). The emphasis put on them may change over time due to the needs of the day; they nonetheless stay as the fundamental components of the European social agenda.

The OMC is the most important contribution of the Lisbon Summit to the EU policy making. Even though it was initially created in 1997 Amsterdam Treaty in

employment related affairs, it is spread to the spheres of social inclusion in 2000 and pensions in 2002 (O'Connor, 2005). OMC is defined as the main instrument in facilitating the targets defined by the Lisbon Strategy. OMC foresees a method of “spreading best practices and achieving convergence towards the main EU goals” (The European Commission, 2004a). The method is designed to “help Member States to progressively developing their own policies” (ibid). This would require them to firstly fix guidelines and timetables for achieving determined goals. It would also necessitate them to establish benchmarks based on the best practice and tailor them according to the specific needs of the country. The main aim of this method is “translating European guidelines into national and regional policies by setting specific targets and adopting measures, taking into account national and regional differences” (ibid). This reflects the main logic of the EU that is to harmonize policies but not to unify them so that it would be responsive to the different needs of different Members still prevail.

In order to better evaluate the introduction of OMC into the social policy system, not only a historical perspective but also a good understanding of the present conjuncture is necessary. On the one hand, external pressures are forcing the governments to coordinate in the social policy area. On the other hand, internal challenges were forcing Member States to cooperate. When we look at the internal challenges aside from the already discussed challenges the EU has been facing since its establishment, 1990s and early 2000s also marked with the legitimacy crisis which has crucial repercussions on the EU policy making. The aftermath of the Maastricht Treaty is generally perceived as an era of growing gap between the European elites and the public (Borras and Jacobsson, 2004). The OMC has been seen as a “new and

flexible instrument able to introduce more democratic parameters in decision-making and to regain the lost popular confidence in the European integration project by inducing further political action complementing the Community method” (Scott and Trubek: 2002). Therefore, the OMC is seen as “a breath of fresh air into the mechanisms of common EU action, allowing for a novel way of unfolding the coordination of national areas of public action which does not involve a formal or full-fledged transfer of competences” (Borras and Jacobsson, 2004). Here we can observe that, the development of European social policy is perceived as a learning process and each action that is taken constitutes not only a step forward but also an example of how things should not be done.

The Constitutional Treaty prepared in 2004 had the potential to present an important step towards creation of an integrated approach to social policy at European level. The Constitutional Treaty incorporated main principles outlined in different treaties into together and states the role of the EU in social policy as:

The Union and the Member States, ... shall have as their objectives the promotion of employment, improved living conditions, so as to make possible their harmonization while the improvement is being maintained, proper social protection, dialogue between management and labor, the development of human resources with a view of lasting employment and the combating of exclusion (Section 2 Article III-209).

The issue areas in which EU’s role has been profoundly established such as workers’ health and safety, working conditions, equality between men and women in labor market have found their place in the Constitutional Treaty. In addition to those issue areas, the Constitutional Treaty has put significant importance to the concepts such as dialogue and cooperation which was crucial step in filling the gaps that the EU is facing in its efforts to create European level solidarity.

Dialogue, for instance, was one of the most important concepts that were highlighted in the Constitution. Especially dialogue between management and labor at European level was an important component of the envisaged social policy structure. The Treaty not only encouraged dialogue between different stakeholders, but also opened the doors for the decisions that come out of this dialogue to be implemented at EU level (Section 2 Article III-211/212). The envisaged dialogue on the one hand, has the potential to contribute to the creation of European-wide public sphere through creating a European-wide dialogue where different stakeholders from different Member States have the opportunity to come together and take decisions that would affect the whole EU. On the other hand, the Constitution also provides an opportunity for EU involvement in the area of social policy to become the norm through encouraging stakeholders to take decisions at EU level.

Another important point of emphasis was the concept of cooperation in the Constitutional Treaty. Especially cooperation and coordination among Member States was envisaged in the field of social policy (Section 2 Article III-213). Through enhanced cooperation, the EU reemphasized the aim of harmonizing different welfare systems instead of unifying them which is crucial, as it was argued throughout this analysis, for the creation of European level solidarity.

Although the Constitutional Treaty has the potential to contribute to the efforts to create European level solidarity, after the negative results of referendum in France and the Netherlands, the future of the Treaty is not clear. The Flash EB surveys conducted in France (Flash EB 171:2005) and the Netherlands (Flash EB 172:2005) provides important insights in understanding why citizens opposed to the Treaty. For

instance, Flash EB 171 (2005) conducted in France after the referenda indicates that the most cited motive for the “no vote” was the idea that “it [the Constitutional Treaty] will have negative effects on the employment situation in France/relocation of French enterprises/loss of jobs” with 31%. This result illustrates us that concerns related to social policy area has significant role to play in people’s attitudes towards the EU which is a positive sign in the sense that a public sphere is being established where social policy is now an important point of discussion.

Surveys also indicate that lack of knowledge on the text had a significant role to play for “no vote”. For instance, 32% of the respondents who voted no said “lack of information” was the main reason for their vote. Therefore, the results illustrate that although the EU is enthusiastic about taking important steps towards creation of well-developed European social policy, the efforts will not find their reflection on the part of citizens unless the EU better communicates its policies with citizens. Only through better communication, people will understand what European social policy will bring to them which in return have the potential to give rise to the possibility of increasing people’s willingness to sacrifice for each other at European level.

The analysis of Lisbon Strategy suggests that the importance of creating European level solidarity has become an important concern for the EU. To this end, the EU has developed several social policy initiatives among which the Lisbon Strategy can be seen as the most developed one with the integrated approach it brings into the picture. The analysis also suggests that although the Lisbon Strategy is not enough for the creation of European level solidarity, it nonetheless, constitutes an important step towards this end. One of the important points that are missing is the

creation of European-wide public sphere which will be further evaluated in the following section.

3.5 Through the Eyes of Citizens: an Overlook of Public Perception about European Social Policy

Understanding the possibility of creating a European level solidarity through European social policy requires firstly examining what the EU means in the eyes of people and how they identify themselves with respect to the EU. This analysis would firstly allow us to appreciate the current perception of the citizens. Secondly, it would allow us to understand what is perceived as important; the needs, expectations and concerns of citizens which can and should be utilized in turn to develop social policy mechanisms to create feelings of mutual obligation at European level. In other words, through analyzing people's perception about the EU, this section will analyze whether the public sphere that Habermas sees as essential is realized. It will be argued that there is increasing awareness on the part of citizens about the involvement of the EU in social policy concerns which is followed by increasing expectations from the Union. However, despite the increasing awareness and expectations on the part of the citizens, the analysis would also suggest that there are steps to be taken in order to fully realize European-wide public sphere.

The analysis will be conducted at both national and individual levels with the aim of reaching more comprehensive understanding of people's perception about both the EU and being a "European". Moreover, the longitudinal aspect of this analysis will allow us to observe whether the change in European social policy has found its reflection in people's perceptions which will be further tested in the following chapter in specific issue areas.

3.5.1 Nation Level Analysis

When we look at the perceptions at the national level, we would see that the responses to the question of “Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)’s membership of the European Union is ...? – a good thing – a bad thing – neither good or bad” (QA11a, EB 65 Sp. 2006) are generally positive. As Table 3.1 illustrates although certain level of fluctuation is observed between years, the average of respondents who think that their countries’ membership is good remains more than 50% while the ones who think their countries’ membership is bad is around 15%.

Table 3.1 Citizens’ Attitudes towards Membership

	Good (%)	Bad (%)	Neither good nor bad (%)
EB57Sp. 2002	53	11	28
EB58Aut. 2002	55	10	29
EB59Sp. 2003	54	11	27
EB60Aut. 2003	48	15	31
EB61Sp. 2004	48	17	29
EB62Aut. 2004	56	13	28
EB63Sp. 2005	54	15	27
EB64Aut. 2005	50	16	30
EB65Sp. 2006	55	13	28

Compiled by the author based on EB 65 Sp. 2006

The data reflecting perceptions about the perceived level of benefits from the membership illustrates similar results on the positive perceptions though there is

significant difference in perceived lack of benefits from the membership. Table 3.2 demonstrates the answers given to the question of “Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (OUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union” (QA12a, EB 65 Sp.)

Table 3.2 Perceived Benefits from Membership

	Benefited (%)	Not Benefited (%)
EB57Sp. 2002	51	26
EB58Aut. 2002	50	28
EB59Sp. 2003	50	29
EB60Aut. 2003	46	34
EB61Sp. 2004	47	35
EB62Aut. 2004	53	34
EB63Sp. 2005	55	33
EB64Aut. 2005	52	36
EB65Sp. 2006	54	33
EB66Aut. 2006	54	34

Compiled by the author based on EB 66 Aut. 2006

As it can be observed from the table above, the percentage of respondents who think their country has benefited from the membership is around 50%. While this aspect of the analysis resembles to the answers given to the previous question, the amount of people who thinks their country has not benefited from the EU membership is more than double of who thinks membership is a bad thing which adds up to 34%.

One pattern that we could observe from the table is that while percentages fluctuate over time there is a seemingly steady increase in the number of people who think that their country does not benefit from the EU membership. This is an important point because it illustrates the lack of efficiency on the part of the EU to develop necessary mechanisms to (i) provide benefits to its citizens and (ii) communicate the benefits it creates with its citizens. Both reasons require the EU to revise its policies and develop innovative ways to explain the advantages it creates to the citizens. That is important because it is not enough for the EU to develop necessary policy mechanisms to create European level solidarity. An equally important part of the process that would lead to post-national solidarity at European level is the EU's ability to communicate its policies with the public in order to create European-wide public sphere, as it was argued by Habermas. That is because, so long as people are not aware of EU policies or not aware of the fact that the benefits that they are receiving are coming from the EU, European level solidarity can not be realized.

3.5.2 Individual Level Analysis

When we look at the individual level, we would observe that EB analysis suggests that the EU has a positive image for around half of the European citizens. Around 50% of the respondents answered positively to the "In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?" question (QA13, EB 65 Sp. 2006).

While the percentages indicated in the following table resembles to the results from the previous tables, it could be observed that the fluctuation is rather sharper in

this table. This is crucial because it is an important indicator that the EU has not established a prominent image in the eyes of the European citizens. This analysis can be tied back to the argument that the EU is not only away from creating necessary mechanisms for its citizens to benefit but also lack the ability to explain itself and develop a positive image in the eyes of the people which is necessary to create public sphere at European level.

Table 3.3 The Perceived Image of the EU

	Positive (%)	Negative (%)	Neutral (%)
EB57Sp. 2002	49	14	31
EB58Aut. 2002	50	13	32
EB59Sp. 2003	48	17	32
EB60Aut. 2003	44	18	32
EB61Sp. 2004	44	21	32
EB62Aut. 2004	50	15	33
EB63Sp. 2005	47	19	32
EB64Aut. 2005	44	20	34
EB65Sp. 2006	50	15	32

Compiled by the author based on EB65 Sp. 2006

Another specific question that EB surveys raise is about what people understand and therefore expect from the EU. The analysis of the answers given to the question of “what does the European Union mean to you personally?” (QA13, EB64 Aut. 2005) are indicated in the following table.

According to the EB surveys, the most positively perceived benefit of the EU to its citizens is the freedom of movement which amounts to 52% in Spring 2005 and to 50% in Autumn 2005. While some other positive aspects of the EU are emphasized such as perceiving the EU as a source of “peace” (37% and 32%), “cultural diversity” (29% and 28%), “stronger say in the world” (29% and 28%), “democracy” (24% and 22%), “economic prosperity” (21% and 19%) and “social protection” (12% and 10%). The negative perception of the EU has a significant part to play such as perceiving the EU as a “waste of money” (22% and 24%), “bureaucracy” (21% and 23%), “not enough control of borders” (19% and 23%), “unemployment” (19% and 20%), “more crime” (17% and 18%) and “loss of cultural identity” (13% and 14%).

While there are differences in the importance attached to different aspects of the EU, there is a significant pattern that deserves attention. As it could be seen from the table, while the percentage of negative images has unexceptionally increased between the time span of two surveys, the percentage of positive images have decreased steadily. This is a significant sign of lack of suitable mechanisms to deal with the needs, expectations and concerns of the European citizens which also signs that European social policy was not developed enough to meet the expectations.

Table 3.4 The Meaning of the EU for Citizens

	EB63Sp. 2005 (%)	EB64Aut. 2005 (%)
Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU	52	50
Euro	37	38
Peace	37	32
Cultural diversity	29	28
Stronger say in the world	29	28
Waste of money	22	24
Bureaucracy	21	23
Not enough control at external frontiers	19	23
Democracy	24	22
Unemployment	19	20
Economic prosperity	21	18
More crime	17	18
Loss of cultural identity	13	14
Social protection	12	10

Compiled by the author based on EB64 Aut. 2005

Another important indicator of people's attitudes towards the EU at the individual level is the answers given to the question of "Does the European Union give you personally the feeling of...?" (QA14, EB64 Aut. 2005).

Table 3.5 Citizens Feelings about the EU

	EB62Aut. 2004 (%)	EB63Sp. 2005 (%)	EB64Aut. 2005 (%)
Hope	47	44	42
Trust	24	22	22
Anxiety	17	20	21
Mistrust	18	19	20
Indifference	19	18	19
Enthusiasm	7	7	6
Rejecting it	5	6	5
DK	3	3	3

Compiled by the author based on EB64 Aut. 2005

As it can be observed from the table above, while “hope” is the most common feeling that the EU gives to the citizens, there is a decrease in the positive feelings of people such as “hope” (47%, 44% and 42%), “trust” (24%, 22% and 22%); there is an important increase in all forms of negative feelings that the EU gives rise to: “anxiety” (17%, 20% and 21%), “mistrust” (18%, 19% and 20%) and “indifference” (19%, 18% and 19%). This is also an important indicator to what extent the EU fall short of responding people’s needs, expectations and concerns. However, if a European level solidarity is yet to be achieved, the EU has to find its way to both create better mechanisms and develop alternative and more effective ways of communicating itself with the citizens if a European-wide public sphere is to be developed.

When we look at the public perception of the EU’s activities in the area of employment and social affairs, we could observe an increase that amounts to 6% over the period of three years among the ones who perceive a “positive” role (EB60.2, 2003; EB65.3, 2006). The percentage of respondents who perceives the EU’s activities as “negative” did not change over time (27%). While the increase in the positive perception is a positive indicator, it is important to note that 20% of the respondents are still unable to express an opinion regarding to EU’s role in the area of employment and social affairs. Therefore, as it is also indicated by the figures throughout this analysis, the EU needs to better communicate its policies with the public. However, the increase in the positive perception about EU’s role in employment and social affairs is crucial because as Cram (2001) argues the more EU’s involvement is perceived as the norm, the more likely it becomes for post-national solidarity to be realized.

Table 3.6 Perception about EU's Role in Employment and Social Affairs

Impact	EB 65.3	EB 60.2	Difference
	EU 15	EU15	EB65.3/ EB60.2
Positive	54%	50%	+4
Negative	27%	27%	0
DK	20%	22%	-2

Source: Special EB 261, 2004: 5

The above analysis suggests that there is increasing awareness on the part of citizens about the EU's involvement in the area of social policy which is a positive indicator in the search for creating European level solidarity. The awareness is coupled with expectations from the EU to take an active role which is also an important step towards the creation of post-national solidarity as Cram (2001) argues. However, the data also suggests that the level that so far achieved is not enough for us to argue that feelings of mutual obligation at European level has been established. In addition to the steps that need to be taken in order to create post-national solidarity, the significant challenges that the EU is facing and mechanisms that need to be developed to deal with them should be identified, which will constitute the main concern of the following chapter.

3.6 Conclusion

Based on the theoretical framework developed in the previous chapter, this chapter has aimed to highlight two main questions. One is the evaluation of European social policy from a historical perspective which puts specific emphasis on the latest social policy initiative, the Lisbon Strategy with the aim of understanding how European social policy has developed over time. The analysis suggested that the importance

given to the solidarity dimension of social policy has increased over time. This increased attention is reflected in development of more integrated social policy instruments directed towards tackling with multiple aspects of social concerns as well as specific emphasis put on active involvement of citizens in the search for creating European-wide public sphere.

However, the brief analysis of public perception suggested that although there is increase in positive perception that people have about EU's involvement in social policy, which is crucial in creating post-national solidarity based on the argument that Cram (2001) suggests, European level solidarity is yet to be realized. After evaluating the conditions upon which post-national solidarity can be established and the current level of achievement that the EU has reached, the next chapter will be devoted to the analysis of three significant issue areas which constitute important challenges in front of the creation of European level solidarity.

CHAPTER IV

EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY IN ACTION: TACKLING WITH POVERTY/UNEMPLOYMENT, ENLARGEMENT AND IMMIGRATION

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters were devoted to establishing a theoretical framework upon which the discussion on post-national solidarity was established. This theoretical discussion was followed by the evaluation of European social policy and its reflection on post-national solidarity from a historical perspective. It was argued that while the analysis of creating solidarity at national level suggests that constructing feelings of mutual responsibility at a level that transcends national boundaries is possible, it nonetheless, requires re-conceptualization of the concept of solidarity so that it would be cleared from exclusionary connotations it has.

This chapter will identify three main challenges i.e. poverty/unemployment, enlargement and immigration that emerge as most important problems that the EU faces in its attempts to create European level solidarity. For the purpose of deeper analysis of the dynamics behind each challenge, these issue areas will be evaluated in separate sections, however; it is important to highlight that they are nonetheless,

highly interlinked. Therefore, it will be argued that since the problems are interlinked, policies developed to tackle with them should also reflect an integrated approach.

In this analysis, firstly main concerns will be highlighted. This will be followed by the analysis of policy mechanisms that are developed by the EU which will be complemented with the analysis of public perception of European social policies. This will be crucial in understanding to what extent the EU is successful in creating post-national solidarity. The analysis will be complemented with guidelines for future policy instruments with special emphasis on shortcomings of current policy initiatives. It will be argued that there is an increasing awareness on the part of citizens about the need for the EU to take an active role in social policy. However, while certain level of solidarity has established at EU level, *reflective solidarity* that needs to be established in order for solidarity to be successful at post-national context is yet to be realized. Moreover, it will be asserted that in order for future policy initiatives to be successful, policies should be better integrated so that they would respond multiple challenges and special emphasis should be put on increasing public involvement so that a European-wide public sphere can be created.

4.2 Poverty/Unemployment

4.2.1 Problems and Concerns

Even if the EU is regarded as one of the most prosperous regions of the world, the figures illustrate the need for crucial measures to be taken to deal with the issue of poverty. More than 68 million people, around 15% of the EU population are living at the risk of poverty. Recent economic slowdown experienced in the Union which is coupled with rising unemployment rates and fewer job opportunities increase the risk of poverty and social exclusion, and therefore challenge solidarity and worsen the

situation of those who are already affected (The European Commission 2005b). This situation deprives the chances of people to fully participate into the society and the situation is worsen due to the transmission of poverty over generations that means permanent social exclusion which is in turn detrimental for the solidarity within Europe (The European Commission, 2005c).

Poverty and unemployment constitute threat to the European integration in three ways. One is that economic development could only be realized if society as a whole benefits from it. That is because one condition of successful economic development is better distribution of wealth along with increasing wellbeing. So long as a part of society is deprived from the benefits that development brings, the economic development will always be incomplete. Even if putting the normative concerns aside, purely economic reasoning would suggest that in order for economy to develop, there should be a market that the products can be sold. For a proper market to actualize, people need to have proper economic wellbeing. Therefore, in order to secure further integration, policies to deal with poverty are required.

Secondly, poverty and unemployment are threats to the stability within the Union. That is because; increasing disparity has great potential in initiating social unrest. People who feel deprived become alienated not only from the system but also from the ones who are better off. This not only results in increasing social unrest but also increasing distrust on the part of the people who are better off which in turn lead to social exclusion that would seriously challenge solidarity. Therefore, poverty is an important threat because it would lead to social problems ranging from social unrest to social exclusion.

Thirdly, poverty and unemployment also threatens legitimacy of the EU. In order for people to be willing to support further integration, they need to experience the benefits that the Union provides. However, the lack of providing necessary mechanisms to deal with poverty and creating opportunities of compensation through social policies for the disadvantaged creates an important source of threat not only to legitimacy of the existing structure of the EU but also to solidarity and the future of the integration. Acknowledging these concerns are crucial because, as it was discussed above, in order for solidarity to be established people firstly, need to be willing to sacrifice for their fellow European citizens and secondly, they have to see the EU as a legitimate institution through which the social policy mechanisms are initiated to compensate inequalities that they are experiencing. However, poverty and unemployment constitute important challenges for this to be realized, and requires the EU to develop policy mechanisms to deal with them.

4.2.2 Social Policy Mechanisms

When it comes to the policies that are developed by the EU to deal with the issue of poverty and unemployment, we would see that it is the most developed aspect of social policy. In addition to the long established Structural and Cohesion Funds, the EU's role is crucial in creating incentives for Member States to coordinate their policies to fight against poverty under the OMC which "allows member states to pool their experience and learn from each other's successes and failures" (The European Commission, 2005d). The initiative role on the part of the Commission is also marked with the declaration of the year 2010 as A European Year of Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion (ibid). This attempt may seem symbolic but it is crucial in

illustrating the importance given to the issue of solidarity though emphasis on two important aspects of it i.e. poverty alleviation and social exclusion. We could conclude that, through variety of mechanisms, the EU tries to deal with the issue of poverty and therefore eliminate obstacles in front of further integration. However, we could also conclude that, despite efforts put forward to this end, there are still important inequalities between income levels which require further effort on the part of both Member States and the EU.

In the Social Agenda issued in 2000, poverty is acknowledged as one of the main sources that challenge the establishment of solidarity at European level and the need for development of effective policy instruments is emphasized. It was stated in the Social Agenda that “a key challenge is now to move from an agenda of tackling social exclusion to one which fosters social inclusion and mainstreams it into the heart of all policy making” (The European Commission, 2000: 12). While the poverty is accepted as a major source of challenge, unemployment is highlighted as the most important source of poverty since among the unemployed two out of three are at the risk of poverty. “Deprivation of real chances prevents people from full participation in society. Moreover, transmission of poverty over generations confines to permanent exclusion those more vulnerable” (The European Commission, 2005b: 9). However, the statistics show that there are significant differences among Member States. Some Member States have extremely high unemployment rates in comparison to others for instance while Denmark’s employment rate is 76.4 %, Spain’s is around 55.4 % in 2002 (Brazier 2003a: 1) which is a further challenge in front of creating solidarity among Member States.

Based on the emphasis put on poverty and unemployment as its major source, the Commission states that “it is important to focus attention on those at the margins of the labor market, by investing in people to increase their employability and by reducing barriers for labor market entry”. It is believed that realizing this aim “requires multi-faceted policies, which go beyond labor market issues, and which aim to increase social inclusion and participation” (The European Commission, 2000: 12). This is crucial because it proves that the EU has reached a point where social policy is not seen only as a mechanism to compensate economic inequalities but as a source to realize European level solidarity through emphasizing multiple aspects of poverty and unemployment.

Social protection systems play a significant role in the EU. They provide “individual citizens with security and contribute to political and social stability and economic success”. Related benefits include, “treatment in the event of illness and after work accidents, and income after retirement or in the event of unemployment”. According to the Commission data, without social protection four out of ten households would be living in relative poverty (i.e. with less than 50% of average income at their disposal) (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 22).

Although social protection is important in all Member States the lack of sufficient social protection policies coordinated at EU level is recognized as another important source that feeds poverty and social exclusion in the EU (Brazier, 2003b). Social protection policies should be enhanced and coordinated so that people at the risk of poverty and social exclusion would be protected and people would be bounded with solidarity at EU level. It is accepted that organization of social protection systems solely rests with the Member States; however, in 1990s the EU Council has

agreed on a so-called “convergence strategy” which is “designed to achieve long-term approximation of social protection policies and systems” (Directorate General for Education and Culture, 2000: 22).

The target set by the Lisbon Strategy was to increase the overall employment rate to 70 % in the EU (Brazier, 2003a: 1). In order for this target to be realized, 20 million more jobs need to be created. The key instrument defined in the Social Agenda is the “newly revamped and streamlined *European Employment Strategy*”. The European Employment Strategy which is supported by the ESF has three interrelated objectives which are “working towards full employment; quality and productivity at work; and social cohesion and an inclusive labor market” (Brazier, 2003a: 1).

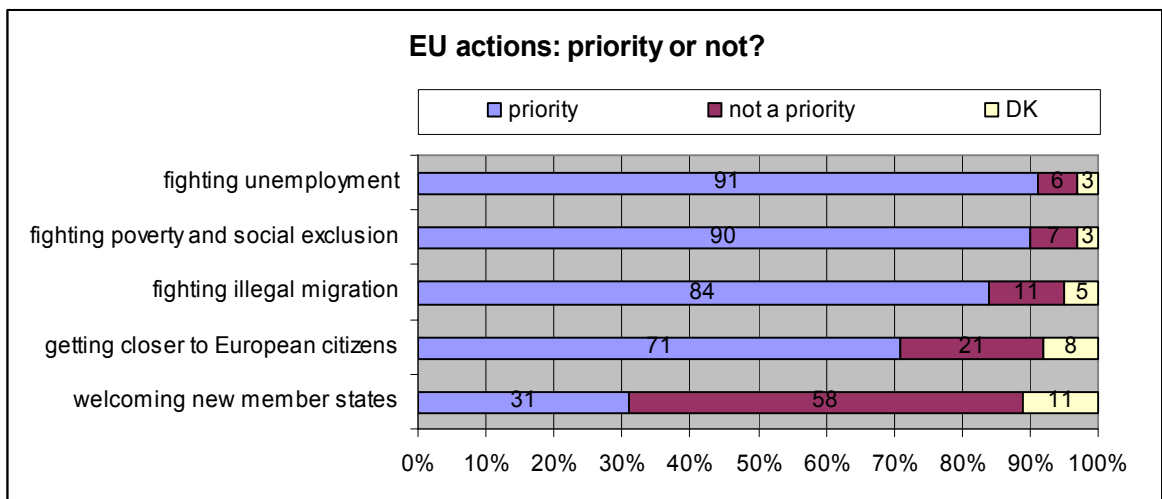
As it was argued above as a reflection of the importance put on poverty, the year 2010 is announced to be the European Year of Combating Social Exclusion and Poverty, which will supposedly help the EU to increase the awareness on the part of citizens and increase the cooperation among Member States and the Union in harmonizing and developing policy instruments to deal with poverty and unemployment. This aim is crucial in two senses. Firstly, it proves that the EU follows the idea that neither post-national solidarity nor post-national social policy should aim to replace already existing levels of solidarity. Instead, it needs to create an extra layer of solidarity through additional mechanisms of social policy so that people are more equipped to deal with the challenges they face. Secondly, the emphasis put on increasing awareness also illustrates the importance that the EU puts on creating European-wide public sphere, which is as it was argued above, crucial in creating post-national solidarity.

4.2.3 The Perceptions of Citizens

As it was discussed above, unemployment and poverty are perceived as one of the most important problems in Europe by the citizens. EB surveys illustrate that one out of two people consider unemployment as one of the two most important issues facing their country (QA28a+b, EB 65 Sp. 2006) As it is argued in the previous chapter, the importance given by the EU to the issue of poverty and unemployment coincides with the citizens concerns which are important signs for the success of the EU policies.

When we look at people's perception towards the EU's role in fighting with poverty, we would see that there is a dominant pattern in public opinion towards seeing fighting poverty and unemployment as a priority area for the EU to deal with. As the Figure 4.1 illustrates over 90% of respondents think that "fighting unemployment" and "fighting poverty and social exclusion" is perceived as priority area for the Union to act upon (EB 58 Aut. 2002).

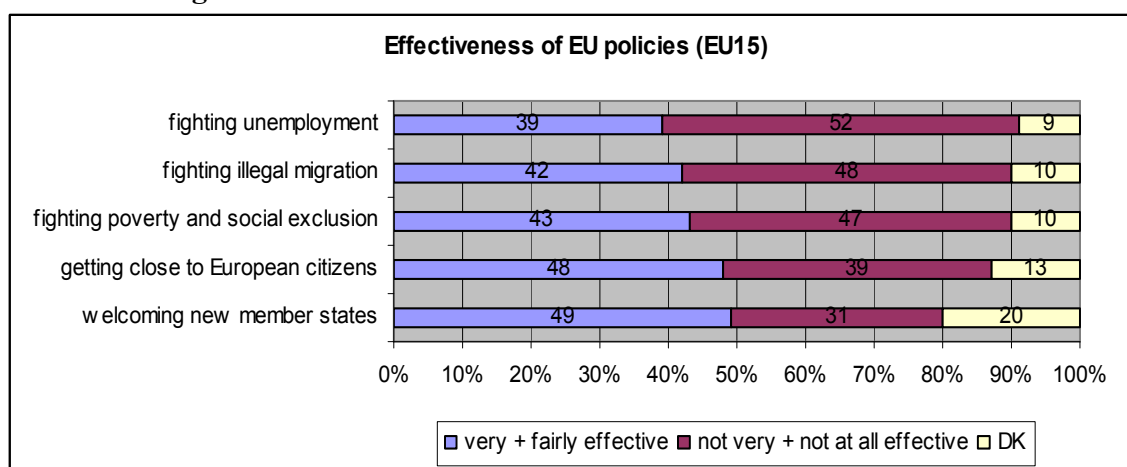
Figure 4.1 Priority Areas for EU Actions



Compiled by the author based on EB 58 Aut. 2002

This figure reflects an important shift in people's expectations. In order for citizens to be bounded by the ties of solidarity at the European level, it is important first to shift their expectations from national to EU level institutions. In other words, as it was discussed previously, in order for European level solidarity to be established, it is important that EU's role become the norm in the eyes of people. This shift would in turn allow the EU a room of maneuver to create more and better policy instruments to deal with the concerns. While EB surveys reflect such an expectation from the EU, the perceived level of effectiveness falls very short. According to the EB 58 Aut. (2002), as the Figure 4.2 illustrates the perceived level of effectiveness of the EU policies in "fighting poverty and social exclusion" remains 43% while the ratio remains at 39% for policies in "fighting unemployment".

Figure 4.2 Perceived Level of Effectiveness of EU Policies



Compiled by author based on EB 58 Aut. 2002

This figure underscores a significant gap between the level of expectations and the level of perceived success by the citizens. This gap on the one hand, illustrates that there is already established level of expectations from the EU which is a positive sign in the sense that people are open to direct their concerns and expectations to the EU.

The above shown gap on the other hand, proves that the perceived level of effectiveness that the EU so far has reached is far from being adequate. Therefore, if a European level solidarity is to be achieved through European social policy, the EU has to revise and further develop its policies.

4.2.4 Policy Proposals

While the EU attaches utmost importance to the issue of poverty and enthusiastic about developing integrated policies to alleviate poverty throughout Europe, there are significant obstacles to overcome if European solidarity will be established. As Bercusson et al. (2001: 190) suggest *Social Europe* cannot and should not be a “mere side effect of the economy and the market”. “Social policy requires an extensive employment and social security system which motivates citizens towards employment and social participation, and establishes the prerequisites for any necessary structural changes” (Bercusson et al., 2001: 190).

As it can be followed from the above analysis of public perception and concerns about the poverty issue and expectations from the EU, it could be concluded that poverty and unemployment are one of the most important concerns of the citizens. As the data indicates and as it will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter, these concerns are also coupled with concerns attached to enlargement and immigration. Relatively less developed new Member States and immigrants coming from both these new Member States and third countries trigger already existing concerns about poverty and especially about unemployment. As the data reflects, EU involvement in tackling with poverty is a widely accepted phenomenon among citizens. While over 90% of citizens expects the EU to take a part and develop

policies to alleviate poverty, the perceived level of effectiveness of European level policies fall short of expectations. Since, the concerns about poverty, especially unemployment, are coupled with the concerns with enlargement and immigration, it is crucial for the EU to develop an integrated social policy approach in dealing with those concerns. This is necessary, because so long as people perceives new Member States and immigrants as significant contributors to the economic problems they face, European level solidarity can not be realized.

Therefore, while initiating policies to alleviate poverty, the EU has to make every effort to show public that the policies that are initiated will in turn better of the society as whole. In other words, the EU has to give an answer to the question of “why should I help a poor in another country while I/ my nation has economic problems of my /our own?”. Thus, it is not enough for the EU to develop policies significant enough to alleviate poverty throughout Europe, the Union should prove to its citizens that current situation can not be handled by the nation-states on their own. The problems are transcending the national borders and handling with them goes beyond capacities of nation-states, therefore, if poverty is alleviated, it should be done at European level. This would require increased efforts to create a European-wide public sphere through active involvement of citizens and better communicating policies with citizens.

4.3 Enlargement

4.3.1 Problems and Concerns

The issue of enlargement is an important source of challenge that the EU needs to tackle with if feelings of mutual obligation is going to be established at European level. The EU has experienced previous enlargements that presented important

problems to the solidarity of the Union. However, it successfully integrated the newcomers into the system and furthered the integration. What is unique about the new enlargement waves is that they brought unprecedented number of new countries into the system which means the necessity of integrating twelve different political, social and economic systems that each has its own problems. In order for successful integration to be realized, not only the new members need to be integrated into the system but also and more importantly the EU policies should also be integrated into the new challenges and demands of the EU-27.

The challenge that enlargement presents for the solidarity is two fold. One is about the integration of new comers to the EU system. Second and more important part of the problem is that, each country comes into the system with already existing solidarity problems of its own. Poverty, income disparity that coupled with the lack of integration of migrants and minorities into the system of these countries could be solidified rather than resolved with EU membership if proper integration cannot be realized.

Poverty and social exclusion are significant challenges for the new Members especially with large sections of population living on low income levels and experiencing high levels of deprivation. In addition to that, there are wide variations between counties and there is tendency of worsening of the situation as a result of fast economic growth and rapid changes in the labor market especially regarding to income distribution (The European Commission, 2004b). Therefore, it is highly recognized that in order to continue with the integration, it is necessary for the EU to introduce appropriate measures to promote smooth transition in the new Member States. As a simple indicator of major gaps in “welfare problem” posed by the most

recent enlargement, it is important to note that while the new Member states have added 74 million people to form a new EU total population of 455 million, the combined GDP of the ten new Member States represents only 5 per cent of the total GDP of the EU (Sykes, 2005: 207).

According to Vaughan-Whitehead (2003), in the rush to achieve enlargement, which was pursued for largely political reasons, insufficient importance was attached to these major economic and social gaps that exist between the EU15 and the accession states. As a consequence, Sykes (2005: 207-208) suggests it will prove extremely difficult to reduce the socio-economic inequalities between the existing and the new Member States in the future in a way that was possible with countries, such as Ireland. This point further proves the need for the EU to adopt an integrated social policy approach so that diverging aspects of the challenges can be tackled.

4.3.2 Policy Mechanisms

The main instruments that EU utilizes to deal with the problems that enlargement presents are through structural funds, especially through the ESF and EQUAL. They aim to promote human resources development especially in the high-risk groups. In addition, specific measures such as Single Programming Documents or Operational Programs are taken to ensure social inclusion. Those programs particularly target vulnerable groups such as the Roman and other ethnic minorities, people with disability, ex-prisoners, disadvantaged young people, alcohol and drug addicts. Regional funds are also utilized to deal with local concentration centers of disadvantaged groups (The European Commission, 2004b). Therefore, EU utilizes

policies not only to deal with integration of new members but also to deal with already existing problems of solidarity within the new comers.

Despite the general perception on the part of citizens, The Commission holds a positive view towards the new Member States. Specifically based on the progress that Ireland and Spain has achieved the belief on the new Member States' capacity to realize such a development is stated by the Commission (Brazier, 2003c: 1). However, despite the enthusiasm attached to the enlargement, it is also stated that "while the long-term benefits can be very large, economic convergence will not be a quick or easy task" (Brazier, 2003a: 1). This point makes the creation of solidarity even more important and even more difficult, because both the need for the feeling of mutual obligation and the difficulty to realize it increases. This point, also increases the importance that the way the solidarity is conceptualized has since, as it is illustrated above there are significant differences among Member States. This requires the concept of solidarity to clear itself from exclusionary connotations it has and be understood in terms of "reflective solidarity" as it is coined by Dean (1995).

According to the preliminary analysis conducted by the Commission, the average employment rate was expected to decrease slightly from 64.3 % (EU15) to 62.4 % (EU25) with the enlargement (Brazier, 2003c: 1). Although the statistics illustrated limited burden will be caused by the enlargement, the expectation on the part of citizens are quite opposite.

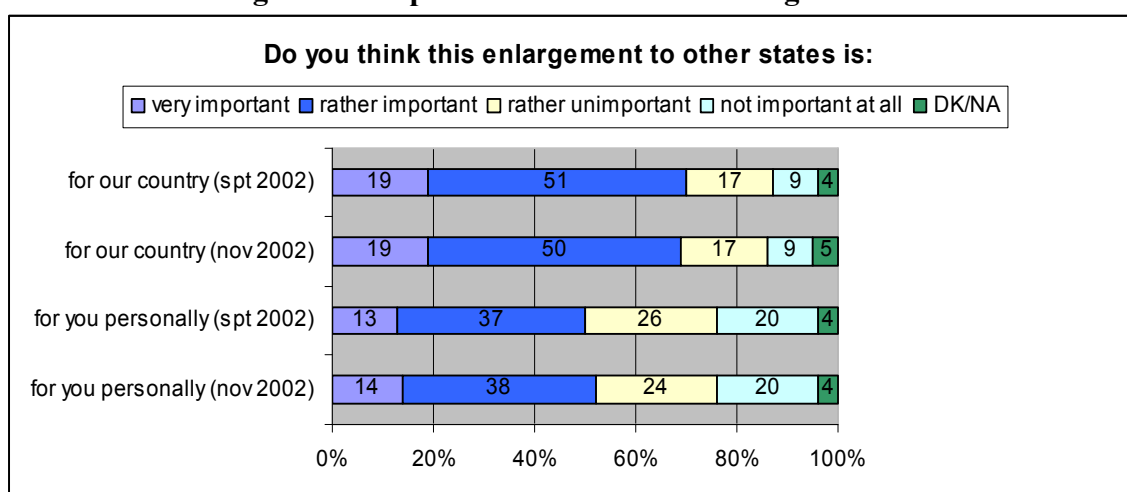
While the need for reform in social policy instruments is recognized, it is also emphasized that in order to overcome the problems that enlargement presents to the European solidarity and in order to enhance social inclusion to the new members, significant efforts are needed on the part of acceding countries. These efforts include

“full transposition of EU legislation into national legislation”, “preparation for participation in the open method of coordination”, “preparation for the future intervention of the European Social Fund” and “enhancing social dialogue in these countries” (Brazier, 2003c: 1). Thus, while the EU feels the necessity to enhance its social policy instruments to cope with the enlargement, it is believed that national systems should also be altered accordingly so that European social policy instruments could be utilized in the direction of European solidarity and social inclusion of all.

4.3.3 The Perceptions of Citizens

As it was discussed above, an important aspect of creating a European level solidarity firstly requires awareness on the part of citizens which is inevitably coupled with concerns and expectations and which should be turned into satisfaction through adequate social policy mechanisms. When we look at the issue of enlargement as Figure 4.3 indicates, there is significant awareness on the part of citizens concerning enlargement coupled with importance given to the issue.

Figure 4.3 Importance Attached to Enlargement

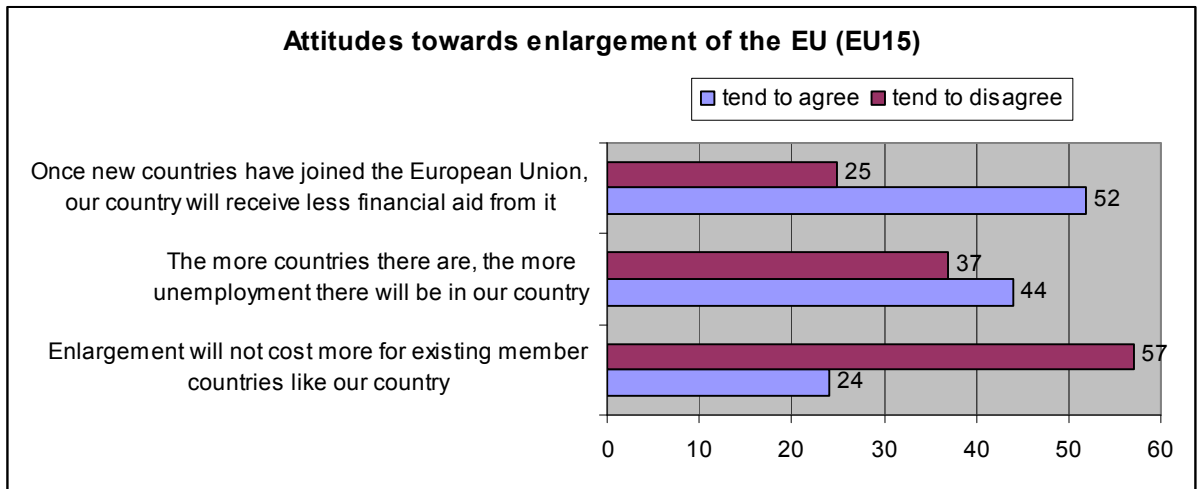


Source: Flash EB 132/2 2002

Both waves of surveys indicate significant importance given to the enlargement both at the country level and individual level. The respondents who think enlargement is “very important” and “rather important” amounts to 70% in the 1st wave and 69% in the 2nd wave. Although the importance attached to the enlargement at the individual level is relatively low, still respondents that see enlargement as important at the individual level adds up to 50% in the 1st wave conducted in September, 2002 and 52% in the 2nd wave conducted in November, 2002. It is appropriate to conclude that there is significant awareness on the part of citizens and importance attached to the enlargement. As it will be analyzed below, this awareness has given rise to significant concerns and expectations on the part of citizens which is important to examine since European level solidarity could only be established through satisfying these concerns and expectations.

Enlargement urges anxiety among citizens for multiple reasons. As it has been argued throughout this analysis, the problems that the EU has to tackle with are interconnected. Therefore, while these concerns are elaborated separately, the solution to them nonetheless, requires an integrated approach. An important illustration of this interconnected nature of the issue is the correlation between concerns related to unemployment and poverty on the one hand and enlargement on the other. As it is illustrated in the Figure 4.4, EB surveys suggest that among those reasons, economic concerns play a vital role.

Figure 4.4 Attitudes towards Enlargement of the EU



Compiled by the author based on the EB 58Aut. 2002

As the Figure 4.4 demonstrates, 52% of the respondents think that “once new countries have joined the EU, [their country] will receive less financial aid from [the EU]”. This concern is followed by the concern that “the more countries there are, the more unemployment there will be in [their country]” which amounts to 44%. As it can be followed from the Figure 4.4, the main concerns are coupled with the economic concerns of the citizens. Therefore, the main negative attitude towards the enlargement is motivated by the idea that not only economic situation at their country will worsen but also the funds that they are receiving from the EU will lessen. This concern could also be seen through responses to the statement that “enlargement will not cost more for existing member countries like our country”. While 57% of the respondents disagree with the statement, only 24% believes that enlargement will not cost the existing Member States.

While EB 58Aut. (2002) indicates such results, Flash EB survey conducted in 2002 in two waves about the enlargement not only provides a more detailed analysis of citizens expectations from the enlargement but also help us to examine the positive

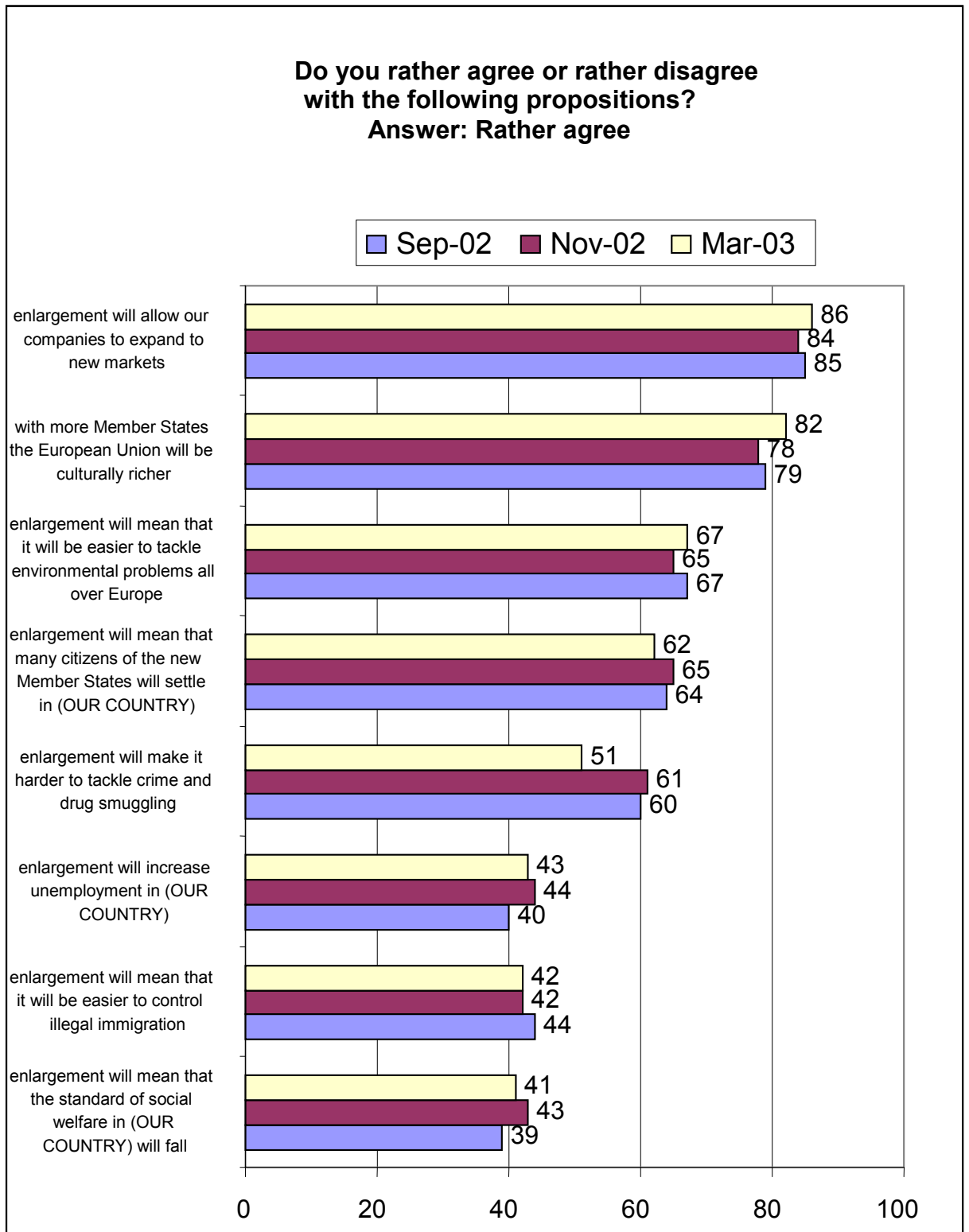
expectations from the enlargement in addition to the concerns. As the Figure 4.4 indicates, prospect of new markets for “their companies” is the most positively perceived aspect of the enlargement (85% in the first wave and 84% in the second wave). Another aspect of enlargement that is perceived as benefit to the Union is the idea that “the EU will be culturally richer” (78% [1st wave], 79% [2nd wave]).

While prospect of new markets and cultural richness that are brought by the new Member States are dominantly perceived as positive aspects of the enlargement, there are also important concerns. For instance, 39% of the respondents in the 1st wave and 43% of the respondents in the 2nd wave thinks that “social standards in [their country] will fall as a result of the enlargement”. While this analysis proves that social concerns are predominant in the skeptical attitude towards the enlargement, the results also indicate that the concerns about the enlargement are concentrated in the areas of poverty and immigration. For instance, 40% of the respondents in the 1st wave and 44% of the respondents believe that “enlargement will increase the unemployment in [their country]”. This concern is not only reflected in the previously discussed concerns about the possible decrease in the social welfare but also coupled with concerns about immigration. This concern is reflected in the attitudes taken towards the idea that “enlargement will mean that many citizens of the new Member States will settle in [their country]” (64% in the 1st wave and 65% in the 2nd wave).

An important pattern that two waves of Flash EB indicate is that although two waves are conducted in consecutive months (September 2002 and November 2002), there is a significant pattern in the statistics that deserves attention. With the declaration of accession date for the new Member States in the beginning of November 2002, as Figure 4.5 indicates while the percentage of the respondents that

agree with the statements about “positive” aspects of enlargement has decreased, the percentage of the respondents that agree with statements about “negative” aspects of enlargement has unexceptionally increased. In addition to the above stated statistics, for instance, while the percentage of citizens that believes “enlargement will mean that it will be easier to tackle environmental problems all over Europe” has decreased from 67% to 65%. On the other hand, people who agree with the statement that “opening up borders after the enlargement will make it harder to tackle crime and drug smuggling” has increased from 60% to 61%. Relatively the most significant increase is observed in concerns related to unemployment and social welfare with 4%. Whereas other changes are around 1% to 2%. The changes in the percentages may seem minimal, but the steady pattern reflects the citizens’ immediate reactions to the enlargement proves the need that enlargement should be handled delicately.

Figure 4.5 Expectations from the Enlargement



Compiled by the author based on Flash EB 140 and EB 59 Sp. 2003

While the two waves of Flash EB (2002) conducted before and after the announcement of accession date for the ten new Member States reflect us the immediate reactions of the citizens towards the enlargement, the results of the EB conducted in March 2003 proves that these results are not only immediate reactions of citizens. While the percentages more or less went back to the degrees prior to the declaration of accession date, there were no significant progress towards alleviating citizens' concerns.

4.3.4 Policy Proposals

The above analysis suggests that concerns raised by the enlargement are complex. They include concerns about rising unemployment that passes through the belief that many citizens of new Member States will move to the old Member States which triggers concerns about unemployment and social welfare. The interconnected nature of concerns is crucial not only in understanding the underlying distress of the citizens but also in laying out a road map for the EU to develop its social policy in such a way that it would enable the integration of the New Members to the Union on the one hand, and increase the willingness and ability of the Old Members to integrate and to be integrated to the New Members.

In order for a European level solidarity to be established; therefore, it is important for the EU to revise and develop its social policy so that the interconnected concerns of the citizens can be alleviated. Therefore, social policy instruments should not only be directed towards smooth transition of the New Members to the European *acquis* but also be directed towards convincing people that Union as a whole will benefit from the enlargement. This could only be realized through policies directed

towards relieving concerns not only about social welfare but also unemployment and; legal and illegal immigration.

The need for a broadly based social welfare programs should be initiated which would introduce the idea that “Europe could be better off as a whole” in to the people’s minds. These programs should also be supported with programs that would increase cultural and social interaction among Old and New Members. As it will be further evaluated in the following sections, the positive aspects of the immigration to the hosting countries’ economies should be emphasized and necessary measures should be taken at the European level to increase immigrants’ ability to integrate into the societies and societies’ ability to integrate immigrants so that a European level solidarity can be established.

4.4 Immigration

4.4.1 Problems and Concerns

Immigration is a threat to the stability and the pace of the integration not merely due to its nature but more importantly due to the way it is perceived and handled by the Union. What is critical in here is not only immigrants’ ability or opportunity to integrate into the society, but also the way they are perceived and treated in the host countries. Therefore, the problem that immigration constitutes for the EU’s solidarity has two folds: one on the side of the immigrants, other on the side of the host communities. Hence, the social policy instruments should also be directed towards these two areas.

One crucial aspect of the issue comes from the very definition of citizenship. “All forms of citizenship are ultimately dependent upon sets of policies and procedures that are both “inclusive” and “exclusive” and which involve a series of

difficult and emotive issues concerning “who belongs?” to the nation, “who can participate fully?” in the life of the society and “who is a citizen?” and who is not”” (Mitchell and Russell, 1994: 136-137). Therefore, the issue of immigrants is inherently problematic. The issue is not only related to the question of who belongs and who does not, it is also and more importantly related to “who is more European” in the sense that who has the priority over the others in enjoying prosperity that the Union brings. Therefore, the issue of social inclusion is not only related to the inclusion of migrants but also integration of new comers of the Union which illustrates us the interconnectedness of the issue areas that I have analyzed in the beginning.

For many years many European governments have applied immigration policies that restrict entry rights into Europe especially of third world migrants. More importantly as Mitchell and Russell (1994: 137) suggest “the deliberate exclusion of individuals and groups from access to full citizenship rights had created a situation in which formal inequalities in civil, political, and social rights between people living in the same country have become a normal feature of western European societies”. Therefore, as I have suggested earlier, the problem that immigration creates for the solidarity of the EU not only comes from the lack of immigrants’ ability to integrate into the society, but also and more importantly comes from the way the society has shaped them.

4.4.2 Policy Mechanisms

What the EU tries to do in this situation coincides with the dual nature of the problem. On the one hand, the EU tries to harmonize immigration policies of Member States as

well as securing basic rights and opportunities for the immigrants. On the other hand, they also try to reverse the perception that sees immigrants as burdens to a perception of immigrants as valuable contributors for further development and integration.

It is intensely argued that immigration should be harmonized and should be “managed effectively and transparently” so that “proactive integration and equal opportunities” could be realized (The European Commission, 2005e). A major emphasis is put on the significant opportunities that immigrants provide to both current and future needs of the EU labor market. In addition, important weight is put on the legislation on immigration. However, in order for this to happen, proper social and political integration of the immigrants is a must. Therefore, an important problem to be solved is discrimination (The European Commission, 2003).

Reaction felt against immigrants is not only seen in political dimensions. It is also seen as examples of hate crimes that recent example is seen in Belgium where a Malian and Turk were murdered on the street as a reflection of racist feelings (BBC, 11/05/2006). It is also important to note that, the problem related to lack of immigrants’ integration into the society is also reflected in mass movements. The EU has experienced an important protest waves by immigrants in the end of the 2005 based on their discontent with their status within the system which is marked especially by violent actions in France (BBC, 01/11/2005). Therefore, the EU feels the urgent need to deal with immigrant integration so that it will not constitute a threat to security.

The EU has developed variety of initiatives to support integration of immigrants. The European Employment Strategy and the European Social Inclusion Process that fights against poverty and social exclusion are the main tools at the EU’s

disposal. In addition to these coordination instruments, the EU also provides financial support through EQUAL initiative, 127 million EUR is available for actions aimed at combating racism and xenophobia (The European Commission, 2003).

4.4.3 The Perceptions of Citizens

The question of immigration has multiple dimensions. On the one hand, as it was discussed in previous sections, the concerns about immigration are intertwined with a multitude of concerns among which poverty and enlargement can be named as most significant ones. On the other hand, the concerns about immigration are directed towards both legal and illegal migrants and both from within the EU and from outside.

The interaction between concerns about immigration, poverty and enlargement has multiple dimensions. On the one hand, immigrants are perceived as a significant cause of increasing unemployment in the Member States. On the other hand, and as a reflection of the first one, immigrants are not successfully integrated into the public which pushes them to the edges of multiple deprivations that comes along with poverty. Another issue is that, concerns about enlargement also raise fears about mass population flow from relatively poor new Member States to the old Member States. This issue not only paves way to the concerns about unemployment but also creates skepticism towards immigrants which are expected to flow from new Member States both legally and illegally.

As it is discussed in the previous section, the EU takes part in the issue of immigration at multiple stages. The EU not only takes its part in handling immigration through policy coordination at EU level but also in fighting against

illegal migration. In addition to policy creation and implementation regarding the handling of immigration, the EU, through its social policy instruments also actively participate in the efforts towards integration of immigrants to the hosting societies.

The data derived from EB surveys reflect this interconnected nature of the issue and prove the need for an integrated approach to alleviate the concerns and create European level solidarity. When we look at the public perception about the role that the EU needs to take, as we could observe from Figure 4.1, citizens especially attribute a significant role to the EU in the area of “fighting illegal migration”. According to EB 58 results, 84% of the citizens see “fighting illegal migration” as a priority area for the EU. However, when we look at the Figure 4.2, we could observe that while EU’s involvement is highly expected according to EB survey, only 42% of the respondents perceives EU policies very or fairly effective in “fighting illegal migration” whereas 48% of the respondents perceive EU policies either not very effective or not at all effective.

When we look at concerns about immigration related to enlargement we could also observe significant degree of hesitation. The concerns are related both about legal and illegal migration and intrinsically intertwined with the concerns about poverty. For instance, the Flash EB survey conducted in September 2002 reflects that 64% of the respondents believe that “enlargement will mean that many citizens of the new Member States will settle in (OUR COUNTRY)”, the degree of concerns raised by 1% right after the declaration of accession date for ten new Member States and amount to 65%. The EB survey conducted around six months later reflects certain degree of decrease in the concerns about mass population flow from new Member States. Although this is a positive sign towards the possibility of creating solidarity at

European level, the respondents who are still afraid of population flow from new Member States amount to 62%.

Citizens concerns are also directed towards illegal migration. According to Flash EB conducted in September 2002, only 44% of the respondents believed that “enlargement will mean that it will be easier to control illegal migration”. This ratio has fallen in the following EB surveys to 42%. Therefore, while citizens perceives a significant need to control illegal migration and attributes an important role to the EU in that manner, they are also significantly concerned with the problems that enlargement will bring to the control of illegal migration.

When we look at the side of integration of immigrants, as it is discussed above contribution that immigrants bring to the society should be emphasized in order to create a level of solidarity firstly between immigrants and host societies and then among European citizens. However, EB 66 Aut. (2006) survey suggests that there is significant difference among countries about the perception of immigrants. While the EU25 average of those who believe in that “immigrants contribute a lot to (OUR COUNTRY)” is 40%, significant level of differentiation can be observed in the country level analysis. For instance, while those who agree with the idea that “immigrants contribute a lot to (OUR COUNTRY)” is up to 79% in Sweden and 66% in Portugal, the ratio remains around 30% in Germany, and lowers to 16% in Latvia and Estonia and 12% in Slovakia. It is also important to note that, the attitude is significantly low especially in new Member States. This proves that integration of immigrants is not only a problem in old Member States but also in new Member States, which further demonstrates the need for the EU to develop an integrated approach to deal with the concerns about immigration. That is because, the data

illustrates that concerns about immigration has multiple aspects. Therefore, as it will be further discussed in the following section, in order for these concerns to be alleviated, those diverging aspects have to be addressed and policies should be coordinated accordingly.

4.4.4 Policy Proposals

As it is suggested by the analysis above, handling with immigration requires an integrated approach that could respond to multiplicity of concerns. If the EU wants to create feeling of solidarity at European level, immigrants should be integrated into the society. This on the one hand, requires policies towards immigrants, through regulating the migration along with creating opportunities towards employment and societal integration of immigrants. On the other hand, if immigrants are going to be integrated into the society, policies towards citizens of the hosting country should also be developed and delicately handled at European level. This firstly requires altering the perception of the citizens about immigrants from a negative one to a positive one. In order for European level solidarity to be established, fears of the citizens should be alleviated and the contribution of immigrants to the hosting societies should be emphasized and actively promoted.

Since concerns about immigrants are not only towards legal migrants and not only about unemployment and poverty, the EU should communicate its policies to the public in a better way so that it would prove to the citizens that although their experiences showed that illegal migration cannot be handled at the national level, the EU through its involvement creates better handling of illegal migration. Through alleviating concerns about illegal migration, the perception about immigrants has the

potential to gain a more positive stance. At this point, the EU in cooperation with national and local governments should take more active approach towards integration of immigrants to the societies.

4.5 Conclusion

It was argued in this chapter that the EU is facing significant challenges which damage its efforts to create post-national solidarity. While there are variety of issue areas that deserve attention, poverty/unemployment, enlargement and immigration are the most important ones. Although they are evaluated separately for analytical purposes, this chapter emphasized the strong interaction among them. The interconnected nature of the concerns and problems, it is argued, needs to find its reflection in policy making process.

While the EU acknowledges the importance of issue areas elaborated above, and develops certain mechanisms to tackle with them, the evaluation of public perception suggest that the level of achievement is not enough. The analysis conducted on public perception surveys suggested that there were important steps that have been taken. Creation of certain level of awareness on the part of citizens which would work in the way of creating a European-wide public sphere and the fact that EU involvement is becoming more and more as the norm are important elements of creating post-national solidarity as the theoretical discussion suggests. However, the analysis of the data also suggested that while certain level of solidarity has been established at EU level, it still reflects some exclusionary elements in its conceptualization (especially as it is reflected in the attitudes towards immigrants) which is an important obstacle in front

of realization of post-national solidarity or *reflective solidarity* as Dean (1995) refers it.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Given the challenges that globalization brings on people and curtailed powers of states to tackle with them, this study questioned whether protective mechanisms can be developed in a level that transcends national boundaries so that people can be bounded with feelings of mutual obligation which would protect them against the challenges they face. By analyzing the issue at European context this study tried to understand, if states are no longer able to protect their citizens from the pressures that come along with globalization, can protective social policy mechanisms be created at EU level so that solidarity would be established at European level which in turn has the potential to provide better protection to people. In other words, it was argued that for instance, since French government or Austrian government is no longer able to develop social policy mechanisms to protect only their citizens because of the challenges that transcend national boundaries, there needs to be feelings of mutual obligation developed at European level. Based on this belief, the study questioned what should be done so that for instance, an Austrian merchandiser feels responsible enough to sacrifice for a French peasant.

Having this fundamental inquiry in mind, the second chapter engaged in critical evaluation of literature on both post-national solidarity and European social policy. This theoretical elaboration was followed by evaluation of European social policy from a historical perspective. This analysis was accompanied by brief analysis of public attitudes towards the EU and its role in employment and social affairs. After analyzing what characteristics post-national solidarity needs to encompass in the first chapter; what the EU has done in the area of social policy and to what extent it worked in line with the principles defined in the second chapter, was elaborated in the third chapter. This analysis was complemented with special emphasis put on three issue areas i.e. poverty/unemployment, enlargement and immigration. The main problems and concerns, how they are dealt with by the EU, the perceived level of effectiveness of EU policies by citizens were evaluated in these three issue areas was analyzed in the following chapter. The fourth chapter was concluded with policy proposals that highlight shortcomings of existing policy initiatives in each issue area.

The theoretical discussion was conducted in several steps. In the first step, in order to discuss the possibility of creating post-national solidarity, the literature on the concept of solidarity is evaluated and different conceptualizations of solidarity are highlighted. In the second step, since the most prominent political structure that solidarity has established in today's world is nation-state, the interaction between solidarity and nation-state is assessed. Following this discussion, the dynamics that challenge national level solidarity and therefore, urge the creation of post-national solidarity were analyzed. This discussion was followed by critical elaboration of the characteristics that post-national solidarity needs to have in order to be successfully established. Throughout these discussions, special emphasis was put on the role of

social policy. Lastly, the EU's potential to become a successful example of post-national solidarity created through post-national social policy is examined.

Based on the critical elaboration of the literature, it was argued that there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between solidarity and community. As opposed to nationalistic tales that suggest feelings of mutual obligation can only be realized at national level, it was asserted that the very establishment of nation-state suggests that community does not necessarily precede solidarity. As it was derived from the literature, the transition from tribal level solidarity to national solidarity was a critical example of the nature of this relationship. Therefore, as it was the case for the establishment of national solidarity, solidarity can be recreated at the post-national level. Moreover, the literature on nation-state suggested us that nation is not a natural form of community but instead a socially constructed i.e. an "imagined" one.

The lessons that we derive from the discussion on solidarity and the relationship between solidarity and nation-state provided us several key points for the discussion on the possibility of post-national solidarity. First of all, based on the literature, this thesis argued that since community does not necessarily precede solidarity, it is a socially created concept and therefore, can be recreated at levels that transcend national boundaries. Secondly, as the history of nation-state building process suggests us, social policy has a crucial role in the creation of solidarity. Therefore, in order for solidarity to be established at post-national level, social policy mechanisms that are developed in the levels that are above and beyond nation-state are necessary. Moreover, since feelings of mutual obligation are argued to be actively created through social policy mechanisms, construction of post-national polity is necessary for such solidarity to be established.

However, while this study argued for the necessity of post-national polity to establish post-national solidarity, it did not argue that post-national polity should be a replication or a substitute of nation-state. Instead, it was argued that while globalization challenges people in multiple dimensions and curtails states' powers to protect people from these challenges, this would not mean that neither the nation-state structure nor the national solidarity will disappear. Therefore, post-national polity should be developed in such a way that it is equipped with mechanisms that could protect people from challenges that nation-states cannot protect anymore.

As it was the case for the post-national polity, it was argued that, post-national solidarity should not be a replication or a substitute of national solidarity. Based on the literature, this thesis suggested that even in the national context, the solidarity is not about binding homogeneous groups. Instead, the very role of solidarity is to bind people who are otherwise not similar to or in contact with each other. However, post-national solidarity should be re-conceptualized so that it would be cleared from any exclusionary meaning it may have at national level. Therefore, in order for feelings of mutual obligation to be realized at post-national level, the concept of solidarity should be in the form of *reflective solidarity* as Dean (1995) defines it. This would require such a conceptualization of solidarity that dissent and differences are not seen as obstacles but instead as intrinsic parts of the community and the solidarity that binds it.

Following Habermas' (2001) argument, it was also argued that creation of solidarity is a learning process which requires active public participation into the decision-making and implementation process so that a public sphere is created. Therefore, it was also asserted that in order for post-national solidarity to be

established, a post-national public sphere is necessary. Another lesson that this study derives from the literature for the creation of post-national solidarity in general and European level solidarity in particular, is related to the concept of “banal Europeanism” developed by Cram (2001) based on the term “banal nationalism” coined by Billig (1995). This argument suggest that, the more an action becomes normalized, the more people begin to think the things have always been the way they are, which in turn makes them forget previous actions and bounded with feelings of mutual obligation at a new level. Therefore, based on this argument, it was argued that in order for European level solidarity to be established, the more and more EU’s involvement needs to become the norm.

Based on the theoretical discussion built in the second chapter, the third chapter was devoted to the evaluation of European social policy from a historical perspective. In this analysis, specific emphasis was put on the shortcomings that existing policy initiatives have based on the guidelines derived from the theoretical discussion necessary for the successful creation of European level solidarity. It was argued that, the EU has experienced significant progress towards establishing comprehensive policy instruments. While social policy was perceived only in relation to economy related concerns in the beginning, the solidarity aspect of the issue has gained significant importance over time. As EB analysis reflected, the EU has achieved to make its involvement as the norm to a certain extent. However, the analysis also suggested that a European-wide public sphere and the understanding of reflective solidarity that would clear the concept of solidarity from exclusionary connotations it has is yet to be realized.

Following a historical account of European social policy, the fourth chapter was devoted to three main issue areas which constitute important challenges in front of the efforts to create European level solidarity which is already facing significant difficulties. These three issue areas are categorized as poverty/unemployment, enlargement and immigration. Not only the main problems and concerns in these issue areas but also the specific policy instruments developed to deal with them were analyzed along with the evaluation of public perception on what has achieved so far. Based on the shortcomings identified through this analysis, the chapter was complemented with policy guidelines for future policy initiatives.

While these issue areas are studied separately due to analytical concerns, the interconnected nature of them was especially emphasized along with the need for an integrated approach to deal with them. The analysis of public perception suggested that the concerns in these issue areas are inherently linked. The figures derived from EB data suggested that concerns about unemployment and poverty is coupled with concerns about enlargement and immigration and work as the main factor why enlargement and the immigrants are not wanted by the citizens. It was mainly believed that enlargement will not only mean decrease in social welfare of countries but will increase unemployment and poverty since it is believed that mass populations will flow from new Member States. Similarly, immigrants both from Member States and from third countries are not welcomed based on the idea that they are taking citizens jobs and contributing poverty and unemployment.

The EB analysis suggested that, the EU has achieved to create a level of awareness on the part of citizens about the common concerns and the need for the EU to take an active role. This is a positive development, because it both means the EU's

involvement is becoming normalized and a European-wide public sphere is in progress. However, the data also suggested that both conditions are not developed enough to create feelings of mutual obligation at European level. Moreover, the data also suggested that, especially with reference to new Members and immigrants, while there are now common concerns at European level, which is a positive sign, the solidarity still has an exclusionary dimension at European level.

Based on these findings, it was suggested that if a European level solidarity is to be constructed, the European Union has to firstly, better communicate its policies with public. This will serve multiple purposes. On the one hand, it would increase the awareness on the part of the citizens and create a European-wide public sphere. On the other hand, it would normalize EU's role more and more in social policy mechanisms. However, clearing the concept of solidarity from its exclusionary connotations requires further effort and integrated policy approach that would highlight multiple aspects of concerns. For that purpose, the positive aspects of integration has to be highlighted and special emphasis has to be put on the contribution that new Member States and immigrants make to the EU.

Although solidarity that is envisaged for the EU is supposed to be cleared from exclusionary dimensions it may have, it is important to note that any definition of solidarity has the potential to have exclusionary dimension. The exclusionary aspect of solidarity may be directed towards different groups. It may target certain members of the group, such as disadvantaged groups or may be used as a way to define "who is more European?" as in the case of immigrants and new Member States. Or the exclusionary dimension could be directed towards outsiders which builds new barriers between the newly defined "us" and "them". Therefore, even if solidarity is

established at EU level in such a way that every citizen, regardless of ethnic, social or economic situation is tied with feelings of mutual obligation, this type of solidarity still has the potential to create solid barriers between the EU and the outside. Therefore, although *reflective solidarity*, by using Dean's terminology, is argued to be created at the European level, exclusionary connotation that even this type of solidarity may have should be kept in mind.

After briefly restating the main arguments of this study, identifying the main strengths and weaknesses of the present study may provide food for thought for the prospective studies. This study tried to contribute two different but interrelated literatures. First of all, this thesis has engaged in a theoretical discussion over many important concepts such as solidarity, community, post-national polity and social policy. Without taking their definitions granted, this study tried to elaborate on different definitions of these fundamental concepts. Through highlighting diverging conceptualizations of these fundamental notions, this study aimed to provide on the one hand, a comprehensive analysis of the literature and on the other hand, to contribute the discussion on the possibility of post-national solidarity. The discussion on the concept of solidarity was especially significant in developing this study. Solidarity is not only discussed in its various dimensions but also in relation to concepts of community and social policy. By establishing broad analysis of literature on solidarity, not only its nature and role in a community is discussed but also the link between community and solidarity is highlighted which allowed this study to argue for the possibility of creating post-national solidarity.

Regarding to the discussion on post-national solidarity, this study put significant emphasis on two related concepts: post-national polity and the role of social policy.

Through arguing for the necessity of post-national polity for the creation of post-national solidarity, this study also tried to contribute to the literature and the discussion on the ways in which post-national solidarity can be established. In addition, especially by combining theoretical discussion with its application on specific issue areas, the thesis aimed to contribute to the literature on European social policy. In order to solidify the arguments made by this dissertation, special emphasis was put on the analysis of public perception which is believed to be one of the important strengths of this study.

In addition to its strengths, this thesis also had some weaknesses which would be useful to mention to contribute further studies. Most importantly, the main available documents to analyze the content of the European social policy initiatives are the EU documents; therefore, there was the risk to present a biased analysis. However, this risk was tried to be eliminated through integration of public perception analysis into the study. The problem here was that the analyses that can be derived from EB surveys were limited due to two main reasons. One is that, the EB has limited number of questions that is related to social policy. Secondly, same questions are not always repeated in consequent surveys; which makes it harder to conduct longitudinal analysis.

This study tried to combine theoretical discussion with a case study on European social policy in three issue areas. However, both the discussion on post-national solidarity in general and European solidarity and European social policy in particular requires further research. The special emphasis is needed on the dynamics behind EU's motives to engage in social policy area. Moreover, while only three issue areas are analyzed in this study, other policy areas such as problems related to aging

population deserves attention. If it is possible, a study based on survey specifically designed to question people's opinions about social policy related issues would contribute extensively to the literature.

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