



FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES
FONDATION EUROPÉENNE
D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES

Queries

N°01 / 2010

**NEXT EUROPE,
NEXT LEFT**

Magazine by FEPS - Foundation for European Progressive Studies
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About **Queries**

Isaak Newton's famous book Opticks concludes with a set of "Queries".

These Queries are not questions in the ordinary sense,
but rather rhetorical questions intended to stimulate thinking.

This was Newton's mode of explaining "**by query**".



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“Queries”

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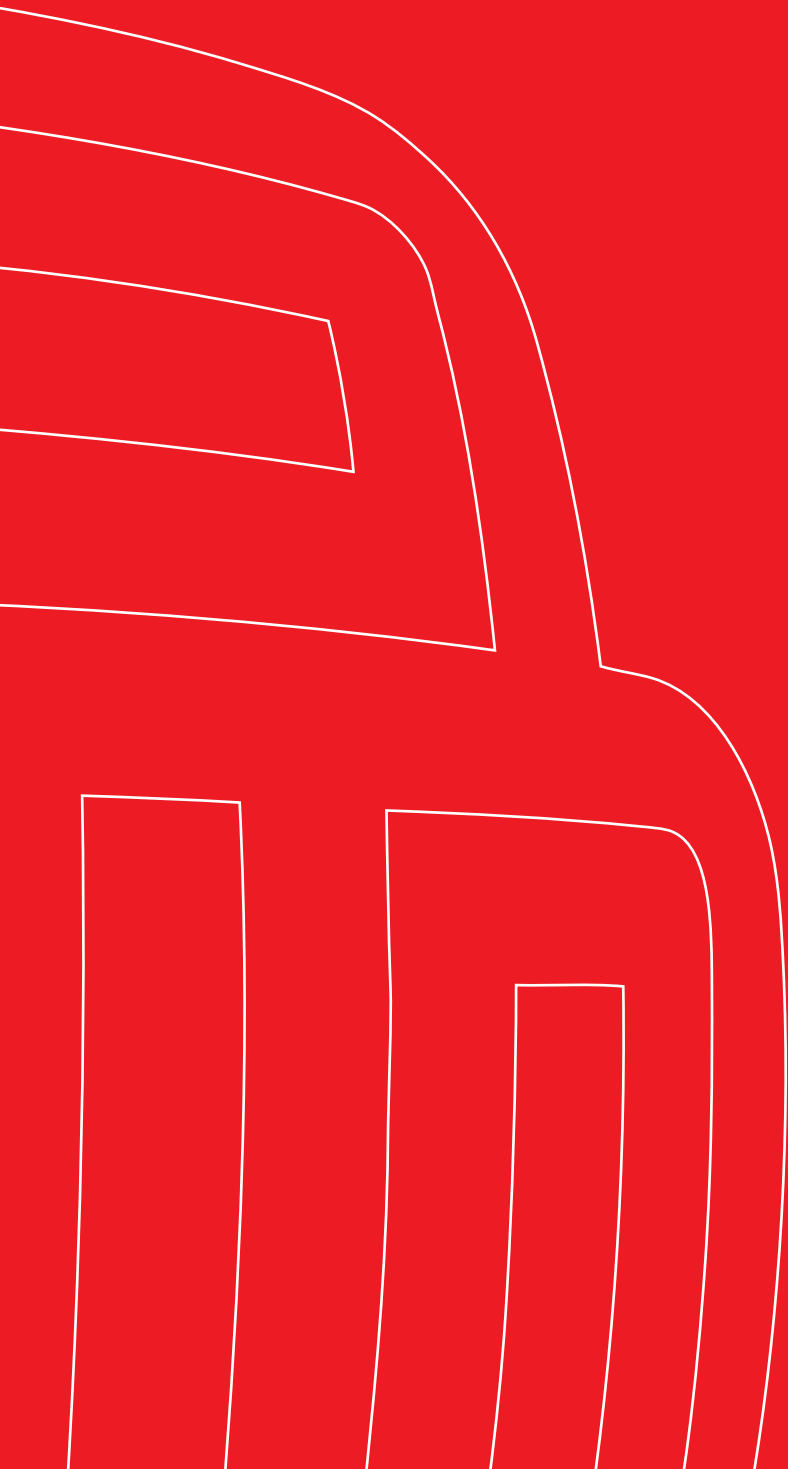
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Queries

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About Queries

Dear Readers,

The Foundation for European Progressive Studies – FEPS is very pleased to present to you the first edition of **“Queries”** - the very new magazine.

The choice of the title is by no means a coincidence. One of the most important characteristics of our Foundation is in fact that with our activism we are on a continuous, exciting quest for the most stimulating questions and inspiring answers. This is what **“Queries”** symbolizes and what its content also reflects.

This very first issue carries on also another message. FEPS is about developing fresh ideas, opening up new possibilities and delivering innovative answers. This is surely to be enhanced with what this issue inaugurates – an expedition to a new world, a world of young academics.

In year 2009 we launched a call for papers under the theme **“Next Europe”**. Within its framework FEPS asked young academics, PhDs and PhD candidates, to elaborate on how they see Europe in a decade. Any potential answers had to be supported with an accelerated knowledge in the matter of broadly understood social sciences and backed by a fine list of academic references. FEPS is overwhelmed with the positive responses to the call and the awarded selection of the papers you may discover yourself on the following pages of this edition. FEPS gratitude goes therefore to all the authors, who participated in this experiment, as also to Dr Alfred Gusenbauer, former Chancellor of Austria and Chair of the FEPS Next Left Focus Group for his excellent leadership over the process.

We hope that this first edition of **“Queries”** you may therefore also perceive as an invitation for you to join us, to comment, contribute and stimulate our discussion. This is our inauguration edition – but we very much count on all our readers to help us in delivering many many more!

Dr. Ernst Stetter
FEPS Secretary General



Next Left – the spring tide

“Next Left – Renewing social democracy” is a project which arose from the evaluation of the bitter result of the last European Elections and a critical assessment of the state of social democratic parties across the continent. After the first round of debate, reflected in numerous written contributions providing both national and European perspectives on these matters, the FEPS (Foundation for European Progressive Studies) Focus Group came up with a Discussion Paper and our first book together “Next Left – Renewing Social Democracy – Contributions to a European-wide debate”. In my foreword to this publication, I outlined the 10 major findings entitled “Designing a new political vision”. This summary, which corresponds with the “10 suggestions for 2010” form the main guidelines for our further discussions and activities held with the upcoming months.

One of the tasks that the FEPS Focus Group identified was the need to find ‘a new opening’ for the social democratic movement. It is no coincidence that this term is a broad one. The numerous meanings it carries open many opportunities and it is the task of progressive forces to explore them. On the political level this ‘new opening’ means a detailed review of traditional socialist values and policies, which though oft repeated lost their previously powerful meanings and used to arouse excitement among our voters, connecting and uniting parties and citizens for a certain cause. At an organizational level, it translates to an in-depth assessment of what made social democracy lose its characteristic as a people’s liberation movement and transformed it into well managed, rather elitist human resources and policy management associations. In this sense ‘new opening’ is connected with a set of methods that must be implemented in order to learn from the past, to rebuild networks and trust, to attract people to join and support, to rebuild the movement. From the perspective of communication ‘new opening’ is no less important. It stands for readiness to listen to others and learn, to find new ways to effectively channel messages and to find a new place for social democracy in an era of digital democracy and e-society.

The complex nature of the ‘new opening’ is reflected in the point 3 of the “10 suggestions...” as presented in the above quoted Next left Discussion Paper. To briefly summarize its objective, it was to open social democracy to new groups, such as young people. It should not be seen as a *fait accompli* that progressive ideas attract young people. Taking the example of Austria, where the government I led implemented in 2007 the promise to lower the age for voting to 16, we learnt the following elections that young people tended to abstain from voting or in significant proportion support right wing extremists and populists. Having a chance to decide on the voting

age today again, I would do precisely the same, given that I myself come from a tradition of the international socialist youth movement (IUSY) that supports the idea of lowering the voting age to 16 across the globe. I strongly believe that young people are the guarantee of that what our movement has ahead of us is the future, not the past. In order to succeed in gaining the trust and active support of this particular, very demanding group – much homework needs to be done by social democrats. And this starts from 'open up, listen, try to understand, respect and help them enter the "movement"'.

In this context the role of FEPS and its dazzling initiative 'Next Europe', through which young academics have been addressed and invited to take part in the European-wide debate, is of great relevance. The overwhelming response proved also that on the side of young people from across the continent there is a wish to participate in discussions about the future, to contribute with their knowledge and to point out what needs to be changed in order to ensure prosperous prospects for all. The awarded academic papers are therefore a precious contribution to the debate are a reason for hope. If there can be a bridge, which we could build together through hard work, we can jointly cross this bridge to our goal – a fairer and more just Next Europe.

The articles enclosed in this issue of "Queries" are organized in 5 sub-chapters: "Future of a Social Europe", "Our European Changing Society", "Green Agenda for a sustainable Europe", "Europe of Democracy and Participation" and "International Responsibility of Europe in a Global Age". This editorial division reflects the main lines and the wide spread of issues that fascinated young academics while writing their inputs. The content of each of the papers highlights a different challenge – deterioration of the welfare systems with some new forms of poverty (such as fuel poverty); a new understanding of the role of the state and, thus, citizenship in the context of European integration; the need for common values while setting up a new global order of multilateral political and economic relations. It is in the nature of young people to fight for ideas and to question the reality in which they have been brought up in, it is for them to speak up without fear and to hope for the best. It is up to us to take their messages respectfully and seriously and not to fail the hopes entrusted in us as the movement that can deliver.

Having that in mind, it is a reason for pride for FEPS and its Next left Focus Group that the motto of 'progressive' has once again been put into practice. The call inviting young academics to a debate, giving everyone from all over Europe a chance to have their say has been precisely the embodiment of what the 'new opening' should be about. I am glad that the awardees are meeting for the first time in the Renner Institute in Vienna, and that this is where, potentially, a new Young Academics Network may be established. I am positive that their enthusiasm, their modern approach and their high level of academic expertise can be of inspiration to FEPS in general and for the Next Left Focus Group in particular, providing us with the ever fresh spring tide.

Dr Alfred Gusenbauer
Former Chancellor of Austria
Chair of the Next Left Focus Group



Next Europe project – a gate to an innovative thinking

Everything began typically – with an idea and a paper. This was the shape our “Next Europe” project was in seven months ago. Today, we are pleased to present to you its first outcomes; people, who embarked on this fantastic future-oriented scientific journey with us, and tell you more about the ambitions for its future. We are surely glad to do it using the very first edition of our new magazine – Queries.


In September 2009 FEPS – Foundation for European Progressive Studies launched a call for papers. The call was entitled “Next Europe” and was addressed to all young PhD and PhD candidates. It was sent to all the mayor universities across the continent as an invitation to a wide European debate. In order to take part in this exciting endeavour, potential candidates were asked to elaborate on possible scenarios for Europe in a perspective of 10 years, and while using their academic skills pour it into a form of a scientific paper. Mid-November 2009 was the final deadline to send them to FEPS for evaluation.

The Jury led by Dr. Alfred Gusenbauer, former Chancellor of Austria and Chair of the FEPS Next Left “Focus Group” faced a grand challenge to assess the contributions. There were numerous interesting ideas among them, definitely worth further exploration – the authors of the ones awarded with an opportunity to present their vision to a wider public via Queries you can meet yourself through this magazine.

But this is not the point where the story would break or end. This is in fact just a first base, to use the sport’s expression. These 10 talented people have been invited for a three days seminar, that takes place thanks to a great hospitality of the Renner Institute in Vienna, Austria on 12th – 14th March 2010. They are joined there by several other young academics, who have been previously individually related to FEPS (Remi Bazillier from Paris Sorbonne, Brian Duggan and Marie Loewe from Young Fabians, Lisa Pelling from University of Vienna, Pim Paulusma from Wiardi Beckman Stichting, Gabor Karytas from University of Budapest). The programme encompasses: greetings and award ceremony by Dr. Alfred Gusenbauer and Dr. Ernst Stetter, after which two days of intensive work follows.

This “Next Europe – Young Academics Seminar” offers a space for presentations of the research completed so far by these exceptional young researchers. But it is also the first stop on our road that may lead to a new network within the FEPS family – the FEPS Young Academics Network. Proudly considering ourselves as progressive and innovative, we believe very much in the importance of the inspiration that may come from the involvement, impulses and inputs of young researchers in our work. We look forward therefore to be challenged by their pioneering, sometimes unconventional and brave discoveries in the world of science!

As said before, this may merely be a beginning of a new phase. The Network in itself, once established, shall remain open – as also are the people, who have an opportunity to constitute it in Vienna. Shall any of the Readers wishes to join or looking for more pieces of information on the “Next Europe” project – please do not hesitate to contact us at FEPS: me or Yolanda Fernandez Romero, Junior Policy Advisor, are delighted to take part in the Vienna adventure – where possibly a new gate to innovative thinking at FEPS will be opened!



Dr. Ania Skrzypek,
FEPS Policy Advisor

Queries **2**

FUTURE FOR A SOCIAL EUROPE





Outsiders to Welfare

How more people risk becoming excluded from the unemployment-insurance system

Johan Davidsson

The return of unemployment from the 1970s and onwards, and the solutions sought by governments to address it, has put into question the principles which underpin the workings of the social-insurance system. In the social insurances in general, and the unemployment insurance in particular, eligibility is conditioned on the previous working history of the unemployed. That was all fine and well in the post-war economy where the large majority of the work force had long-term and stable employment relationships. However, the rise of labour market flexibility has made it more difficult for a growing share of the work force to meet the qualification requirements in the unemployment insurance. At the same time, the rising level of unemployment has forced governments to introduce benefit cuts. In the process of making such cuts eligibility conditions have often become stricter and benefit duration shorter. The consequence is that governments, rather than alleviating the situation created by the more insecure employment relationships, have made it worse. The risk is that we will see more people becoming outsiders to welfare in Europe, as recent trends already indicate. Addressing this issue is essential if we want to safeguard the European model also in the future. The paper introduces an alternative perspective on the flexicurity debate and presents new data on policy reforms and outcomes for Sweden.

The return of unemployment from the 1970s and onwards, and the solutions sought by governments to address it, has put into question the principles which underpin the workings of the social-insurance system. In the social insurances in general, and the unemployment insurance in particular, eligibility is conditioned on the previous working history of the unemployed. That was all fine and well in the post-war economy where the large majority of the work force had long-term and stable employment relationships. However, the rise of labour market flexibility has made it more difficult for a growing share of the work force to meet the qualification requirements in the unemployment insurance. At the same time, the rising level of unemployment has forced governments to introduce benefit cuts. In the process of making such cuts eligibility conditions have often become stricter and benefit duration shorter. The consequence is that governments, rather than alleviating the situation created by the more insecure employment relationships, have made it worse.

The risk is that we will see more people becoming outsiders to welfare in Europe, as recent trends already indicate. Addressing this issue is essential if we want to safeguard the European model also in the future. Much has been written about flexicurity in recent years: the need to facilitate a structural transformation of the economy, the importance of life-long learning and the call for active labour market policies. But, the issue of providing protection in times of transition is less debated; when it is in fact discussed it is done so in not very concrete terms and often without linking the discussion to current public policy developments. The ambition of the paper is to contribute to a refocusing of the flexicurity debate by highlighting the problem that people with insecure employment relationships risk becoming excluded from the unemployment insurance.¹

The paper is structured as follows. The first part discusses what is in the paper called the insurance paradox, i.e. that the very social insurances aimed at protecting workers from the vagaries of the labour market require as a condition of eligibility stable and long-term employment relationships. The second part uses the example of Sweden, famous for its universal welfare system, to examine current policy developments and its effect on outcomes. It shows a clear trend of more people becoming outsiders to welfare. The third part recapitulates and concludes.

The insurance paradox

The origin of the European welfare institutions that exist today is to be found in the response of civil society to the risks that were associated with the industrialisation of the economy. When previously self-supporting farmers and tradesmen became factory workers and wage earners, they became in the same instant dependent on the employment relationship for their income maintenance, a relationship that was often not very stable in nature as, for example, in Lyon in the late 18th century where the highs and lows of the business cycle meant that labour demand could shift radically from a need of 60 000 workers one day to 20 000 the following (Geremek 1986). Such insecurity set of what has been described by Polanyi (1971) as a double movement. In the late 19th century, workers

¹. Based on data from MISSOC and from: OECD. 2008. *Taxing Wages*. Paris: OECD.

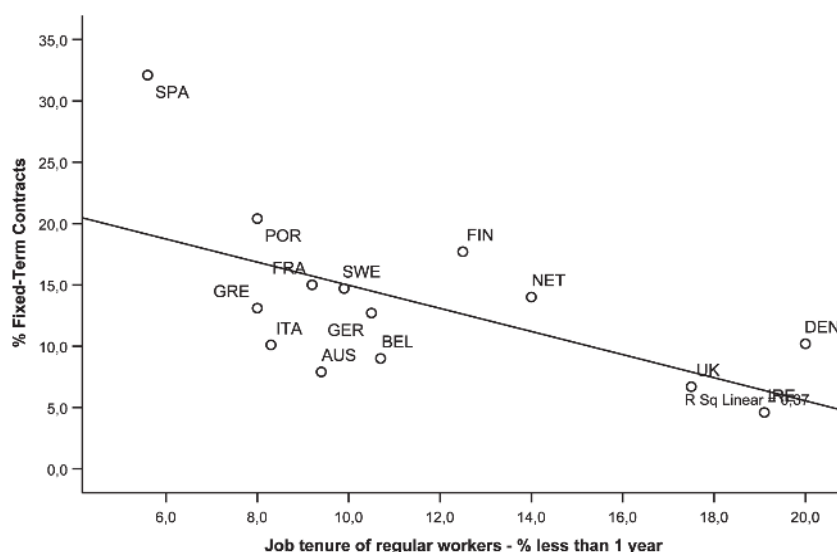
responded to the new risks by organising themselves in trade unions and by setting up insurance schemes which would provide income protection during spells of unemployment, in case of sickness and injury, or upon reaching old age. From Bismarck's introduction of public health and accident insurances in the 1880s and onwards, these schemes came then gradually to be incorporated into the welfare state institutions of the state.

In the early period, the only opportunity to fund the insurance schemes was by member contributions. Hence, eligibility criteria were strict and benefits minimal. With state funding benefits became more generous, but the new social insurances retained the idea that eligibility, and in many cases the level and duration of benefits, was to be determined by the previous working history of the unemployed. In other words, social protection, which was created to offset the erratic nature of the labour market, was only available to those with stable and long-term employment relationships.

This paradoxical relationship between work and welfare was concealed in the post-war era, les trente glorieuses, by the two-fold development of welfare expansion and a strong and stable demand for labour. The high levels of economic growth during the period made welfare expansions possible: with regard to the social insurances, an income-replacing tier was added to the benefit and they came to cover an increasing share of the work force.² In addition, the fact that the large majority of the work force had long-term employment contracts and a very limited risk of unemployment made qualification requirements essentially a non-issue.

From the mid-1970s and onwards, labour market change has begun to put strains again on the relationship between work and welfare, exposing its paradoxical nature. First, high levels of unemployment have become a common feature of European societies (see e.g. Eichengreen 2007), which increase the risk of the individual to become unemployed. Second, labour market flexibility has increased. An important segment of the work force is now made up of temporary employment or short-term jobs (see graph 1).

Graph 1 - Relationship between % fixed-term contracts and % job tenure < 1 year (2000)



Source: own calculations from Eurostat (LFS) and OECD Employment Outlook (2002)

2. N.B. the coverage and quality of benefits, of course, varied greatly across countries but the trend was clear. For example, even the UK known for its minimal social-insurance system introduced an income-replacing benefit in the mid-1960s.

The return to more flexible labour markets, in contradiction to the thesis of flexicurity, has often been accompanied by stricter eligibility criteria. The rising costs associated with higher levels of unemployment have led to cut backs in the social insurances. With regard to the unemployment insurance these have often centred on duration and qualification requirements (see below). The risk inherent in this development is the exclusion of those in the flexible segment of the labour market from access to the social insurance system, of be-coming outsiders to the core institutions of the welfare state.

When we take into considerations all aspects of the qualification process, which is rarely done (see also Kvist 1998): qualification period, membership period and reference-earnings period, most European countries require about one year of continuous work in order to be eligible for the income-replacing unemployment benefits (see table 1).³

Table 1 - Effective qualification requirements (months)

	Qualification period	Membership period	Reference-earnings period
Denmark	12/36	12	3
Sweden	6/12	12	12
Germany	12/24	N/A	12
France	4/28	N/A	12
Netherlands	6*	N/A	Last salary
Italy	12/24	24	Last salary
UK	24**	N/A	Flat rate

Source: MISSOC 2007, updated by the author for France (19/02 2009). * Plus 52 days in 4 of the last 5 years.
 ** Contributions amounting to a total of at least 50 times the minimum weekly contribution for that year (2 years).

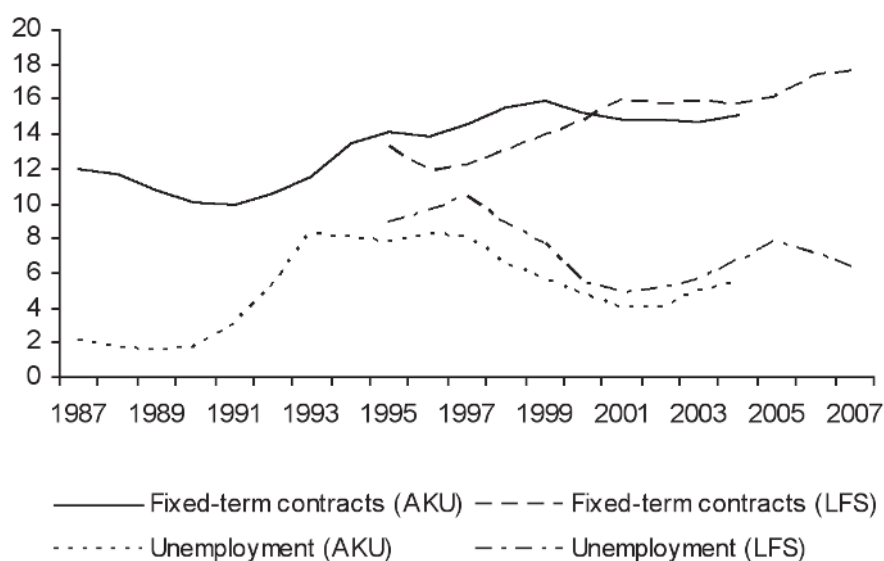
Sweden: still the universal welfare state?

From the landmark study of Esping-Andersen (1990) that outlines three types of welfare regimes and onwards, Sweden and its Nordic neighbours have been regarded as universal welfare states where the great majority of its citizens are included in the same generous social insurance system. This is becoming less and less true. Since unemployment levels began to rise in the early 1990s, i.e. later than in most comparable countries, there has been a consistent trend towards "dualisation" (Palier and Martin 2007; Davidsson and Naczyk 2009) with regard to labour market policy. Reforms have privileged insiders over outsiders, protecting their status while allowing cutbacks at the margin. The effects of the policy change have been an increasing number of people in temporary employment and an increasing number who are ineligible for the unemployment insurance (see graph 2 and 3 below).

If we begin with the employment protection legislation, the sharp rise in unemployment in the early 1990s initiated discussions about how to increase the flexibility of the labour market. These soon lead to reforms which primarily relaxed restrictions on temporary employment. In 1994 the right-

3. Unemployed who do not qualify for the unemployment insurance can, of course, be eligible for social assistance. However, social assistance is not part of the social insurance system; it is administered by different institutions and governed by different principles.

Graph 2 - Fixed-term contracts and unemployment as a share of the work force (%)



Source: SCB (AKU); Eurostat (LFS)

wing government increased the maximum duration of fixed-term contracts from 6 to 12 months. The social democrats who returned to power the same year repealed the new legislation, but appointed at the same time a commission that should review the possibility for a new reform of the employment protection legislation. In 1997, after the work of the commission had collapsed due to disagreement between the social partners, the social-democratic government introduced legislation that restored the maximum duration to 12 months (limited to 5 employees per firm) and to 18 months for first-time hires. Additionally, the new law made it possible for collective agreements concluded at the local level to derogate from legislation. Earlier, such derogation was only possible with the consent of the parties at the national level. In the years that followed unemployment levels decreased and there was less of an impetus to reform. However, the new right-wing government that came into office in 2006 extended the maximum duration to 24 months and removed the requirement for the employer to justify the need for temporary work. At the same time, the employment protection for regular work has remained practically unchanged. The trend here is clear and resembles the pattern of many countries in Europe.⁴

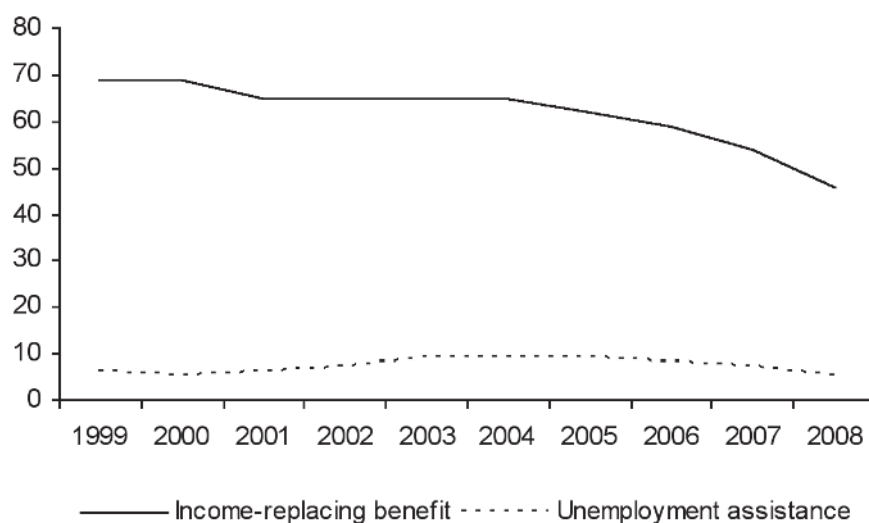
With regard to the unemployment insurance reforms, as in the case of employment protection, the change in policy came about as a response to the cost pressures that were associated with the rising level of unemployment. In 1993, the right-wing government announced a reform of the insurance that involved a lowering of the replacement rate from 90 to 80 per cent, the introduction of five waiting days and the extension of the qualification period from 4 to 5 months. Unemployment continued to rise and the social-democratic government made similar policy changes as the previous government in 1997 when they: extended the qualification period further to 6 months, raised the replacement rate to 80 per cent (it had been lowered to 75 per cent in the intervening period), and limited the possibility to re-qualify

4. N.B. that countries such as Denmark, Ireland and the UK where employment protection for regular workers is weak have higher numbers of short-term jobs (see graph 1 above).

to the insurance via labour market programmes to a total of three years (from 2001, re-qualification was limited to 300 plus 300 days). The same year the government introduced stricter acceptance requirements where the first failure to accept a job offer resulted in 25 per cent reduction of the benefit, the second a 50 per cent reduction, and the third a loss of entitlement. In 2006, the right-wing government followed suit with reforms that entailed stricter qualification requirements (especially for students and part-time workers), shorter duration (300 days) and a new regressive replacement rate: the first hundred days the unemployed would receive 80 per cent of the previous income and during the following two hundred days the rate would decrease to 70 per cent.

Reforms that have continuously made qualification requirement stricter and cut duration are one of the explanations for the decrease in coverage in the insurance.⁵ Another factor is the introduction in 2006 of higher and differentiated fees. In Sweden, the unemployment insurance is voluntary; workers have to pay an individual fee from their net income. Up until 2006 these were negligible and similar across sectors, but thereafter they have been substantially raised, especially in sectors where there is a high risk of unemployment. In consequence, many have left the insurance. As we can see in the graph below there is an acceleration of the downward trend in coverage from 2005/2006 and onwards.⁶

Graph 3 - Share of unemployment insurance/assistance recipients of the unemployed



Source: own calculations from (IAF 2009)

An issue that can come to exacerbate this development further is the increase, albeit still marginal, of occupational and private unemployment insurances (see Sjögren Lindquist and Wadensjö 2006). In Sweden, the ceiling in the insurance ceased to be index-linked in the early 1990s. The social-democratic

5. Coverage has also decreased in Germany and the UK Clasen, Jochen. 2005. *Reforming European Welfare States: Germany and the United Kingdom Compared*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

6. The study from which the figures are taken (see graph 3) mentions these two explanations as well as pointing to the possibility that a change in the labour supply, with more young people and immigrants entering the labour market, could also produce this effect

governments have raised the absolute level of the ceiling continuously, but the effect has still been a hollowing out of the insurance. In addition, the right-wing government lowered the ceiling in 2006. In 2007, the real replacement rate in the insurance for an average wage earner was just above 50 per cent⁷. In response to this development, trade unions and private companies have made available “top-up” insurances that raise the real replacement rate to 80 or 90 per cent also for high wage earners. **The problem with these types of insurances is that the qualification requirements are much stricter, often with qualification periods of up to 3 to 5 years, since the insurance pool is much smaller than is the case in the social-insurance system. The consequence again being that only those with stable and long-term employment relationships, i.e. labour market insiders, will have access to them.**

Conclusion

Despite the fact that flexicurity has been high on the agenda in recent years, we can see that the development in individual countries has often gone in the opposite direction. **The problem facing European societies currently, and in the foreseeable future, is therefore the risk that those who are outsiders in the labour market also become outsiders to welfare.**

In order to address this problem we have to rethink the relationship between work and welfare so as not to get caught in the insurance paradox. We should not discard the idea of insurance in itself, as protection against the risks of the working life, but have to take hold of the fact that it is a social insurance, paid for primarily with individual and employer taxes. A system more similar to private insurance would benefit only labour market insiders and exclude the outsiders.

If labour markets are more flexible and the risk of unemployment is higher, eligibility to social protection can no longer be based on stable and long-term employment relationships. Providing adequate social protection therefore need to take as a first step the reversal of the trend of stricter qualification requirements. This would not only assure adequate insurance protection to all categories of workers, but would also facilitate the structural transformation of the economy.

⁷. Based on data from MISSOC and from: OECD, 2008, *Taxing Wages*. Paris: OECD.

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Biography note

Johan Davidsson is a PhD candidate at the European University Institute (Italy) where his research centres on the politics of labour market reform. In his thesis work he studies the evolution of employment policy in Europe by comparing the cases of France, Sweden and the UK. Preliminary results of his research have been presented at conferences organised by the ECPR, ISA RC19 and ESPAnet. He has also, together with Marek Naczyk, published a working paper on dualisation for RECOWOE and UO Barnett Papers in Social Research.



Services markets and social issues in the enlarged union

When positive integration becomes a necessity

Amandine Crespy

Over the last 20 years, the EU has become a “services society” where 70% of the GDP and jobs are provided by the services sector. At the same time, the EU institutions and Member states have continuously pursued an agenda favoring negative integration – i.e. markets liberalization and deregulation, notably by means of competition law – over positive integration – i.e. re-regulation at the EU level¹. The meeting of these two parallel developments has brought about major problems with respect to workers’ mobility and rights, on one hand, and to the development of services of general interest (SGI), on the other. While addressing these issues in a political science perspective, this paper aims at making a contribution to the reflection over social realities and political needs of European society during the next ten years. **Recent academic work provided evidence that social issues lie at the core of the EU’s legitimacy crisis** as accounted for notably by the failure of the French ratification referendum over the European constitutional treaty (ECT) in 2005². Therefore, these issues are crucial with respect to the future of the EU not only as a common market but as a polity, and will deserve more attention from national and European decision-makers. The paper successively examines

- 1 the problematic aspects related to services markets in the EU;
- 2 the inappropriate political responses brought so far by the EU institutions;
- 3 the social resistances and legitimacy issues in connection with these problems;
- 4 and advocates an orientation for the future of EU services policies and politics.

1. Report from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on the state of the internal market for services, COM(2002)441, 30.07.2002.

2. Scharpf, F. (1999) *Governing in Europe. Effective and democratic?*, New York, Oxford University Press.

3. Balme, R. and Chabanet, D. (2008) *European Governance and Democracy. Power and Protest in the EU*, Lanham, Barbier, J.-C. (2008) *La longue marche vers l'Europe sociale*, Paris, PUF, Crespy, A. and Verschuere, N. (2009) 'From Euroscepticism to Resistances to European Integration: An Interdisciplinary Perspective', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 10(3), 377-93, della Porta, D. (2004) "The unions, the movements, Europe and democracy. Some evidence from the first European Social Forum"; *Organised labour - an agent of EU democracy ?*, University College of Dublin, 30th October 2004.

Problematic aspects of services markets in the EU

The dynamics of the internal market implies increasing workers mobility throughout the Union. Mobility rates in the EU remain quite low when compared with the US: about 9% of the European citizens have live in another EU country over the past 10 years. However, it is likely to increase over the next years since citizens from the 12 new member states did not have to possibility to move before their country's accession to the EU. Furthermore, while long-term mobility remains quite low, short-term mobility for temporary working abroad is increasing⁴. This is closely related to the fact that workers are increasingly occupied in the services sector. Indeed, in contrast with the free movement of goods, the free movement of services implies not only the moving of the products but also of the factor of production, namely human labour, which involves major labour law issues⁵. In order to avoid the exploitation of workers coming from low-wage countries for services provided in high-wage countries, the 1996 directive on Posted workers (96/71 CE) stipulates that the rules related to wage, holidays and working time, security, health shall be those of the country in which the service is actually provided. These rights are however only applicable if they are enshrined within legislation or generally applicable collective agreement. This brings about major problems in countries such as Germany or the Scandinavian countries where a number of dispositions – among which wages – are determined by collective agreements which are not all generally applicable and therefore not covered. Furthermore, fraud often takes the form of false self employment since the Directive on Posted workers only apply to salaried employees. Monitoring of the Directive's implementation by the Commission itself⁶ and external experts⁷ reveals serious lacks with respect to census of posted workers, enforcement of controls and administrative cooperation among Member states. An increase in the numbers of posted workers and related problems shall be expected in the years with the transposition and implementation of the Directive on services in the internal market adopted in December 2006 (2006/123/EC) since it shall stimulate cross-border trade in services while removing administrative and regulatory barriers to cross-border services provision.

The liberalization of many services of general economic interest (SGEI) also raises major social issues. This question is highly complex since the SGI are a unified category neither from an empirical nor from a legal point of view. Basically, one can distinguish between network services (telecommunications, postal services, energy, transport, etc), on one hand, and services related to social policies (social security, health, help to families and people in need, etc), on the other. Non-mandatory education and culture come additionally. From a legal point of view, the question is whether EU competition rules (hence liberalization, rules on state aids, etc) shall apply to services which have an economic nature. The EU has engaged a far-reaching liberalization of network industries with sectoral directives⁸. While dealing with all the other services, the 2006 horizontal Services Directive will liberalize

4. European Commission, DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, *Geographic mobility in the European Union : Optimising its economic and social benefits*, Contract VT/2006/042, 2008.

5. Körner, M. (2007) 'EU-Dienstleistungsrichtlinie und Arbeitsrecht', *Neue Zeitschrift für Arbeitsrecht*, 24(5), 233-38.

6. European Commission, *Commission's services report on the implementation of Directive 96/71/EC concerning the posting of workers in the framework of the provision of services*, COM(2006) 159 / SEC(2006) 439, 04.04.2006a.

7. Ghailani, D. (2004) 'Le détachement des travailleurs sur les territoires belges, français et britanniques', *Observatoire social européen*, Bruxelles, www.ose.be

8. The third Postal directive (2008/6/EC), the Third Railway package (2007/58 EC), the Internal market for electricity directive (2003/54 EC)

a – still yet undefined – number of SGEI, excepting health care⁹; audiovisual activities and some social services¹⁰.

While the European Commission has continuously assessed the outcome of liberalization positively¹¹, independent research as well as research carried out for the Commission itself (!) has shown that major social problems aroused in those sectors. First, **job losses following liberalization and privatisation in network industries have been assessed to 12%; hence productivity gains in those sectors are essentially due to cuts in labour force**¹². Secondly, the assumed drop in prices may well be illusory since prices usually go down in the years following liberalization and go up again after a few years and sometimes even outstrip pre-liberalization prices¹³. Furthermore, while large consumers (firms) benefit from price reductions, competition has a negative impact on the poorest individual consumers' bills, as noticed in the UK energy sector¹⁴. Thirdly, liberalization and privatization has led to dramatic changes in working conditions including the development of call centers and far-reaching

specialization of work as well as wage cutting¹⁵. The current wave of suicides at France Telecom is one extreme example of possible consequences of the new managerial methods. Last but not least, assessment of the liberalization policy by the European Commission did not respect the democratic commitment towards the European Parliament to take consumers', stake holders' and social partners' opinion into consideration on a regular basis¹⁶. **This is all the more important that services markets are connected to crucial legitimacy issues for the EU.**

Services markets and resistances to EU integration

The problems raised by EU policies in the services sector have brought about manifestations of resistances among civil society. This is fuelling a more general climate of legitimacy crisis of the EU, as dramatically exemplified by the conflict over the Services directive (2004-2006) which played an important role in the failure of the 2005 ratification referendum over the ECT in France¹⁷. The systematization of the country of origin principle contained in the 2004 proposal by Commissioner for the Internal market Frits Bolkestein fed fears about social and wage dumping connected with

9. A directive proposal on the application of patients' rights in cross-border healthcare (COM(2008)0414) has been adopted by the European Parliament on April 23rd 2009 and is still to be reviewed by the Council. It allows patients to obtain reimbursement from their home country for healthcare provided in another EU member state. The proposal was however so controversial that the whole PES-group abstained.

10. housing, childcare and support of families or persons in need (article 2)

11. European Commission staff working document, *Evaluation of the Performance of Network Industries Providing Services of General Economic Interest*, SEC(2005) 1781, 20.12.2005.

12. Rachel, G. and Harrison, R. (August 2004) "The link between product market reform and macro-economic performance"; *Economic Papers*, European Commission, DG for economic and financial affairs,

13. Flecker, J., Hermann, Christoph, Brandt, T., Böhlke, N. and Thörnqvist, C. (2008) "Liberalisation and privatisation of public services – company reactions"; *Privatisation of Public Services and the Impact on Quality, Employment and Productivity (PIQUE)*, Forschungs- und Beratungsstelle Arbeitswelt, Wien,

14. CIRIEC (2004) "Contribution of Services of General Interest to Economic and Social Cohesion "; *Report for the European Commission DG Regio*, <http://www.psiru.org/reports/Ciriec-DGRegio-SGEI.doc>.

15. Hermann, C., Brandt, T. and Schulten, T. (2008) 'Intensification, casualisation and commodification of work in liberalised European postal markets', *Work organisation labour & globalisation*, 2(2), 40-55. Hermann, C. (ed) (2008) *Europa im Ausverkauf. Liberalisierung und Privatisierung öffentlicher Dienstleistungen und Folgen für die Tarifpolitik*, Hamburg, VSA-Verlag.

16. Hall, D. (2005) "Evaluating the impact of liberalisation on public services - a critique of the European Commission 2004 report "Horizontal Evaluation Of The Performance Of Network Industries Providing Services Of General Economic Interest" EC SEC(2004) 866"; A report commissioned by the European Federation of Public Service Unions (EPSU), Public Services International Research Unit (PSIRU), Business School, University of Greenwich, London,.

17. Crespy, A. (2008) 'Dissent over the European Constitutional Treaty within the French Socialist Party: Between Response to Anti-globalization Protest and Intra-party Tactics', *French Politics*, 6, 23-44., Brouard, S., Grossmann, E. and Sauter, N. (2005) *Les Français contre l'Europe*, Paris, Presses de Science Po.

workers' mobility. The myth of the 'Polish plumber' in France epitomizes the way social issues can stir up xenophobic feelings in the population and populist discourses in the political class. Similarly, the problem was illustrated in Germany by a press campaign on jobs losses for Germans and hiring of Polish workers in the quartering industry at the German-Polish border.

Liberalisation of public services was also a major issue in this context. While trade unions and left-wing political parties had been asking for a framework-directive regulating SGEI for years, the Draft Services Directive liberalising them was seen as a provocation. Liberalisation policies have faced major resistance for instance in the railway sector¹⁸ or in the port services sector¹⁹, where they got support from the European Parliament which rejected the proposed directive. The consequences of the introduction of the EU competition rules in the SGEI have also been fought locally by citizen groups as for instance in Germany in the water and the energy sector. Recently, the liberalisation of postal services triggered vivid debates in France and a strike in Belgium. In numerous local referendums held in several countries (Germany, Hungary, Slovenia, the Netherlands, Latvia) a majority of citizens rejected the liberalisation and privatisation of SGEI such as hospitals, water distribution or telecommunications²⁰. Moreover, a qualitative survey on consumers' satisfaction over liberalised SGEI puts the rosy picture given by the Eurobarometer data into perspective: it reveals that even people declaring that they are 'fairly satisfied' by the liberalised SGEI may have serious reservations about the fairness of prices (especially the less well-off) and that they are often cynical about the market logic and wish the state to retain a strong role in those sectors²¹.

Although these resistances and legitimacy issues are important for the EU as a whole, they are even more problematic for socialist and social-democratic political forces. This is so mainly because their own electoral basis and supporters are more strongly affected. Less qualified workers and lower strata of societies in general are more exposed to competition on labour costs, to relocation within (and outside) the EU. **This is especially critical in times of high unemployment and the formation of a 'working poor class'; as a consequence, less qualified workers and unemployed have been increasingly inclined towards xenophobic and Eurosceptic political forces**²². On the other hand, interviews carried out with 45 key actors in the conflict over the Services Directive²³ reveal an increasingly negative opinion among leftwing oriented civil society actors, national political parties and trade unions about the role of the EU over social issues. Attitudes are especially the case towards the Commission and ECJ which are perceived as pursuing an adversary neoliberal agenda.

18. Hilal, N. (2007) *Leurosindicalisme par l'action. Cheminots et routiers en Europe*, Paris, L'Harmattan.

Decoene, A. (2007) 'La libéralisation des services portuaires et la grève des dockers', *Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP*, n° 1966-67.

19. Coeurdray, M. and Blanchet, T. (2008) "German resistance to European economic integration : the striking example of public utilities"; ECPR Standing Group on the EU Conference, Riga, 25-27 September 2008.

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21. Ibid.

22. Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschieer, S. and Frey, T. (2008) *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

23. Crespy, A. (2009) "Resisting "neo-liberal Europe": national and transnational mobilisation against the Bolkestein directive"; *International Conference Bringing Civil Society In: The European Union and the rise of representative democracy*, European University Institute, Florence, 13th-14th March 2009.

Inappropriate political responses: the focus on negative integration

While the economic dynamics of services markets will make the related social problems even more acute, the EU institutions have not so far provided for relevant political responses. In this respect, the respective roles of the Commission and the ECJ are crucial, since the former has the monopoly of legislative initiative in the EU and grounds its proposals to a large extent on the case law emanating from the latter. As far as workers' mobility and rights protection are concerned, the European Commission displays a contradictory attitude. On one hand, it "identified a certain number of problems, which, if not handled properly and timely could prevent the Directive from reaching its objectives"²⁴. At the same time, it has proposed in the Draft Services Directive two articles which would have facilitated non-compliance with the protective dispositions enshrined in the Directive on Posted workers. While these two articles have been suppressed by the European Parliament in its first reading resolution in February 2006, the Commission has issued two months later a Guidance Communication on posted workers²⁵ re-stating the same provisions. This led MEPs to protest and forced Commissioner for Employment and Social affairs V. Spidla to explanations²⁶. In its 2007 Communication²⁷, the Commission once again notices considerable lack of compliance with the 96/71 EC and exhorts Member states to better administrative cooperation without proposing any new substantial measures.

The Commission aims at codifying existing case law in its proposals. In this respect, ECJ ruling has increasingly favoured the free movement of services (ie services providers freedom) over Member states' rights to regulate the services markets²⁸. A number of recent rulings have confirmed this trend and provoked much resent among political actors and trade unions. In the Laval case (C-341/05) as well as in the Viking case (C-438/05), the Court ruled that union collective action (strike or blockade of a site) aiming at forcing a foreign services provider to sign a collective agreement on wage and working conditions was an unjustified restriction to the free movement of services enshrined in article 43 and 49 EC. The Court confirmed this orientation in the Rüffert Case (C-346/06) concerning collective agreements in connection with public contracts. With these judgments "the court fundamentally reconfigures the traditional balance between economic freedom at European level and social rights at national level (...) this move concerns social autonomy, protected by fundamental rights, whose articulation lies not in the competence of the Community (...) the very autonomy of Member states' labour and social constitution is attacked"²⁹.

As far as the SGEI are concerned, the EU institutions seem to be locked in political stasis. The Commission has repeatedly refused to propose a directive on SIEG on the grounds that they are too

24. European Commission, *Commission's services report on the implementation of Directive 96/71/EC concerning the posting of workers in the framework of the provision of services*, COM(2006) 159 / SEC(2006) 439, 04.04.2006a.

25. European Commission, *Guidance on the posting of workers in the framework of the provision of services*, 04.04.2006b.

26. «No backdoor for posted workers», *European Voice*, 20.07.2006.

27. European Commission, *Posting of workers in the framework of the provision of services: maximising its benefits and potential while guaranteeing the protection of workers*, COM(2007) 304, 13.06.2007.

28. Hatzopoulos, V. and Do, T. U. (2006) 'The Case Law of the ECJ concerning the free provision of services : 2000-2005', *Common Market Law Review*, 43, 923 – 91.

29. Joerges, C. and Rödl, F. (2008) "On the "Social Deficit" of the European Integration Project and its Perpetuation through the ECJ Judgements in Viking and Laval"; RECON Online Working Papers, Arena, Oslo, www.reconproject.eu/projectweb/portalproject/RECONWorkingPapers2008.html.

diverse for a horizontal legal framework, while at the same time proposing a horizontal liberalisation and deregulation directive in the sector. This also comes from the fact that the position of the EP has been ambiguous since the 2004 Herzog report³⁰ and has further weathered out in the 2006 Rapkay Report³¹. While the Party of European Socialists took the initiative to elaborate a directive proposal on the SGEI worked out by a group of lawyers and MEPs, the group did not make the adoption of such a piece of legislation a preliminary condition to negotiations about horizontal liberalisation in co-decision over the Services Directive. **The distinction between economic and non economic SGI therefore remains a "grey area" in EU law**³². It is therefore the ECJ that rules on a case-by-case basis pursuing the enforcement of competition rules for instance in fields such as education or health. In this political situation characterized by the prevailing of negative integration, some express the temptation of the 'end of integration'³³ while advocating a withdrawal on national competences and resistance against encroachment of the EU on the national social systems³⁴. Such a defensive strategy seems nevertheless to be illusory since the EU law and deregulation policies are already impacting the national systems.

Heading towards positive integration

This paper argues that the pressing social problems and political needs related the services markets in the EU cannot be solved by a defensive stance, but only with a pro-active engagement with positive integration³⁵ in the ten coming years. This, however, does not mean the negation of diversity in the Member states. **But if the EU is to encourage workers' mobility, the internal market cannot be one of social anarchy. On one hand, there is a clear need for more legal security with respect to notions such as workers, salaried employees and self-employed workers. This implies formulating clear definitions in EU law instead of leaving it to 27 different definitions. On the other hand, there is also a need for actual enforcement of the Directive on Posted workers on the ground.** While administrative cooperation among 27 Member states is obviously difficult, positive integration would require coordination of controls at the EU level either from the Commission or from a body supervising social issues linked to cross-border provision of services. In a broader perspective, it is time for the EU to progressively engage on the way to supranational social provisions and solidarity arrangements. Professor Maurizio Ferrera³⁶ has convincingly showed that – through the four freedoms and the portability of social rights – the EU has started to displace the spatial national boundaries of

30. European Parliament, Resolution on the Green Paper on services of general interest (COM(2003) 270 – 2003/2152(INI)), P5_TA-PROV(2004)0018, 14.01.2004.

31. European Parliament, Resolution on the Commission White Paper on services of general interest (2006/2101(INI)), A6-0275/2006, 27.09.2006. For a more complete account of the political and interinstitutional debate over the framework directive, see : Crespy, A. (forthcoming) 'Une directive-cadre sur les services d'intérêt général en Europe : un dossier enterré ?' L'année sociale.

32. Dony, M. (2006) Les notions de "services d'intérêt général" et de "service d'intérêt économique général". In J.-V. Louis and S. Rodrigues (eds) Les services d'intérêt économique général et l'Union européenne. Bruxelles: Bruylant, pp. 4-26

33. See for instance "Interview with Fritz Scharpf - The only solution is to refuse to comply with ECJ rulings", www.social-europe.eu; Ernst Hillebrand, "La gauche européenne s'apprête à prendre un nouveau départ", *L'économie politique*, n°40, October 2008, www.leconomiepolitique.fr.

34. In this respect, the German lawyer Christian Joerges advocates the establishment of a conflict law in the EU which would circumscribe the competences of the ECJ and rule in case of conflict with national laws.

35. The reference here is still Fritz Scharpf who defines positive integration as common European policies shaping the conditions under which markets operate.

36. Ferrera, M. (2005) *The Boundaries of Welfare. European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press.

welfare. Hence, while the Commission builds more often on the 'market making role' of the ECJ, the Court also plays a 'solidarity making' role. Unless we are to know a supranational stalemate potentially leading to a "national-populist/Eurosceptic backlash", the EU should engage in "incremental social supranationalism", based on "nesting" national welfare systems into "a wider EU space, capable of promoting reform and adaptation while upholding, at the same time, the basic preconditions for high levels of social protection' under changed boundary conditions"³⁷. Some constitutionalists³⁸ or culturalist sociologists³⁹ argue that the EU lacks the legitimacy to engage in social policies on the grounds that the thin nature of European citizenship (the absence of a unified people, culture and language) is not sufficient for the legitimization of social and solidarity policies. However, it is argued here that the political costs related to the de-structuring of national social systems without re-structuring at the supranational level are eventually generating a greater lack of citizen legitimization for the EU than does the absence of a European 'nation'.

With respect to the SGEI, there is a clear need for a clarification of the respective room for competition and private interests, on one hand, and missions of general interest guaranteed by the states, on the other. In this respect, the ratification of the Lisbon treaty provides for a legal basis with the article 14 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union stipulating that: "The European Parliament and the Council, acting by means of regulations in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, shall establish the principles and set the conditions" in which missions of general interest can be fulfilled. Moreover, the Protocol No 26 on Services of general interest formulates the principles of "a high level of quality, safety and affordability, equal treatment and the promotion of universal access and of user rights". These new provisions provide for a window of opportunity for political entrepreneurs willing to advance the regulation of the SGEI at the EU level. At the same time, the formulation and the terms used reflect a crispation on subsidiarity, which was already the case in the last resolutions of the EP on the subject. Here again, positive integration and new rules at EU level are however the best way to preserve regional and national prerogatives which are otherwise put into question by the implacable enforcement of negative integration and deregulation rules. The new rules regarding the regulation of the SGEI at EU level should be determined by reasonable assessment of the liberalisation policies undertaken so far. While the Commission is ideological in the way it deals with it, there is a need for independent studies and involvement of civil society and social partners. Furthermore, **no sectoral liberalisation should be carried out without an efficient and viable system for financing the tasks related to general interest (perequation, licences, etc) being defined in the first place**. The major challenge in the coming years will therefore be to overcome the fears related to subsidiarity in order to find a legal and political arrangement which guarantees the 'publicness' of the SGEI⁴⁰. Against the economic background of growing wage disparities,

37. *Ibid.*, p. 93. Also chapter 6.

38. Grimm, D. (1995) 'Does Europe Need a Constitution ? ' *European Law Journal*, 1(3), 282-302.

39. Barbier, J.-C. (2008) *La longue marche vers l'Europe sociale*, Paris, PUF.

40. Publicness can be defined along 5 dimensions : 1) the distinct underlying principles than those in the private sector; 2) the composition of service recipients, namely all citizens; 3) the nature of the role it plays in society; 4) the commitment to public accountability; 5) public trust in the credibility, leadership and responsiveness to serve people: Haque, S. (2001) 'The Diminishing Publicness of Public Service under the Current Mode of Governance', *Public Administration Review*, 61(1), 65-82.

persisting – if not increasing – poverty and massive unemployment, well-functioning SGEI are crucial for allowing the least well-off citizens to access the *Daseinsvorsorge*.

Conclusion

The objective of this paper was to address the crucial social issues related to services markets in the EU. It has in particular focused on the relationship between workers' mobility and national rules on workers' social rights, on one hand, and the status of the SGEI in a competitive internal market, on the other hand. Although being two distinct issues, these two topics share common features and problematic aspects:

- The whole range of issues linked to services is closely related to the condition of human beings in the economy and in the society, may it be as a worker or as a citizen.
- Basically, the problems raised are caused by a strong imbalance between negative and positive integration at the EU level, on one hand, hence a growing contradiction between negative integration at EU level and national social and regulatory systems, on the other hand.
- Both therefore have strong potential in generating resistances to further integration and questioning the legitimacy of the EU as a political system.
- While these problems still have a limited dimension today, they are likely to increase in scope with the dynamics of the internal market in the enlarged EU (not least the coming implementation of the 2006 Services Directive).
- The development of services markets will therefore constitute a great challenge for decision-makers in the years to come.

On the basis of a diagnosis considering economic, legal and social aspects of the issue, this paper demonstrated that the defensive political responses focused on a withdrawal on national competences and subsidiarity is deemed to fail in addressing the pressing political needs. If political deadlocks are to be overcome, the EU will have to turn towards a pro-active agenda pushing positive integration forward. While the lengthy and painful ratification of the Lisbon Treaty provided evidence that institutional reform alone does not generate much enthusiasm among citizens, history of integration shows that Europe comes forward when institutional reform is prompted by substantial economic and social integration⁴¹. While treaty reform is rather likely to witness a pause in the coming years, whether a new agenda for positive integration should be coupled with a right of initiative for the EP remains an open question.

41. Costa, O. and Magnette, P. (2007) "How Could the EU Overcome the Current Constitutional Crisis"; Policy Brief, GARNET, <http://www.garnet-eu.org>.

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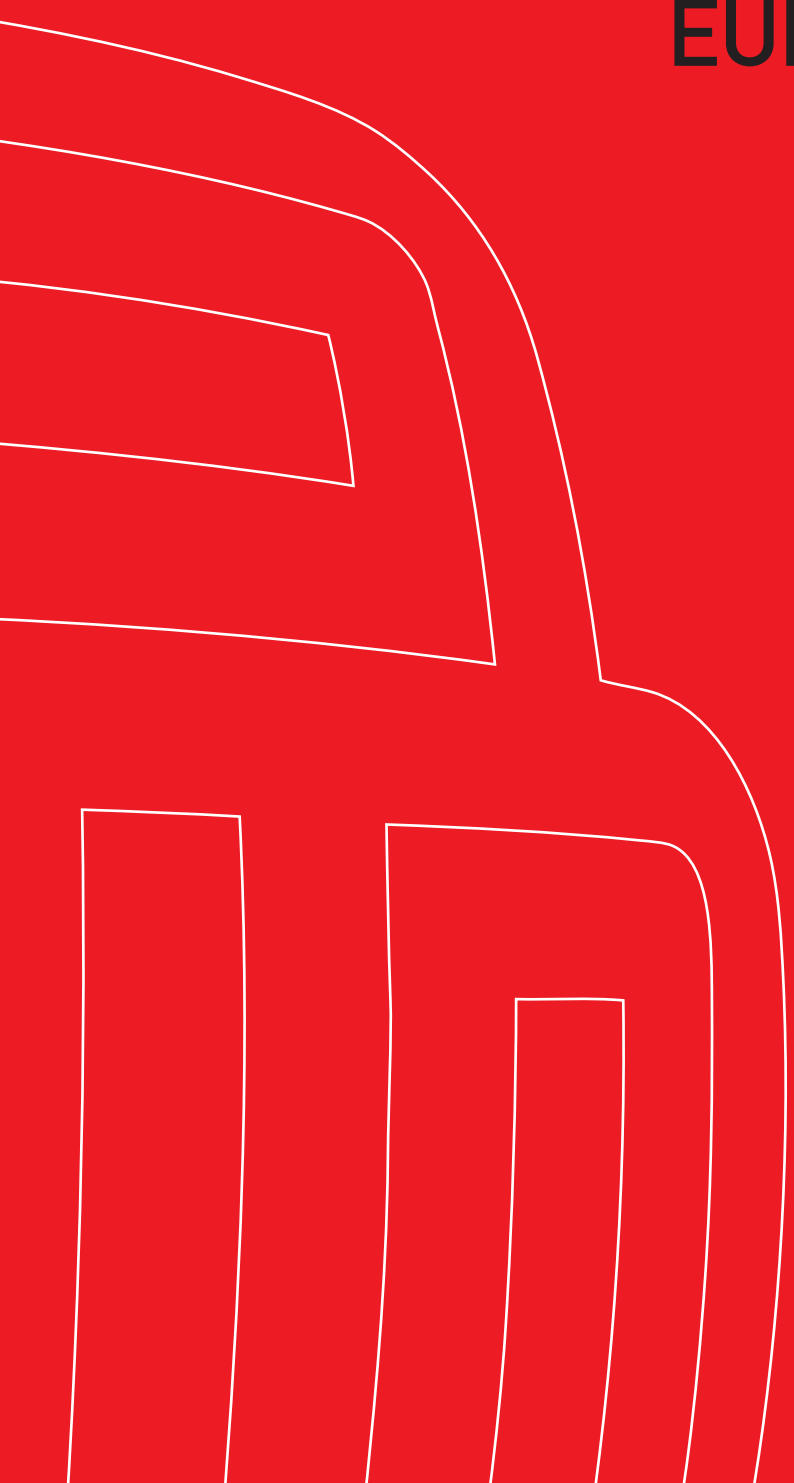
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Biography note

Amandine Crespy is a research fellow at the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB) in the CEVIPOL. Having studied in France and Germany, Ms Crespy is pursuing a PhD research in the field of European Studies and more precisely, on the question of the EU Services directive. Ms Crespy took part in numerous international conferences and have published in several journals (i.e. the Journal of Common Market Studies and the Journal of European Public Policy) and books (having co-edited *L'Europe sous tensions*, which is soon to appear in France).

Queries **3**

OUR CHANGING EUROPEAN SOCIETY





Love without frontiers

The rise of bi-national marriages in an integrating Europe

Sofia Gaspar

This paper is a reflection on European intra-marriage as an emerging social phenomenon and, equally, on its potential cultural and institutional consequences on the EU consolidation and integration process. I will start by analysing EU intra-mobility as a privileged institutional setting whereby European *free movers* may increase social contacts outside their national states. I will then characterize the singularities underlying *European intra-marriages* as a new social phenomenon, so as to distinguish an emerging marriage market – academia – as a privileged terrain for the rise of affective ties. As I will summarise in the final part, alongside the institutional instruments of control wielded by political elites, bi-national EU couples may play a supporting role in the creation of a forthcoming European society.

On intra-European mobility: free movers as a new social type

One of the main advantages of the European Union is that it gives its citizens the freedom to move from one country to another. The “Schengen Agreement” of 1985 and the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 finally established the geographical mobility of Europeans beyond national borders, making access to other EU countries and three non-EU countries¹ much easier. This single European measure, along with a wave of migration in the globalized world and the rise of mass tourism, has significantly contributed to the social and cultural intermixing of different national groups. Along with EU policies encouraging and guaranteeing the free geographical circulation of individuals, other economic and social measures undertaken by the European institutions consist of the creation of a single currency, the EURES web portal for employment, and the European Health Insurance Card, which guarantees medical assistance throughout the EU (Recchi, 2008). All these strategies and services facilitate the internal migration flows of EU citizens and enhance their social integration within Europe.

Accordingly, any EU citizen who uses his or her right to move and reside anywhere within the EU can be identified as a *free mover*. Unlike traditional migrants, these citizens make individual moves regardless of chain migration processes or the recruiting needs of international businesses. In addition, they cannot be discriminated against on the basis of country of origin, gender or ethnicity, or have the need to give up their nationality in order to settle in another country within the EU. *Free movers* tend to have higher educational attainment levels than traditional *guest worker* migrants, and normally come from a middle-class family background (Favell, 2008).

Free movers are, in a word, privileged European migrants. Their social invisibility partially contributes to their social integration and the avoidance of negative discrimination in their host country. However, even though they enrich destination societies with economic and cultural resources, their settlement can be hindered by certain difficulties related to the lack of social capital and the consequences of the “extreme” freedom of mobility between the home and host country that the EU provides. This may lead to feelings of permanently being and living in an “in between European space” (see also Bhabha, 1994; Rodríguez García, 2006), where the co-existence of both local and global cultural affiliations can lead to a sense of disintegration or superficial attachment to particular places and nations. As Adrian Favell (2008) points out, freedom of movement in the EU still presents obstacles that go beyond the cultural and linguistic diversities among countries: when someone wants to move a step ahead from sojourn to settlement, his or her success rests on living an existential compromise, between a “denationalized cosmopolitan lifestyle” and an “attachment to the host society”. In this case, in order to have complete access to the services that are normally available to native citizens (long-term financial planning, childcare, health care), free movers ought to “renationalize” into the social system already existing in the destination nation.

But why do people move? Within the EU, the most common reasons for intra-mobility have been collected by the PIONEUR group on intra-EU migration: although the motivation to move to another EU country may vary depending on the origin and destination, the main reason for migrating

1. Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

was “family/love” (29.7%, i.e. 21.8% for men and 37.4% for women), followed by “work opportunities” (25.2%: 33.1% for men and 17.6% for women), “quality of life” (24%: 24.3% for men and 23.6% for women) and “study” (7%: 5.9% for men and 8.3% for women) (Recchi, 2006). Likewise, European free movers were also said to be stronger supporters of the EU and to feel more European when compared to national groups of stayers. This self-perception and attachment to the EU is also related to the fact that they show greater understanding and savoir-faire in relation to living and working conditions in different transcultural milieus (Recchi et al, 2003; Favell, 2003, 2008).

These data thus represents empirical evidence that love ties and family relationships are – particularly for women – a considerable reason for crossing national borders and going to live in different country. Intra-European love is, then, an important social trigger for moving, representing one of the driving forces behind individual intra-EU migration and the reason for a permanent or temporary stay in a foreign culture. As such, in the forthcoming decades, “love” and “affection” may be a symptom that, alongside the technocracy of EU institutions, the Europe of the people is, at a private level, a rising social reality capable of building the roots of a European society “from below”.

European intra-marriage as an emerging social phenomenon

The idea that EU social mobility may promote close personal contact and lead to an increase in the number of bi-national families between citizens of different countries can be statistically supported. If we look, for instance, into intra-EU marriages rates in Portugal, the data published by INE between 1995 and 2007 revealed that the number of mixed unions suffered a boost with rates of +4.5% (EU15), +13.8% (EU 25) and +38.3% (EU 27), at the same time that the total number of marriages decreased by 35.9%.

Nonetheless, despite representing a fertile field of development for the social sciences, studies in marriage between Europeans are relatively scarce. With some exceptions mostly based on case studies and statistical data (Varro, 1995; Lauth Bacas, 2002; Block, 2007; Braun and Recchi, 2008; Gaspar, 2008, 2009; Santacreu Fernández and Francés García, 2008; Scott and Cartledge, 2009), this idea has hardly been investigated. Most studies that have focused on bi-national marriages in Europe have centred on unions between European natives and guest workers (both European and non-European) (Cortina et al., 2008; Cretser, 1999; González Ferrer, 2006; Lievens, 1999; Neyrand and M’Sili, 1998; Kalmijn and van Tubergen, 2006; Klein, 2001; Rodríguez García, 2006; Rother, 2008; van Tubergen and Maas, 2007) in order to evaluate the degree of social integration of these communities when living in their countries of destination.

On account of this and the fact that I believe we are dealing with a somewhat different social phenomenon, **I have proposed the use of the expression *European intra-marriage* to refer to marital unions between citizens from different national contexts inside the EU** (Gaspar, 2008, 2009). I am using *nationality* as a criterion to evaluate the nature of a marriage that has to be negotiated,

2. Source: INE, Demographic Statistics.

constructed and developed on a daily basis within a multicultural, social and political European space. **The reason, therefore, why European intra-marriage may be sociologically relevant is that it may be a specific form of socio-cultural interchange between at least two European countries, with the EU as a political institutional setting³.** The legal status of EU partners establishes secure basic conditions for them to live their lives in a foreign country as a *privileged migrant group*. This is why marrying someone from another EU country does not require the legal and security procedures applied to non- EU spouses, in order to enjoy citizenship and freedom of movement across internal EU borders. European intra-marriage involves personal motives like love and affection and not legal and economic factors that might be implicit in certain other cases of international unions.

Nonetheless, not only *nationality* but also the *cultural environment of upbringing and language differences* are criteria to be taken into account in order to evaluate how these partnerships are negotiated and built with the EU. As mentioned above, having a European nationality automatically offers a citizen advantages the right of residence, geographical mobility, civil rights, legally guaranteed freedom from discrimination, and easier access to employment in comparison to other groups of migrants. For this reason, it is expected that European intra-marriages are more likely to show higher levels of social acceptance and social integration than those between an EU citizen and non-EU partner (Rother, 2008; Scott and Cartledge, 2009).

Moreover, **bi-national EU marriages tend to create and stimulate different dynamics, strategies and forms of negotiation in a couple's daily life and their children's upbringing that are closer to an intercultural form of living and being within Europe** (Gaspar, 2009) Cross-border relationships do in fact need bi-national adjustments in socialization, acculturation and the creation of interethnic identity processes, especially those concerned with the offspring's upbringing. Some of the studies on mixed marriages (Rodríguez García, 2006) have revealed that these couples tend to create certain conjugal dynamics, inserted into a "complex socio-cultural hybrid space", where both partners interact not only within the society of residence but also in the "diasporic settlement" of other national groups living in a certain community. Moreover, not only the spouses but also the whole family network (affinal and consanguineal) has to be reorganized around two different geographical and cultural places, which brings new forms of re-adaptation to all generations involved.

This being so, what mobility strategies structure the meeting of these couples? European intra-marriages can be the result of either 1) the mobility of one free mover who meets a citizen from the society of destination (free mover/national stayer type) or 2) the mobility of two free movers from different EU countries (free mover/free mover type) (see also Piper, 2003; Scott and Cartledge, 2009). This being the case, I believe that the *free mover/free mover* combination may lead to certain lifestyle, behaviours and identity patterns that are closer to a denationalized existence, that is, "less national" and "more European" (Favell, 2008). On the other hand, a *free mover/national stayer* combination should exhibit a higher level of assimilation (Rother, 2008; Scott and Cartledge, 2009). For a mobile citizen, having a partner from the society of destination represents easier and more rapid access to the social

3. In "EU countries" I include not only all the EU-27 nation states, but also other neighbouring European' states (Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Switzerland) that have certain "privileged" political and social relations with the EU.

networks and economic resources of that nation state, which will provide him or her with a “privileged bridge” to social and cultural integration. In addition, when considering this free mover/national stayer social type, we also need to identify the migration history of the partner belonging to the country of destination. This distinction is particularly relevant because it can limit the threshold at which the social integration of a couple balances between a more “denationalized” or “assimilated” conjugal lifestyle (see also Rother, 2008).

This being so, I shall turn now to the analysis of a privileged social context – academia - in which *European free movers* are more liable to interact and to meet foreigner partners

Academia as a privileged matrimonial market

Alongside the policy measures taken by EU institutions to simplify the free movement of EU citizens, **one of the factors contributing to the increase in highly qualified movers between EU states is the development of European educational exchange programmes.** The attention and support devoted to these programmes by the European institutions comes along the goals set in the Lisbon Agenda (March 2000), demanding for the EU the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of maintaining economic growth and optimal levels of social cohesion. In order to achieve these goals, a skilled and adaptable labour force and easier access to the European labour market are necessary. Moreover, beyond these reasons, these educational exchange programmes play an important role in promoting European social integration and a European sense of belonging. In fact, by confronting the commonalities and diversities existing between different European states, studying across borders can be an excellent opportunity to prepare the ground for a future European generation capable of adapting to full market integration.

In this context, as the Bologna process shows, citizens’ educational qualifications are being optimized and legally recognized in all member states, a process that is intended to safeguard fair and easy access to jobs anywhere in the EU. Likewise, programmes such as Erasmus-Socrates (undergraduates) and Marie Curie Actions (academic researchers) are encouraging a large number of highly-educated individuals to take the opportunity of a temporary stay in another EU country. According to data mentioned by King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003), from 1987 to 2000 there were about 750,000 tertiary-level students who spent 3 to 12 months studying abroad in Europe, and these numbers have risen substantially since that period. Moreover, with the exception of Bulgaria and Romania, there was an increase of 25% in foreign students enrolled at European universities from 1998-2003 (Moreira, 2006). Just to give a general overview of the figures recorded for some EU countries, during the academic year 1999-2000 the UK was the host country for 20,705 students and sent 10,056 abroad; France received 17,890 and placed 16,824 abroad; the figures for Germany were 14,691 (in) and 15,715 (out); Spain 15,197 (in) and 16,297 (out); and Italy 8029 (in) and 12,421 (out) (King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003). Although each country presents its own characteristics regarding the institutional support offered to international students, long-standing cultural and historic contacts

between the host and the destination country seem to exist, especially those related to language capabilities and neighbour's influence (Moreira, 2006).

These mobility-promoting measures tend to create a socio-cultural environment that is extremely productive in mixing and integrating people belonging to a European vanguard group, that is, highly knowledgeable EU individuals linked together by a specific cultural and intellectual lifestyle. In fact, research has shown that international students tend to come from a slightly higher socio-economic family background than non-moving students (King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003). They are, in short, an elite of the elite that reaches the level of university education. Furthermore, this research also revealed that the group of individuals who engaged in a European year abroad usually came from a more cosmopolitan family background – it was more likely that they had parents belonging to different nationalities, had spent time travelling abroad, spoke a foreign language and had more foreign students as friends in their home environment –, and were thus more predisposed them to embarking on a cross-national experience.

In this sense, a *European academic market* seems to be the primary set in which *free movers* meet their partners while studying under educational exchange programs abroad (Gaspar, 2009). Finding a European partner in academia is a social consequence of the decision to be mobile at a time in life (mid-20s and 30s) when the formation of a family is more likely to occur. This is consistent with previous investigations, where an apparent association between *age at the time of mobility* and *family development* normally takes place (Braun and Recchi, 2008), and the probability of creating a transnational family increases. The possible overrepresentation of European bi-national couples in an academic setting need to be further assessed, in order to understand whether the educational terrain either functions as a cause or an effect of personal and family trajectories inside the EU.

Final remarks

The aim of this paper was to present an initial reflection on bi-national unions in Europe. Intra-EU marriages represent a distinctive phenomenon with different characteristics from those pertaining to affective partnerships between Europeans and non-EU groups. Europe, as I believe, is also being developed through conjugal and family processes that are experienced and negotiated on a daily basis by these couples and may lead, in the future, to a wider and hybrid transcultural space. This phenomenon, however, is still an object-in-the-making, since the EU is moving on, with a greater or lesser degree of success. **The social, economic and political construction of Europe is dynamic and complex and its structure has to be understood on the basis of various lines of individual, social and institutional interactions coming “from the top or below”.**

Bi-national partnerships among EU citizens represent a new form of affective liaisons developed by civil society that, alongside rational and instrumental political measures, may be playing an important role in the (re)definition of the idea of Europe. Among the groups that may be taking charge of this process, a highly educated generation of free movers appears to have more frequent

and continuous social contacts throughout the internal European space, especially within an academic setting that is functioning as a privileged matrimonial market. This new phenomenon may indicate the rise of an *intra-European homogamy* linked by specific lifestyles, values and behaviours and is part of an emerging *European social class* distinct from other European natives. **In fact, if the love reason represents, as we have seen, one of the most powerful motivations for mobility, we should seriously consider its social and political consequences on future European integration.**

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Biography note

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Empirical evaluation of Post-national identity and Constitutional Patriotism concepts

A study of the European civil society's identification with Europe

Mélanie Vogel

The following article shall evaluate, through the study of the identification of agents of the "European civil society" with Europe, the empirical relevance of the concept of post-national identity, the latter offering, through the required adherence to certain common values as a basis of the identification process, interesting possibilities for thinking a political community at a European level. The aim is at the same time to analyse whether a process of post-national identification with Europe exists in the case of the individuals interviewed and to apply two theoretical frameworks, the first one being connected to the communicative action according to Habermas and the second to the post-materialist theory of Inglehart.

The question of the European identity has indeed, and deservedly, been preoccupying the scientific community for a certain time. In fact, the necessity to apprehend the process of European integration has been accompanied by a period of doubts. The first doubt is connected to the decline of the *permissive consensus*¹ from the beginning of the 1990s onwards². When during a certain time Europe still appeared to be but a sort of machine producing public policies, it was the analysis in terms of attitudes which prevailed, mobilising in particular the utilitarian, cognitive and affective support³. After the 1990s, reflections were commenced on a greater scale about the problem of the European Union in terms of a political community under way, and thus questions of identity were approached. The known political communities being characterised by an identification of their members, independently of the chronological order in each case, one of the central questions was thus naturally the relation the "European identity" was to have with the pre-existent national identities. **Did the nature of the European project make the two identities incompatible? Cumulative? Dissociated?** The second doubt is related to the notorious institutional crisis the European Union is going through since the French and Dutch "nos" to the Constitutional Treaty in 2005. How indeed to reconcile a French "no" structured around the request for more social Europe, a Dutch "no" conditioned by a hostile attitude towards a too strong European interventionism, and an Irish "no" marked by questions a society values? **The possibility of a consensus between various national consensus' already established is a philosophical and sociological brainteaser.** The questions of the Nation, of national identity, of democracy and of the state are four notions which are historically interlinked to the point that their connection led certain authors to claim that democracy could in a certain sense be but national. Raymond Aron⁴ replied since 1974 that a multinational citizenship was impossible. Later on, Pierre Manent⁵ reaffirmed the consubstantial link between democracy and the nation. At the same time, Michael Walzer defines a citizen as «*le membre d'une communauté politique, doté des obligations et des prérogatives attachées à cette appartenance*»⁶. The question is hence one of a status rather than that of a natural characteristic, and it the national identities do not appear to be in themselves contradictory to the principle of a European citizenship. Different scenarios are possible: For Norbert Elias, according to whom the law of monopole tends to regroup individuals in increasingly large spaces, the correlation between the two identities should be positive. For Inglehart, who advances a cognitive approach of the identification to the group, the post-material character of contemporary societies promotes a new type of attachment to Europe and should thus uncouple the identification to Europe and the pre-existent national or local identities. The third thesis concerns the nature of the object of identification. According to the argument of Anderson and his definition of a «*communauté*

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imaginaire limitée et souveraine»⁷, the two identities would be incompatible, due to competitive allegiances.

The concept of constitutional patriotism, however, offers considerable possibilities to think a combination of both: national identity/European identity, national citizenship/European citizenship. It allows us to think their compatibility by their dissociation, by a «*communalisation des cultures politique au sein d'un espace public transeuropéen*»⁸. This specifies furthermore that the citizens of this entity should «*correspondre à quelque chose comme un Etat*»⁹. The theories of the constitutional patriotism and of the post-national identity suggest a processual vision of European identity, in which the evolution of contemporary societies would allow the dissociation of the State (as the sphere related to the domain of law) and the Nation (as the sphere related to the cultural, to an emotional attachment)¹⁰. The members of a political community, organised according to the logic of constitutional patriotism, recognize themselves as subjects of law¹¹. According to Muriel Rambour¹², the operationalisation of constitutional patriotism has to proceed in two phases, the first one consisting precisely of this problematic dissociation of the cultural and the political, the second consisting hence of a reconstitution of identity, which truly provides the possibility to give a content to this European identity, resulting from a peaceful confrontation of national references. The distinction between the Nation and the State is inevitably based on a dissociation between the rules and the particularity of the individuals to which they are applied. It is thus on this account that we shall study two dependant variables: the intensity of the identification and the content of the identification. For this purpose, we shall apply the distinction between civic and cultural identity employed by Michael Bruter¹³. We must also precise that we will consider the identification process with Europe instead of considering the "European identity"¹⁴, as we suppose identity to be processual and composite. The emergence of a constitutional patriotism is impossible without certain specific conditions, and those conditions shall structure our research. For Habermas, communication is at the heart of the mechanism within which the citizens, in an ideal speech situation, exchange, on a basis of equality, their points of view in order to achieve legitimate consensus. Moreover, «*Les principes qui sous-tendent le patriotisme constitutionnel ne s'imposeraient pas arbitrairement: en effet, l'assentiment donné aux valeurs universelles se dégagerait d'un ensemble de pratiques concertatives également destinées à renouveler l'exercice démocratique*»¹⁵. This assumption challenges a study from Sophie Duchesne¹⁶ which shows that the incompatibility between national and European identity at the individual scale is more intense during debates periods

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16. HABERMAS, Jürgen, *L'Espace public. Archéologie de la publicité comme dimension constitutive de la société bourgeoise*, Paris, Payot, 1993.

(elections, treaties reform). Habermas defines the public sphere as an intermediate sphere which has been historically constituted, at the Age of Enlightenment, between the civil society and the State¹⁷. For the latter, the appearance of a public sphere is thus intrinsically related, at least historically, to the emergence of a rational criticism of the State¹⁸. The public sphere is defined as a sphere where the discursive exchange of reasonable positions about problems of general interest is able to produce a public opinion, «*l'espace argumentatif et délibératif où se forme rationnellement une opinion publique*»¹⁹. **In order to put this hypothesis to the test, we shall presume that the agents who consider themselves as parts of the category of "European civil society" have the characteristics necessary to suppose that they are inserted in the "European public sphere".** The agents studied are organised according to the network logic, which allows us to evaluate their degree of insertion. Furthermore, this network is small, fragmented and elitist. Luc Rouban²⁰ defines it as open to the rare "great citizens". Paul Magnette goes as far as describing it as "orleanist"²¹. Finally, the European public sphere is only just being constructed, as Hélène Michel reminds us²².

Hypothesis N°1: the more an individual is inserted into the European public sphere, the more she or he is capable of dissociating the specific nature of her or his national identity and the civico-political nature of her or his identification with Europe.

However, another theoretical interpretation provides an analytical pattern to explaining the post-national nature of political identity. In fact, according to Inglehart, post-industrial societies tend to develop post-material values, which is correlated with a higher level of education. The hypothesis of a generational effect on the constitution of identity following the post-materialist premises presumes that the young generations have more open and more qualitative values, and that this characteristic has an influence on the capacity of abstraction, which in its turn influences the capacity to develop a post-national identification. Moreover, by crossing several potentially explanatory variables, the mainly generational effect of the structure of individual values becomes visible. In fact, we can conclude that dividing the sample according to the age not only makes sense in terms of what has been pointed out above (the differentiated socialisation to Europe, different levels and forms of education), but equally in terms of values. This reinforces the generational aspect of post-materialism and provides an indication (according to the correlation with the trust in the European Parliament) as to the substantial link between a universalist attitude and an attitude towards the European Union.

Hypothesis N°2: There is a connection between the fact of being young and the fact of developing a post-national type of membership of Europe. This is due to a generational link between the age and the presence of open values.

17. CALHOUN, John C. *Habermas and the Public Sphere* Cambridge, MIT Press, 1992.

18. WEISBEIN, Julien. « La question de l'espace public européen », in REYNIE, Dominique., CAUTRES, Bruno., (Dir.), *L'opinion européenne 2002*, Paris, Presses de Sciences-Po, 2002, p. 91-108 (extraits repris dans CAUTRES (B.), dir., « La citoyenneté européenne », *Problèmes politiques et sociaux*, n°910, juin 2004, p. 48-51.

19. ROUBAN, Luc. « La réforme de l'Etat en Europe. Quel avenir pour le service public ? » in D'ARCY, François., ROUBAN, Luc., (dir), *De la cinquième République à l'Europe*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 1997, p. 158-159.

20. MAGNETTE, Paul, *L'Europe, l'Etat et la démocratie*, Bruxelles, Complexe, 2000, p. 233-246.

21. MICHEL Hélène., *La « société civile » dans la « gouvernance européenne »*. *Éléments pour une sociologie d'une catégorie politique*, Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales 2007/1-2, 166-167, p. 30-37.

22. This link is verified in a quantitative study presented in appendix.

Methodological aspects: Due to the inappropriateness of the quantitative data while considering the “content” of the process identification, we will drive a qualitative research, interviewing agents from the “European civil society”. In order to test our two hypothesis, we will divide the sample into two independent variables: the age, and the integration in the civil society network. The level of integration in the network will be approached in two ways: the position within the structure, and the geographical situation (Brussels/France). All the individuals will have the same nationality, as to neutralise the effects of national framing of identity. For commodity reasons, they will be French.

A post-national generation?

In order to consider that an effect is genuinely generational, it is necessary to distinguish it from effects of age (in terms of cycles of life) and from effects of the period (related to temporal particularity/ the particular nature of the present). Taking into consideration the results of the interviews, we can state that the sample is split by generational variables, in terms of three characteristics: First of all, the political socialisation has clearly taken place in distinctly different contexts regarding the European situation. The young persons are born in a united western Europe, where war, its recollection and its possible occurrence were symbols and constitutive elements of a collective memory rather than concrete point of reference. It is the first generation not to have had parents having experienced the the armed conflict between European peoples, which explains a theoretical and symbolical consideration of war, without concrete experiences. On the other hand, a 63-years-old woman tells: *«Quand j'étais petite à la fin du repas, j'entendais toujours, «encore un que les boches n'auront pas». Et ça, ça vient pas de la guerre de 39-45, ça vient de celle de 14-18 et encore de celle de 1870, ça veut dire qu'il y a des générations qui ont été élevées dans cette haine de l'allemand»*. Secondly, whereas all the young persons in the sample have high levels of education and have received similar training, the elders have, in the mean, lower levels and more heterogenic forms of education. This is a variable which is not specific of our sample. Moreover, in our case the homogeneity of the academic careers of the young persons is striking. Finally, the young have a significantly greater mobility (stays abroad, languages spoken).

The results concerning the constitution of identity, in terms of the intensity and the nature of the identification process are the following: For the young, the identification with the Nation is on an average less strong than in the case of the seniors is operated according to a cultural dimension. The national belonging is perceived as a given historical-cultural fact, without normative value. *«J'aimerais bien ne pas m'identifier à la France, mais je sais que je suis française, je ne peux pas y échapper, par exemple il n'y a rien à faire, une bonne baguette, le matin... tu vois ? Mais c'est tout.»*. This leads the agents to consider the differences between the national identities as cultural fact which are not of a fundamental nature. By the same means, this leads the young to strongly normative reactions towards the question of national pride. One young person replied clearly *«Je ne pourrai jamais dire que je suis fière d'être française, pour moi, c'est lié à l'extrême droite.»* (Femme, 23 ans, France). As to the identification with Europe, in terms of intensity, we find two different cases, with a strong, if not militant, identification with the cause of the European integration on the one hand, and a vague and fluid identification

with Europe on the other hand. These two cases reveal different natures of identification processes. The first category rather tends to consider the connection with the European Union as a civic type of attachment, the EU being associated with a project. In this sense, these interviews relativise the dichotomy between two types of relation to citizenship pointed out by Sophie Duchesne²³. The abstraction of the bond of affiliation becomes visible as the notion of border is brought up. This notion is not absent from the agents' geopolitical and identity conceptions, however, it is no longer as clearly perceived in relation to geographical demarcations. This leads us to rethink the role of territories and frontiers as imagined by Rokkan in the reflection about the constitution of the national political spheres. According to Rokkan, the construction of physical frontiers follows a double logic, first of all being a physical demarcation, but secondly creating the codes and categories defining distinctions such as, for example, the rights given by citizenship and the distinction between insiders and outsiders. Within his line of thought, the construction of external boundaries and the inner structuring are two closely connected sides of the same reality²⁴. **The systems of culturally embedded national citizenship, based on universal political, social and civil rights, thus develop within an increasingly socially and historically closed sphere of interaction. In this sense, if the European system of solidarity corresponds to this model, it should move the frontier without removing it.** Which are the closing phenomena visible in the case of the young? It is not the cultural factor which shapes a block frontier between the European Union and the USA, China or Russia; it is actually, according to the interviewees, a system of values and a mode of action. On this account, we can establish the hypothesis that the frontier loses its geographical sense, but remains a line of demarcation, here almost moral. The notion of pride, as applied to the European integration, is naturally not treated in the same way as the national pride. We are thus confronted with a system of evaluation by the outputs. In the case of the second type of young persons, who identify less intensely with the EU, we find the same type of perception of the European Union as of the Nation: an inclusive and thus exclusive entity, a separation. Concerning the pride, we thus find two different reactions: Europe is either perceived in the same way as the nation, as an exclusive entity, with reactions of identification and pride being similar, or as an inclusive political process, with reactions being dissociated.

Analyzing the seniors, we realize that there are significant differences. The sense of belonging to the Nation reveals itself to be strong. In the case of the seniors interviewed, the identification with the Nation is particularly strong, at the same time important and claimed. The fundamental distinction from the young concerns the principle of the national scale. It is hence not a matter of evaluative identification, but of a structuring preference for the existence, or at least the "non-disappearance" of the Nation State. The elder interviewees' strong identification with the Nation confirms the positive correlation of national identity explained above in relation with the low sense of belonging to the Nation of the young. Nevertheless, we see in the case of the seniors, who are in situations where Europe is frequently questioned, do not make a choice. In any case, it is interesting to note that the

23. DUCHESNE, Sophie, *Citoyenneté à la française : tension entre particularisme et universalisme : analyse d'entretiens non-directifs*, thèse, doctorat, science politiques, sous la direction de Jean Leca, IEP de Paris, 1994, 519 p.

24. FERRERA, Maurizio, *Intégration européenne et citoyenneté nationale et sociale : une analyse dans la perspective de Stein Rokkan*, *Revue française de sociologie*, Vol 43, N°2, *l'Europe sociale en perspective*, 2002, p 277-306.

Nation remains the prism through which political identities are conceived. In lots of case, Europe is perceived as a lesser evil to enable the Nation State to subsist. The notion of pride is not problematic either, and the reference to civic criteria of belonging to the French Nation are mentioned²⁵. The reference to local affiliation is systemically present, which testifies of a more affective connection with the land itself. On the other hand, the identification with Europe is also considered as being strong. Even with the agents being in situations where daily life is structured by debates concerning European issues, both identities remain strong. We can hence imagine that the antagonism between the identification with Europe and that with the Nation, occurring at the moment of debates about Europe (elections, ratifications of treaties, etc.)²⁶ is rather due to effects of framing than to a fundamental antagonism which would be revealed in those kind of circumstances. Moreover, we notice that the seniors interviewed are in a particular position since we know that the identification with Europe normally is a decreasing function of the age. As to the content of the identification, the interviews reveal, in the majority of the cases, the absence of a dissociation, the Nation and Europe being both perceived as cultural as well as civic entities.

Public sphere and post-national identity

The research reveals two essential characteristics of the public sphere, the first one being that of its bi-dimensionality (communication/contact) and the second one being that of its effect being structured by the generational variable. In fact, the difficult but necessary distinction between communication – in the habermassian sense of the term – and contact, leads us to readjust our definition. In fact, the individuals situated in Brussels evolve in a European microcosm with its own codes and ethos, which redefines the identity of the individuals constituting it, in a constructivist perspective²⁷. This is finally what Marc Abélès and Irène Bellier proved in their study on the culture of the European Commission²⁸, in a sphere which is coded by the necessity of cultural compromise, individuals end up developing their own practices and eventually an “identity” specific of the institution. This constructivist neo-institutionalism can be extended to the study of a non-institutional microcosm. In this ensemble of social interactions, not all concern European issues, and those which do not appear to be more significant. In fact, the individuals establish links of friendship, they meet colleagues. Those relationships are often constructed around intercultural communication. This interpersonal communication is not always a deliberation in the habermasian sense of the communicative action. Based on the diagnosis of the public sphere being bi-dimensional, which leads us to consider the public sphere as a system of social interactions on the one hand (thus linked to the spatial location), and of rational communication on the other hand, we deduce the solution of analysing the two sides of the notion of the public sphere independently. This research can, in particular, clarify the individual explanatory factors of the connection

25. *As the French Revolution...*

26. DUCHESNE, Sophie, «À propos des identifications nationale et européenne : retour sur le caractère politique de leur antagonisme », *op.cit.*

27. RISSE, Thomas. “Social constructivism and European integration” in Wiener, A. And Diez, T. (eds) *European integration Theory* (2nd edn), Oxford University Press, pp 144-160, 2009.

28. ABELES, Marc, BELLIER, Irène «La Commission Européenne: du compromis culturel à la culture politique du compromis», *Revue Française de Science Politique*, Vol. 46, n° 3, 1996, pp. 431-455

between the public sphere and the territory, by outlining the explanatory factors of the individual fluid or stable perception of the territory.

As to the territorial dimension, the interviews reveal that the effects of territorial insertion into a "European" sphere largely depend on the individuals' self-perception of their mobility, which depends on their age. The more individuals are mobile, the less the territorial aspect is of importance. Certain authors claim the existence of an increasing propensity for internationalisation. Castells²⁹ ou Retaille³⁰, for example, apply the term of nomadism. This image of "post-modern hyper-mobility"³¹ is based on the assumption of a territory which does not bear any attachment. As Robert-Demontrond³² affirms, there is a semantic shift from expatriation to mobility. The seniors hence consider their mobility as restricted. Once they are settled in Brussels, they live a life of expatriates, considering the arrival in Brussels as a structuring spatio-temporal rupture. This has two different effects, the first one being an emotionalisation of Europe, the second being reverse effect by the self-observation and the double tension generated by the expatriation to Brussels. According to Smith, its makeshift nature makes the "European community" a sort of juxtaposition of national cultures and identities³³, incapable of creating a substance of itself. This non substantial nature of European identity leads him to employ the term of "scientific culture"³⁴. At the best, Europeans could share principles of rationality which make negotiations possible. Far from contradicting these assumptions, the analysis of the interviews nevertheless shows us that an emotionalisation of the fact of belonging to the EU is possible, provided that it is fuelled by processes of social and interpersonal interaction as channels of socialisation. The European integration is no longer but a concept, it is an everyday reality. **Concerning the reverse effect, we do actually find a double constraint in relation to expatriation, on the one hand a detachment from national references is required in order to be a "real European", on the other hand individuals are repeatedly confronted with the national stereotypes remaining vigorous, which leads them to question their attachment to the Nation.** Here we clearly identify a phenomenon of decentring, however, it is not necessarily created by means of rationalisation.

As for the public space in the habermassian sense of the term, we finally observe a rather limited effect. The individuals situated at the nodal points within the network hold more structured, documented and rather rationalised views regarding the European Union, due to a mobilisable knowledge. However, this is less an effect of their position in itself, but rather of the criteria of the selection preceding their access to those positions. In the interviews, there is no correlation between the insertion into the public sphere and a post-national identification with Europe.

29. CASTELLS, Manuel. «L'identité à l'ère de la mondialisation», *Courrier International*, 382, 26 février, 1998.

30. RETAILLE, Denis. «Concepts du nomadisme et nomadisme des concepts», in Knafo, R. (dir), *La planète nomade*, Paris, Belin, 1998.

31. SIMON, Gildas. «La planétarisation des migrations internationales», in Knafo, R. (dir), *La planète nomade*, Paris, Belin, 1998.

32. ROBERT-DEMONTRON, Philippe, *Psychodynamique de l'expatriation: la nostalgie comme syndrome d'adaptation*, *Revue internationale de psychosociologie* 2001/1-2, N° 16-17, p. 317-338.

33. SMITH, Andy.D, *Nations and nationalism in a Global Era*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1995.

34. SMITH, Andy, *National Identity and the idea of European Unity*, *International Affairs*, 19

Conclusion

- 1 **The post-national character of the political identity is an empirically observable phenomenon. The model of post-national identification is empirically manifested.** However, this dissociation is not automatically accompanied by a cooling down of the allegiances, since, in the case of certain individuals, the European project as well as the concrete experience of European integration through a daily life in a multicultural context carries values generating emotions.
- 2 **The most suitable axe for explaining the development or not of a post-national identity is that of the age, which is itself coupled with an effect of a level of education, which in its turn influences the individual system of values.** The factor which is the most likely to generate the creation of a distance between the referents of national identity and an identification with post-material Europe is a combined effect of the education and the context. It appears crucial to insist on the nature of the education and not only on their level. By conveying a certain vision of the history of European integration, educations shape an apperception of the phenomenon of European integration. The structures of the individual sociological characteristics which allow to explain universalist and post-national attitudes are similar. De facto, the presence of "open values" and the tendency to a post-national character of the political identification would be two faces of the same coin. The relativisation and the rationalisation on the one hand, but equally the development of another form of a social link and thus of solidarity on the other hand, coupled with a high level of politisation renders possible to establish the link.
- 3 **Based on this conclusion, it is possible to establish 3 exempla of compositions of identity.** In order to summarize what has been diagnosed, 3 cases according to the generation can be distinguished. In the young generations, we find post-modern individuals, characterised by a general low level of identification, and a rather similar registers of identification: in both cases, the nation and Europe are viewed as exclusive entities. Those young persons are often characterised by a low level of party identification and are concentrated in Brussels. We also find post-national young individuals, characterised by a medium level of identification with the nation, by a greater level of identification with Europe, but especially by a pronounced dissociation between the two ways of identification. While the nation is perceived as a cultural and historical entity carrying practices and traditions, the European Union is perceived as a dynamic and inclusive political project. Finally, we find francopean seniors, which means individuals who use the same ways of identification with the nation and with Europe, both being conceived as cultural, historical, but also political and civic entities. In this case, the two identities are strong, and the respective pride is positively correlated.
- 4 **The public sphere is divided into two effects: contact and communication, which are crystallised around two aspects: the territorial and the communicational dimension.** As previously developed, the identification of a geographical criteria of insertion in the public sphere , a priori due to a greater proximity to the institutions, reveals other effects of the territory, which are dissociated from the habermasian property of the public sphere. The spatial situation has an effect

of itself, but it has an impact especially on the seniors, who have a greater capacity to feel sedentary. The impact is not that of producing a post-national identity, but rather that of emotionalising Europe and of questioning the national identity, sometimes reinforcing the latter. Inversely, the younger, more mobile, will rather tend to consider their life in Brussels as a movement among other mobilities.

- 5 The “habermasian” public sphere is not the greatest explanatory force concerning the phenomenon of the “post-nationalisation” of the individual political identities. An individual who has a system of “open” values, who has been socialised towards Europe through a specialised academic education and who is situated, additionally, in a multicultural environment treating with European issues, is even more inclined to relativise her or his belonging to a nation and to develop a civic identification with Europe. Nevertheless, the effects of selective recruitment and the non correlation between the central position and post-national composition of identity lead us to the conclusion that the only democratic and rational deliberation is not explanatory by itself.

Appendices:

Table 1: there is a negative correlation between the age and the level of education.

Correlations

	Qualification period	Years of full-time education completed	Age of respondent, calculated
Years of full-time education completed	Pearson Correlation	1	-,268**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	42455	42193
Age of respondent, calculated	Pearson Correlation	-,268**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	42193	42698

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 2 : we can provide an attitude scale of post-material values.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
,674	7

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Les immigrants enrichissent la culture	4,7765	2,068	,356	,649
Les gays et lesbiennes doivent pouvoir vivre leurs vie comme ils le souhaitent	4,6449	2,101	,438	,623
Je suis d'accord avec le fait que les gens vivent ensemble sans être mariés	4,6652	1,982	,526	,596
J'aime apprendre de nouvelles choses	4,5639	2,346	,319	,655
Je suis d'accord avec le fait que les gens aient des enfants hors mariage	4,6910	1,967	,511	,599
Je pense qu'il est important de comprendre les autres	4,5639	2,346	,319	,655
Je suis d'accord avec le fait que des immigrants viennent dans mon pays	4,7382	2,238	,240	,673

Table 3 : the age plays the most important role in determining individuals values

Correlations

age5			universalisme	Highest level of education
- de 30	universalisme	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	1 3252	,095 ,000 3165
	Highest level of education	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	,095** ,000 3165	1 8322
30-41	universalisme	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	1 ,000 3230	,209** ,000 3159
	Highest level of education	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	,209** ,000 3159	1 8334
41-52	universalisme	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	1 3142	230** ,000 3063
	Highest level of education	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	,230** ,000 3063	,230** ,000 8264
52-65	universalisme	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	1 2844	-,243** ,000 2776
	Highest level of education	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	,243** ,000 2776	1 8319
+ de 65	universalisme	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	1 2498	,154** ,000 2435
	Highest level of education	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	,154** ,000 2435	1 8573

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4: the attachment to the country is correlated with the age.

Correlations

		QA14 attachment to country	D11 age
QA14 attachment to country	Pearson Correlation	1	,281**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	1031	1031
D11 age	Pearson Correlation	,281**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	1031	1031

a. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Nation (Sample) = France

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Biography note

Mélanie Vogel was born in 1985 in Marseille. She starts her studies in economics in Aix-en-Provence in 2002, then turns to a preparatory course for entrance to "Grandes Ecoles", during which her interest for the European integration begins. In 2004, she enters the Institute of Political Studies of Toulouse, where she specializes in European studies. She obtains her diploma with a thesis on the European Citizens'Agora in 2009. The same year, she obtains a Research Master degree in SciencesPo Paris, with a thesis on post-national identity. She's currently studying at the College of Europe in the politics and administration department, and she's preparing a thesis on the EU enlargement policy and the clash of civilisations theory.



Migration to Europe in the aftermath of the 2008/09 recession

Lessons from the 1973/74 crisis.

Piotr Plewa

Europe's post-1945 economic and demographic growth would not have been possible without the admission of foreign workers. Yet this growth did not come without challenges. The accumulation of migrants in some of Europe's least socially accepted jobs and residential areas poses the question whether democratic European states should continue to admit foreign workers to the difficult jobs that local populations do not want to take. If so, under what conditions?

The majority of Europe's foreign workers were admitted through temporary foreign worker policies, often referred to as guestworker policies. The first set of such policies was launched shortly after the end of the WWII and lasted until the 1973/74 oil shocks (1945-1973). The second set of such policies was authorized following the end of the Cold War and lasted until the onset of the 2008/09 recession (1990-2008). This study reviews the development of European migration policies in the aftermath of the 1973/74 crisis in order to predict the likely evolution of European migration policies in the aftermath of the 2008/09 recession.

The study will explain why receiving countries' efforts to repatriate settled foreign workers' populations failed in the aftermath of the 1973/74 crisis and are likely to fail in the aftermath of the 2008/09 recession. Given that Europe's guestworkers are here to stay and are likely to reunify with their families, the study will recommend that in the period following the 2008/09 crisis the European states should develop a comprehensive set of integration policies to prevent the formation of two-tiered societies, and to reward migrants for yet another era of contribution to Europe's economic and demographic growth.

European Migration Policies in the aftermath of the oil crisis of 1973/74

In October 1973 the members of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries proclaimed an oil embargo in response to the U.S. decision to re-supply the Israeli military during the Yom Kippur war. In response to the looming recession, the Western European states curbed admissions of foreign workers. Most of the European guestworker governments expected that having lost their job their migrant populations would pack suitcases and repatriate. Not only did this assumption prove largely erroneous, but it hindered formation of cohesive multicultural societies and in certain countries and certain periods fueled the outbursts of xenophobia and racial tensions.

The expectation that migrants would leave proved wrong since it was based on a failure to understand migratory process. By their own reports, at a time of departure, most migrants had not planned to settle abroad permanently. According to pre-departure surveys fewer than five percent of migrants left home with the intention to remain abroad permanently (Rogers, 1985: 14). However, many prolonged their stay as they realized that it was difficult to live abroad at the same costs as at home and as they heightened their savings goals.

Even if migrants were issued seasonal work permits, they often worked in year-round jobs or in sectors or geographical areas where such jobs could easily be found. Thus, from early on migrants and employers developed dependents on each other. The employers were not interested in exchanging trained workers for the untrained ones and paying for new workers' transportation costs. They feared acute labor shortages in certain sectors and hence the economic bottlenecks and upward pressure on wages (Castles et al., 1984: 38). Except Sweden (and to some extent France and Belgium), the host countries stressed the expected temporary character of migrants' sojourns. But despite the existence of policy instruments that would have made the enforcement of departures possible (e.g. requirement that migrants obtain yearly renewals of their work and residence permits), the implementation of rotation principle was lax. For instance, the clause stipulating that Turkish workers in Germany should not stay for more than two years was never enforced and was dropped when the agreement was renewed in 1964 (Böhning, 1980: 48).

Furthermore, the legislations of all European countries had allowed "temporary" foreign residents who had lived in them uninterruptedly for long periods of time to become permanent residents. The specific requirements varied between the countries. Switzerland granted its migrants permanent residence after ten years of residence. Germany granted the right to apply for permanent residence already after five years. In 1973, more than half of all year-round migrants in Switzerland were permanent residents (Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz, 1974: 117 in Rogers, 1985: 27); and by the spring of 1972 one-third of all foreigners in Germany had been in the country for at least five years (Bundestalt für Arbeit, 1973: 33 in Rogers, 1985: 28).

Even in the context of the economic crisis, the European receiving states did not consider it appropriate to expatriate settled migrant populations by force. There were at least two motivations

behind the host countries' basic decision not to use the existing instruments to enforce returns: economic and legal.

From the economic point of view, migrants had become a structural component of the host countries' economies and it was uncertain, if native workers would take the jobs vacated by migrants (Rogers, 1985: 286). In addition, the foreign workers and their families had themselves been recognized essential to the host countries' economy due to the demands for goods and services they created (Rogers, 1985: 17). Unemployed foreign workers received unemployment compensation and had earned other social rights such as health insurance, pension funds, children allowances, rent subsidies. Even, without such compensation, migrants were often better off abroad than at home where the economic situation was even worse than in Europe.

From the legal point of view, with prolonged stay migrants' residence status solidified and protected them against rotation. Decisions by the European Court (for EU nationals), bilateral treaties with the countries of origin, international and European conventions on human and social rights, binding norms of national law (e.g. for the protection of marriage and family), together formed a network of protective legal norms that placed constraints on the government. For instance, when local labor offices in Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein refused renewals of permits to migrants who upon such renewal would have become part of a more protected category of residents, the German federal government made it clear that administratively enforced departures would not be permitted (Böhning, 1980: 4-5).

Migrants feared that once they left they would find it very difficult to return. Hundreds of thousands of migrant workers did leave, but the majority did not (Castles et al. 1984: 37) and instead decided to exercise their right to reunify with families. By the late 1960s the conditions for family reunification had become liberalized, and the social benefits offered the foreign migrants were similar to those available to the native populations (Zolberg, 1981: 17; Kindlebeger, 1967). By the onset of the economic shocks the family reunification was well underway. Family reunification raised a number of integration-policy related questions. One question concerned reconciling admission of family members with protection of existing workers. Another concerned the education of migrants' children: should they be prepared for staying, returning, or for a continued choice between the two options (Rogers, 1985: 17)? Family reunification meant that migrants had more incentives to stay in the receiving countries and that both migrants and their children needed to be assisted in their integration with the receiving society. **Family reunion decreased the mobility and flexibility of migrant workers and increased demands for housing, education, health care and social facilities. If these demands were ignored, the chances were that migrants could become an underclass.** In countries like Sweden and the Netherlands decisions to integrate migrants were taken rather swiftly and migrants became a part and parcel of the receiving society with mutual benefits to migrants and to the societies which benefited them. By contrast Germany dragged the decision to facilitate migrant integration so long that even when German economy recovered from the economic crisis by the 1980s and

early 1990s right wing politicians were able to gain votes in local elections using Überfremdung (migrant overpopulation) slogans and racial tensions swept through the country.

By 1989, sixty percent of twenty year old migrant youth living in Germany had neither a highschool diploma nor a certificate indicating that they had completed an apprenticeship and mastered a workplace skill. By contrast, ninety percent of German youth between fifteen years old were enrolled at school, thus likely to graduate with some sort of school certificate by the time they were twenty. Less than forty percent of the migrant youth remained at school after the age of fifteen, and only twenty-seven percent of them were in the dual vocational training system. Turks made up almost half of the 237 000 migrant youth, and only twenty-five percent of them were learning the occupational skill. The rates for Italian, Yugoslav and Spanish youth were ten to fifteen percent higher (Martin, 1991: 78).

Relatively few Turkish and other foreign youth learned an occupational skill and many who did were enrolled in declining occupations such as baker or truck mechanic. There were many reasons why too few foreign youths began apprenticeships and why they studied what Germans perceived to be the wrong occupations. **As there were no positive discrimination regulations, employers were free to select the apprentices they wished to train without any restrictions.** It was not until the late 1980s that the Federal Government created several special programs to help disadvantaged youth gain sufficient linguistic preparation for the most competitive apprenticeship programs.

Foreign youth remained disadvantaged even when the state improved their access to language and vocational training, if their families did not want them to take advantage of these opportunities. For instance, only twenty-two percent of the Greek youth in Germany were enrolled in the vocational training system, allegedly because Greek parents expected their children to attend Greek (rather than German) universities (Martin, 1991: 78). Many Turkish parents in Germany reportedly did not value apprenticeships highly, since they themselves had found a job in Germany without having learned a skill. They encouraged their teenagers to work immediately in order to earn DM 1500 a month as opposed to DM 500 while in training (Martin, 1991: 79).

European migration policies in the aftermath of the financial crisis 2008/09

In the period following the oil crisis Europe continued to experience demand for foreign workers, however on a much smaller scale than during the economic boom preceding the crisis. The current trends indicate that in the decade following the 2008/09 recession, like in the decade following the oil shocks, Europe will need to accommodate at least five categories of migrants: settled guestworkers; family members of settled guestworkers; new guestworkers admitted to very difficult or unpopular jobs; asylum seekers and refugees as well as irregular migrants. These workers will provide an answer to Europe's persisting labor demand but challenge European countries with the need to promote multicultural societies.

According to the OECD, the unemployment is likely to rise at least until the end of 2010. Like in the post 1973 period, it is particularly strong in the declining and restructuring industries, thereby granting labor market protectionists the possibility to oppose foreign worker admissions on both economic as well as political reasons. For instance, as UK vacancy rates decreased by about 25 percent in 2008 (OECD, 2009a: 45) some factory workers staged strikes demanding priority of employment for British workers.

The rising unemployment may push governments to encourage return of unemployed migrants. However, geopolitical considerations, commercial ties, dependency on these countries for commodities or energy, concern that the declining remittances leading to an increase in poverty and thus more irregular migration, and last but not least preoccupation about migrants' well being may make receiving governments tolerate the settlement of old migrants and even the admission of new ones (OECD, 2009a: 44).

Migrants will continue to be needed in the highly skilled jobs (such as Information Technology or Health Services), because of the relatively long and high training costs. Migrants will continue to be needed in the low skilled jobs (such as agriculture, domestic services, hotels and restaurants), because of the unstable character of these jobs, low social status, difficulty of mechanization, rationalization of production or off-shoring.

It remains unknown to what degree persisting labor demand could be met through the boosted intra-European labor mobility. The relatively generous welfare schemes, social ties and rigid housing market have mitigated against mobility within Western and Southern Europe. Optimists point to some labor supply potential among the new EU member states, particularly Romania, Bulgaria and Poland. Pessimists argue that the improvement of economic conditions and the acquisition of EU rights will make Poles, Bulgarians and Romanians shun the low qualified jobs in Western and Southern Europe.

The pre-crisis migration flows have favored the hypothesis suggested by skeptics of intra-European mobility (OECD 2009a: 49). Hence, despite the economic crisis and simultaneous voluntary return program Spain had signed bilateral program with Mexico and Ukraine to fill seasonal jobs in agriculture. Spanish employers had been reporting that national workers, even unemployed, are unwilling to take up jobs in agriculture and domestic services. Furthermore, the Spanish Labor Ministry acknowledged that it has limited capacities to force its citizens to leave family and friends and move across the country to take poorly paid, seasonal or socially disregarded jobs

The recession may delay decision to migrate but is unlikely to prevent people from leaving, because even in the midst of the crisis the economic conditions in the developed countries tend to be better than those in the developing ones. For this reason, migration flows to Europe may decrease in the short run, but are likely to rebound in the long run. Furthermore, we must assume that hundreds of thousands of migrants will remain in the host countries, even if pressures for return increase, whether through adoption of specific host country policies or through increased hostility from native populations. There are many reasons why Europe should expect that its

migrant populations are not going to decrease significantly over the next decade and therefore should elaborate comprehensive policies to facilitate their integration.

Firstly, the European countries have applied the OECD norm allowing migrants to adjust their status from temporary to permanent after five years of continuous work in a given country. This has protected them against forced repatriations. France, Spain and the Czech Republic have attempted to repatriate settled migrant populations through voluntary returns enticing migrants to return with free return transportation, cash bonuses and even project development seed grants.

Yet, even the most comprehensive French voluntary return program has seemed to be slated to face the problems of similar programs implemented in since the late 1970s (Plewa 2009b). In the past the designers of voluntary return programs have been unable to provide migrants with sustainable work and living opportunities back home, therefore significant proportion of migrants who had left through these programs had soon returned to the receiving countries (Weil, 2005).

When the Spanish Ministry of Labor Instituted voluntary return program in November 2008 it predicted that the scheme will facilitate the departure of 136 781 migrants. By the 3rd of June on average 868 persons (migrants and family members left) left Spain every month. In order for the program to meet its goals at a current departure rate, the program would have to operate for fifteen years, making impossible assumption that Spain will remain hermetically closed to all other migrant entries in the meantime.

Secondly, many of European former guestworkers have acquired the right to family reunion. As soon as migrants start exercising the right to bring families in (many have done so already), the European societies are likely to undergo a rapid demographic transformation. Family reunification will pose a number of integration-related challenges. For instance, **what policies should be developed to guarantee that these newcomers would be able to find jobs and do not get stuck between the two societies?**

Since migrants who arrive through family reunification tend to be characterized by lower educational attainment than migrants selected with the purpose of filling specific labor gaps they are particularly vulnerable to economic and social deprivations in those countries where there are restrictions on their immediate access to work and social services (OECD, 2009a: 48). According to OECD standardized test (PISA 2006), first generation immigrants have scored 58 points, or one year behind their native counterparts (OECD, 2009c: 1). The gap between educational attainment of immigrant and native students was smaller in the non-European host countries (Australia, Canada and New Zealand) than the European ones (notably Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden) (OECD, 2009b: 68). According to OECD the divergence in educational attainment could be explained by migration policies. In selecting their migrants, the settlement-oriented Australia, Canada and New Zealand have screened migrants for their educational background and while their selection criteria have been much more rigorous they have provided all migrants with educational, professional, geographical and social mobility. By contrast, guestworker-oriented European countries have screened migrants for their ability to fill particular job. European migrants

who wanted to settle had higher proclivity to fall into limbo of illegality or get stuck with a poorly paid and socially shunned job.

The arrival of migrant families is going to add to unemployment pressures much like it happened in the 1980s. It remains unknown to what extent will expansion of feminine and youth jobs in services help to absorb unemployment among family members.

Thirdly, once migrants have reunified with their families, migrant children in the host countries have been born. Depending on citizenship legislation, these children have either acquired citizenship or will be able to acquire one when entering adulthood. Migrant parents have been often torn asunder on the issue on how to raise their children so as to make them equally well integrated in the host as well as home societies. Migrant children have been only superficially familiar with their homelands' culture and language making them more likely to opt for a future in the host society. Even though migrant children born in the host countries tend to be more successful than those abroad, they too are likely to pose a number of integration-related challenges. For instance, will migrant children want to perform the same jobs that their parents did?

Fourthly, those who have been dependent on remittances cannot be expected to suddenly renounce them. In this respect migrants families, friends and credit providers will mitigate against the decision to return, at least in the short term. By 2008, thirty-eight percent of immigrants in Spain had purchase homes (Oxfam, 2007).

Guests come to stay

Reflecting upon the postwar admission of temporary foreign workers to Western Europe, the Swiss thinker Max Frisch said "We asked for people and human beings came". This aphorism held true throughout the post-Cold War generation of temporary foreign worker admissions and as the financial crisis 2008/09 mirrored the oil shocks of the 1973/74 once again European policymakers have faced the dilemma of what migration policy to cast for the future. Since the onset of the economic crisis France, Spain and the Czech Republic have attempted to repatriated migrants through voluntary return programs. Other countries have not yet followed the suit, even though they too have curbed the admission of new workers.

The major lesson of this study is that during the decade following the 2008/09 crisis, much like in the decade following the 1973/74 crisis migrant populations in Europe will diversify, but not plummet. Significant proportion of migrants (particularly those near the retirement age as well as those from the relatively stable countries in the new EU member states) will return home. But these returners will be replaced by new categories of migrants which despite the stricter migration policies the European states will find difficult not to admit for humanitarian and to a lesser extent economic reasons.

Voluntary return policies such as those currently instituted by France, Spain and the Czech Republic are likely to bring meager results (Plewa et al. 2009a). They are much less comprehensive than similar

programs instituted in the past and most importantly they divert public attention and resources from the much more important issue of migrant integration. **If Europe is to learn from recent history it should follow the path of the countries which have admitted large categories of migrants provided with the full gamut of rights characteristic to prospective citizens** rather than mere workers - Canada, Australia or New Zealand.

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Biography note

Piotr Plewa is a Jean Monet Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. His academic focus is on migration and co-development. Dr Plewa holds a BA in Political Science and International Relations as well as in Spanish, MA in Political Science and International Relations, and DEA in Political Science and PhD, which he completed at the University of Delaware, USA why in the post-Cold War period did Germany espouse temporary, rotation-oriented migration policies; the United States permanent, settlement-oriented migration policies; and France as well as Spain a hybrid of both? While collecting data for his dissertation Piotr conducted extensive fieldwork among Eastern European agricultural workers in Spain. Previously, he has also worked with Ukrainian construction workers in Canada and Mexican agricultural workers in the United States. Piotr Plewa has published ten articles and presented twelve papers on various migration related topic including circular migration, voluntary return policies, migration and development, legalizations, quotas and labor market testing.

Queries **4**

GREEN AGENDA FOR A SUSTAINABLE EUROPE





Conspicuous Conservation

New Perspectives on the Relationship Among People and With the Environment

Kseniya Oksamytna

Cycling down a narrow inner street of Copenhagen, the capital of the country with one of the largest share of renewables in energy consumption and allegedly the world's happiest nation, I kept wondering what is the key to this distinctly Scandinavian peace of mind, social cohesion and steady economic growth. Can it be that Danes started practicing "green economy" decades before the term was coined? Can it also be that their attitude to environment contributes to their contentment with life? In Scandinavia, natural resources are scarce with the notable exception of North Sea oil fields; when resources become equally scarce elsewhere, will the human race change its attitudes to nature and services it provides?

Introduction

One of the central axiological and existential issues Europeans will have to resolve in the very near future is the need for reconsideration of our most fundamental relationships, the one with nature. While environmentalism is certainly not new, it is its entrenchment and endorsement by businesses and authorities which signals change. However, the EU's three-pronged goal of sustainable growth, jobs and competitiveness appears to be hard to realize under the present conditions. While building a low-carbon, resource-efficient, socially inclusive and knowledge-based economy might be the answer to the host of difficulties that persist in the EU and globally, it will require a profound culture change.

The change is actually underway. From organic farming to local recycling projects, Europeans are showing progressively more awareness and concern for matters of ecology. In the decade to follow, this trend will strengthen resulting in foreseeable and unforeseeable consequences for our way of living.

This paper will look at the issue at three levels, ascending from abstract to concrete. At the first level, the paradigm shift which is taking place will be discussed. At the second level, implications of this paradigm shift for our way of thinking and culture will be addressed. At the third level, lifestyle changes stemming from this new way of thinking will be looked at.

Brave New Green Economy

When analyzing the spread of environmentalist thinking, it is necessary to consider two main factors at play. Firstly, the change of administration in the U.S. has put an end to global warming pseudoscience. Now it is recognized, almost universally, that climate change is man-made and accelerating. It remains to be seen whether a groundbreaking agreement is reached in Copenhagen, yet the visibility of the issue has increased exponentially for the past several years. In Europe, climate change is rated as the world's third most important global challenge, after poverty and the current economic downturn. **A third of Europeans believe the problem of climate change is very serious. Sixty percent have personally taken actions aimed at helping to fight climate change¹.**

Secondly, the global financial crisis forced us to search for new ways to rejuvenate our economies. Creation of new "green jobs" has been part and parcel of most stimulus packages rolled out in the wake of the financial crisis. It is yet unclear whether the talk of a "green economy" is a passing fad or indeed a paradigm shift akin to the transition from industrial to knowledge society. So far, similarities are quite a few. Like a white-collar manager is a product of the late 20th century, so does a "green-collar" worker appear to be a new breed of a 21st century professional.

With the advent of service economy, a new class of specialists came to the forefront, comprising

1. Eurobarometer 71.1 "Europeans' attitudes towards climate change" (2009).

financiers, web developers and strategy consultants. Experience economy which allegedly followed² offered advancement opportunities for consumer psychologists, entertainers and event managers. In a “green economy”, organic farmers, ecotechnologists and green vehicle engineers are likely to predominate. The imagery surrounding the phenomenon is rich and keeps evolving to include such concepts as “green banking” or “green branding”. The “green economy” concept is an interesting case of reconciliation of economic and environmentalist thinking, of something conventionally framed as a tradeoff.

Hay and Rosamond rightly observe that, until recently, globalization has served as a key referent of contemporary discourse: it provided “a cognitive filter, frame or conceptual lens or paradigm through which social, political and economic developments might be ordered, narrated and rendered intelligible”³. The financial crisis has challenged the neoliberal orthodoxy of globalization and allowed a variety of critiques, previously relegated to the margins, to reemerge prominently. Comfortably ignored in the late years, limits to growth theory⁴ has been brought into the limelight after the decades of oblivion.

In the past, globalization has been deployed as a signifier of imperatives countries had to respond to⁵. Presently, this signifier is being replaced by the need to respond to the financial crisis and environmental degradation at the same time. **While radical environmentalism has always enjoyed limited appeal, the notion of a “green economy” appears to resonate powerfully with corporate elites, media and policymakers alike.** For the past two decades the dichotomy employed in the characterization of an economy was the attribute of being competitive vs. uncompetitive. The “green economy” logic might be suggestive of categorizing economies and economic policies as being sustainable vs. unsustainable. The EU is desirous of making its economy both competitive and sustainable; whether it is possible will be discussed in the following chapter.

At the same time, a “green economy” is no globalization’s antithesis. If we regard the notion of sustainable development as conceptually preceding that of a “green economy”, the text which contributed most to the establishment of sustainability discourse at the international level was the report by the World Commission on Environment and Development *Our Common Future*⁶. In a similar vein, one of the fundamental texts for “green economy” is UNEP’s *Global Green New Deal*⁷, which suggests it is global in its reach.

It may come as a surprise, but the construction of a “green economy” as global is not necessarily beneficial. For instance, in the case of the global warming discourse, only global interventions were presented as effective, and this was used to justify passivity of policymakers at the local, regional and

2. Joseph B. Pine and James H. Gilmore, *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theater and Every Business a Stage* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business Press, 1999).

3. Colin Hay and Ben Rosamond, “Globalization, European integration and the discursive construction of economic imperatives,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 9, no. 2 (2002): 151.

4. Donella H. Meadows, *Limits to Growth* (New York: Signet, 1972).

5. Ben Rosamond, “Imagining the European economy: competitiveness and the social construction of ‘Europe’ as an economic space,” *New Political Economy* 7, no. 2 (2008): 157-77.

6. World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

7. United Nations Environment Programme. “Global Green New Deal,” United Nations (2009), <http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=548&ArticleID=5957&I=en> (accessed November 14, 2009).

national levels⁸. It appears to be changing now, since the EU and its Member States have assumed the daring responsibility within its 20-20-20 commitment. Overall, the EU has embraced the idea of a “green economy” by earmarking a considerable sum of money for green economy projects through the EU Cohesion Policy, 30 percent of the regional policy budget for 2007-2013⁹. Also, sixty two percent of Europeans are convinced fighting climate change will have a positive impact on the European economy¹⁰.

To date, it appears that the notion of a “green economy” is being presented as a tool for tackling the ill effects of the crisis and simultaneously achieving a competitive advantage over other countries or, as in the EU’s case, other regions. This is a sign that competition frame still prevails over sustainability frame in thinking about the world: the underlying fragmentation characteristic of our competitive economy is perpetuated even in most sustainability discourses. This limited version of sustainability may itself prove unsustainable, and this may make us rewrite many things in our economics textbooks.

Prosperity without Growth

Having concluded the transition to post-modernity, European societies still cannot let go of many notions central to modernity. We are trapped within the rationalist, anthropocentric thinking of profitability even when we design sustainability policies. In the modernist paradigm, natural resources were seen as unlimited and technological progress as able to solve the problem of resource scarcity. Therefore, costs of products and services provided by the environment were perceived as external to business activity and therefore absent from balance sheets. Despite the recent concern about the Earth’s carrying capacity and the drive to make businesses internalize environmental costs, the most dangerous vestige of Enlightenment is the concept of the rational, autonomous self which develops in opposition to natural systems: “we identify ourselves through reflections gained from other people and manmade systems, rather than from nature”¹¹.

New Age out of vogue, many young Europeans still ponder the relationship with nature and other humans. The Zeigeist Movement (advocating resource-based economy, nature preservation, and renunciation of the use of money) might be too radical to ever garner significant support, yet it is indicative of the modern youth’s concern about allocation and stewardship of natural resources, lack of solidarity, and rampant consumerism. The movement’s non-political nature also points to the increase in cause-related rather than political activism. Perhaps the Western civilization is in a crisis so deep that its resolution lies beyond the realm of traditional politics.

The ethics of intergenerational equity, with a particular concern for the needs of future generations,

8. Emery Roe, *Narrative Policy Analysis. Theory and Practice* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994).

9. Commission of the European Communities, “Cohesion Policy backs ‘green economy’ for growth and long-term jobs in Europe” (2009), <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/09/369&format=HTML> (accessed November 14, 2009).

10. Eurobarometer 71.1 “Europeans’ attitudes towards climate change” (2009).

11. Terry B. Porter, “Identity subtexts in the discursive construction of sustainability,” *Electronic Journal of Radical Organization Theory* 9, no. 1 (2005): 1-13, http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/Vol9_1/Porter.pdf (accessed November 14, 2009).

is likely to strengthen in the decades to come. For economics, it means that intergenerational allocation of resources will be viewed as an ethical rather than efficiency issue. The ongoing shift in taxation from income to pollution is the harbinger of a more fundamental change. Furthermore, it reflects the evolution of views on the purpose and function of taxes. In most of Europe, taxes have been traditionally used to finance public institutions and policies but also as a redistributionary tool, hence progressive income taxation. In some way, excessive wealth was implicitly regarded as unethical. Such thinking represents a hangover of mercantilism which viewed economics as a zero-sum game under the condition of finite amount of wealth in the world: nations were regarded as able to accumulate wealth only at the expense of other nations. It follows that individuals in a society were regarded as able to accumulate wealth only at the expense of their compatriots. This view has long been recognized as groundless and outdated, yet for centuries we have continued to tax income. Passionately defended by Paul Hawken in *Natural Capitalism*¹², the shift to taxing pollution will be one of the major socioeconomic changes in the next decades, having far-reaching consequences for European businesses and consumers. It will also be indicative of a more prominent role of taxes in communicating the position of the state – the society's "commitment device"¹³ – on preferable choices. This will go hand in hand with the decrease of importance of taxes in financing public institution and policies prompted by the ongoing privatization of state functions and services. It is too early to equate this development with the end of Weberian state as we know it¹⁴, but it points to a profound transformation of the state¹⁵.

It might look that less progressive taxation, or not taxing income at all, is detrimental to social solidarity; it appears to reverse the long-standing European commitment to a more equal and just society. However, in the green economy, the rich will pay more anyways – for choices which require use of a lot of Earth's resources, such as private jets or sports cars.

Another reason why the EU is embracing green economy is its labor intensity. Tim Jackson of the UK's Sustainable Development Commission argues the ultimate reason for the unsustainability of the present economic system is its obsessions with growth, made necessary by the double pressure of ever-increasing labor productivity and the demand for full employment¹⁶. Here, we need to be very cautious not to slip into Luddite-like aversion to technology and innovation or endorsement of make-work. **Increasing labor productivity is not a bad thing. Nobody doubts universal access to employment is the basis for a dignified and meaningful life, but the focus might shift to better sharing of available work.** While few are truly comfortable with the concept of de-growth, downshifting and voluntary simplicity have already become familiar elements of our social reality. In the decade to come, Europeans might grow comfortable with working less and getting by with less. A re-examination of our society's craving for production and consumption of novelty is long overdue

12. Paul Hawken, "Natural Capitalism," Mother Jones (1997), <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/1997/03/natural-capitalism> (accessed November 14, 2009).

13. Tim Jackson, "Prosperity without growth? The transition to a sustainable economy," UK Sustainable Development Commission (2009), http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/publications/downloads/prosperity_without_growth_report.pdf (accessed November 14, 2009).

14. Michelle Small, "Privatisation of Security and Military Functions and the Demise of the Modern Nation-State in Africa," ACCORD Occasional Paper Series 1, no. 2 (2006), <http://www.isn.ethz.ch> (accessed November 14, 2009).

15. Georg Sorensen, *The Transformation of the State: Beyond the Myth of Retreat* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

16. Jackson (2009).

(Jackson, 2009) and will happen within the next several years. This will be accompanied by the development of new indicators of well-being beyond GDP. Discarding happiness measurement as yet another fad was too early, as evidenced by the emergence of “happiness economics”. In Europe, France and UK are seriously considering including this indicator into national economic statistics datasets. Indeed, well-being is to a large extent about “the ability to give and receive love, to enjoy the respect of peers, to contribute useful work, and to have a sense of belonging and trust in the community”¹⁷. Still, material well-being is still recognized as an important foundation for quality life¹⁸, and discarding the importance of goods might be premature, since they allow us “to communicate with each other – most obviously, about social status, but also about identity, social affiliation, and even – through giving and receiving gifts for example – about our feelings for each other”¹⁹. The delicate interplay between material concerns and value orientation is discussed in the following section.

Conspicuous Conservation

The final chapter of this paper will look at how environmentalist thinking becomes embedded in everyday culture. A shift from conspicuous consumption to conspicuous conservation might be one of the most important developments of the early 21st century in Europe. Conspicuous consumption, defined more a century ago by Veblen as a propensity to consume “beyond the minimum required for subsistence and physical efficiency... Since the consumption of... more excellent goods is an evidence of wealth, it becomes honorific; and conversely, the failure to consume in due quantity and quality becomes a mark of inferiority and demerit”²⁰. At the moment, conservation rather than consumption becomes honorific, and the trend is likely to endure. A majority of today’s young Europeans grew up without experiencing war, political turmoil or extreme poverty, which gave them the chance to develop strong post-material values. Social, spiritual and environmental concerns come forward if one is not to worry about physical integrity or basic material needs. This is in line with Inglehart’s influential theory of intergenerational value change which holds “that value priorities are shifting profoundly, from concern over economic and physical security towards quality of life and freedom of self-expression”²¹.

This is evident even in the way young Europeans choose life companions. In the past, socio-economic status of a potential husband or, to a lesser extent, wife were important not only to the parents of the fiancé and fiancée but also to the couple themselves. Marriage was in the first place a way to ensure survival and livelihood, although hailed as a romantic union of soul mates. It is not the case anymore. To some extent, it may be counted as an achievement of redistributionary taxation, now that extreme wealth disparities have been eliminated and the playing field more or less leveled. Paradoxically, the financial crisis might have strengthened the prominence of post-material values in

17. Jackson (2009): 7.

18. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, “Second European Quality of Life Survey,” <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/pubdocs/2008/52/en/1/EF0852EN.pdf> (accessed November 14, 2009)

19. Jackson (2009): 7.

20. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2005): 56.

21. Ronald Inglehart, 1971, 1977, 1990, 1997; cited in Bruce Tranter and Mark Western, “Overstating Value Change: Question Ordering in the Post-material Values Index,” *European Sociological Review* (2009/in press): 1.

the mating process: availability of consumer credit allowed individuals to brandish wealth without actually owning it, which made people more wary and skeptical about socio-economic status of potential partners. Rather than that, the basis for a choice of life companion is compatibility of values and similar lifestyle preferences.

Post-material values not only feature environmentalism and social solidarity but also have the potential to break the vicious circle of compulsive consumption and attendant production of novelty. Given the opportunity to lead a more reflexive life due to a decrease in working hours, increase in education levels and enhanced intensity of information exchange via ICTs, a growing number of Europeans decry consumerism. An example of a notable youth-led initiative, the International Pillow Fight Day, can be used to illustrate this trend: this flashmob, organized by the Urban Playground Movement, strives for “replacing passive, non-social, branded consumption experiences”²². These people represent the fledgling phenomenon of “alternative hedonism” which implies that “sources of identity, creativity, and meaning...lie outside the realm of the market”²³.

Another trend which is at loggerheads with pervasive consumerism is the entrenchment of life-cycle thinking about products. Concerns about squandering of natural resources and manipulation by marketers, together with the necessity to get by with less, might make European teenagers hang out at garden sales or second-hand bazaars rather than shopping malls.

A reflexive life with more free time or quality time allocated for family and friends can reverse the trend of erosion of social capital and narrowing of “circles of caring”²⁴, although it is still a smaller problem here in Europe than in the U.S. Many Europeans already fit the profile for what Ray and Anderson²⁵ call Cultural Creatives: individuals who care about the environment, gender equality, social justice, spirituality, self-expression, and meaningful relationships with other people. Cultural Creatives are a distinctly postmodern phenomenon. They are successors to “moderns” who are interested in making a lot of money, climbing the corporate ladder, keeping up with trends, economic and technological progress, and breadth of choices. Moderns themselves were successors to “traditionals” who value customary ways of life, patriarchy, strong ties with family, church, and community, and national pride²⁶. All three groups coexist in the society, yet European Cultural Creatives are likely to increase in numbers in the decade to come, perhaps overtaking “moderns” as the dominant group.

Sustaining meaningful relationships with people within one’s circle of caring becomes ever easier with the advent of online social networking. Twitter haters decry the communication being sporadic, random, and erratic, but how else can one keep in touch with 130 people, the average number of friends a person has on Facebook? Technology-assisted communication will contribute to the decreasing perceived importance of material riches: in the past, it was possible to impress others by power dressing or owning expensive property, while now an influential blog can get you much further.

22. Olivia D’Angelo, “Five of clubs: A guide to five notable off-campus groups,” *The Huntington News* (2009), <http://www.huntington-news.com/inside/five-of-clubs-1.2032406> (accessed November 14, 2009): para. 3.

23. Jackson (2009): 10.

24. Michael Lerner, *The Politics of Meaning: Restoring Hope and Possibility in an Age of Cynicism* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1996).

25. Paul H. Ray and Sherry R. Anderson, *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People Are Changing the World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001).

26. Peter Montague, “Book Review: *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People Are Changing the World*,” *Social Venture Network*, <http://www.svneurope.com/readarticle/243> (accessed November 14, 2009).

Online networking comes in particularly handy for keeping in touch with people in other countries. The EU is set to promote internal mobility and intercultural learning in a variety of ways, from Erasmus-like educational exchanges to project-based rather than lifelong employment. A consequence of that will be the growth of people in long-term relationships. Therefore, the imminent increase in fuel surcharges, ending the era of low-cost flights, will not sit comfortably with most Europeans, environmentalism notwithstanding. Environmentalism, coupled with the EU fiscal policy aimed at promoting sustainable transportation, is likely to result in an increase of public transport use, biking and green vehicles ownership. Here, the EU will have to use a combination of means for encouraging desirable behaviors (like free parking for electric cars) and discouraging undesirable behaviors (like petrol taxes). Scientific progress will make technology not only greener but also safer, like sea belt alarms did. Perhaps a similar technological solution will be invented to prevent drunk driving, a serious public health threat in Europe, especially in the younger age group²⁷.

Environmentalism will have a bearing on European demographics: some people might choose not to have children driven by the concern about the Earth's carrying capacity and perhaps opt for adoption. While such cases are few and far between, and people tend not to have children for reasons of financial or personal character, this trend might strengthen in the decade to follow. The childfree ideology is mostly centered on the "loss of personal freedom, money, time and energy that having children requires"²⁸, so it is still the voice of self-indulgent yuppies rather than environmentally aware hippies. But concerns about overpopulation might add legitimacy to the childfree movement, whether they serve as a motivation or rationalization for the reluctance to give birth. This might work less well in Europe where depopulation and ageing loom large. However, people who profess radical environmentalist views are also likely to demonstrate post-national thinking: if all human lives are of equal value, they do not see why they themselves or representatives of their nation should procreate while African children are dying from hunger. The momentum for an increase in state support for childrearing²⁹ might be reversed. Another way in which environmentalist concerns can add to the unwillingness to bear children is through apprehensions major calamities induced by global warming or pollution might take place during the child's lifetime causing major suffering or death.

As concern another Europe's pressing problem, immigration, a new post-national solidarity might be developed in the face of mounting environmental pressures equally affecting us all. Yet immigrants, due to their disadvantaged position in European societies, are less likely to develop post-material values, and so are the working poor. This might increase their marginalization: unable to afford organic and fair-trade, they will not only be doomed to consume substandard product but also looked down upon.

Therefore, there is a variety of ways in which environmentalism will reshape the ways Europeans live in the decade to come. From the shift in taxation from labor to pollution to conspicuous conservation, from the talk about de-growth and sustainability to childfree movement environmentalism will reshape the way Europeans think and act.

27. Dinesh Sethi, Francesca Racioppi and Roberto Bertollini, "Preventing the leading cause of death in young people in Europe," *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 61 (2007): 842-843.

28. Childfree.net, "Who we are?" <http://www.childfree.net> (accessed November 14, 2009).

29. Eurobarometer 247, "Family life and the needs of an ageing population" (2008).

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Connecting the social and green agenda

The example of fuel poverty

Catherine Van de Heyning

Climate fear seems to be everywhere. The media, science and politics intensely discuss the threat climate change poses to our planet and current way of life. The Copenhagen conference is eagerly awaited and its results will be thoroughly analyzed¹. Thousands of initiatives on climate change have popped up over the last couple of years. Climate change and environmental pollution in general have been mentioned as one of the most important challenges of our time. The European Union has taken on the challenge by setting the 20/20/20 objective; to reduce carbon emissions by 20 percent and to increase the reliance on renewable by 20 percent by 2020. This policy has been hailed as an audacious and future-oriented step strengthening the role of the European Union beyond the economic policy. Moreover, the EU has shown to take environmental issues serious by relaxing the notoriously strict standing requirements for individuals and NGOs at the European Court of Justice when the annulment procedure targets measures with an important impact on the environment².

1. Although it is now clear that no binding Legal agreements will be agreed upon at the Copenhagen summit, important improvements have been made over the last year.

2. Regulation 1367/2006 (Aarhus Regulation). For more on the Aarhus regulation Kiss, C. and Cerny, P.(2008), "The Aarhus Regulation and the future of standing of NGOs/public concerned before the ECJ in environmental cases", Justice & Environment.

This suggests a new era of environmental awareness and action. Yet, climate change cannot be targeted without the general public and corporations changing their habits. Popular involvement and popular support for the environment policies are crucial factors in fighting global warming. It is, therefore, troubling to observe that the overall majority of the population in the European Union is not as concerned about climate change as the political agenda setting and media attention might suggest. **Citizens indicate that they consider climate change a considerable challenge.** Still, they consider it less important than other social problems. Climate policy is, moreover, feared by citizens to impact negatively on the energy bill. The political efforts to reduce carbon emission and to search for alternative energy sources are, thus, met with some resistance. It will become ever more difficult to push for a radical, environmental friendly agenda without public support. There appears an emerging need to connect the social and the green agenda.

This paper will zoom in on the rationales behind the low public risk perceptions of climate change and intends to suggest how awareness can be raised through connecting the global warming agenda to the social realities of households. First, the paper will focus on the public feelings towards environmental issues and climate change. Second, the paper will zoom in on the problem of energy poverty to indicate the social dilemma posed by the green agenda. Finally, the paper proposes three fields of action where the European Union can make a difference.

Jobs over climate change

Research of 2003 and 2005 on the American perception of the Climate Change threat showed a remarkable paradox: a large majority of Americans are aware of the problem (92%) and consider global warming a serious problem (76%) but they rank the issue relatively low on the list of national priorities³. In consideration to other environmental related problems US citizens place climate change rather low on the ranking⁴. Although American citizens were well aware of the problem and the possible catastrophic consequence of climate change, no sense of urgency was attributed to the issue. In a recent poll just over half of the citizens agreed with the statement that the effects of climate change might show during the respondents' lifetime⁵. Although the majority of citizens believed that the issue of climate change is underestimated, an increasing number of people consider the seriousness of global warming exaggerated by the media⁶. **The knowledge of the potential effects of climate change for the world and the indication that it is a serious problem is not translated in direct concern and a sense of urgency.** The low risk perception of global warming by US citizens hampers ambitious carbon reduction commitments by a US administration.

3. Leiserowitz, A. (2006), *Climate Change Risk perception and policy preferences: the role of affect, imagery and values*, *Climate Change*, 77, p. 46. For alternative polling showing a similar indication that US citizens consider climate change an important problem see Leiserowitz, A., Maibach, E. and Roser-Renouf, C. (2008) *Report climate change in the American Mind*, George Mason University, Centre for Climate Change communication.

4. US citizens ranked climate change only 12th out of 13 mentioned environmental problems. Dunlap, R. E., Gallup, G., and Gallup, A. (1993). *Global environmental concern: Results from an international public survey*. *Environment*, 35, pp. 7-39. In the 2009 survey other environmental issues are still prioritized over climate change as issue about which the respondents were most concerned. The respondents indicated that they were more concerned about issues like water pollution, air pollution and deforestation than global warming. See Gallup poll, 11 March 2009. Available at: www.gallup.com.

5. Gallup poll, 11 March 2009. See Saad, L., "Increased Number Think Global Warming Is "Exaggerated". Available at: www.gallup.com.

6. Ibid.

Although surveys in the different member states of the EU might vary considerably, the EU citizens show overall more concern for the global warming. A survey of 2009 showed that a significant majority considered climate change a “fairly to very serious” problem (87%)⁷. In sharp contrast to the US, almost two-thirds of the EU citizens believe that the problem of climate change has not been exaggerated by the media and policy. Yet, likewise the United States the number of respondents indicating that the issue is exaggerated has increased in several countries over the last year. A majority of the Europeans indicate that they are well-informed as to the reasons and consequences of global warming⁸. This claim is supported by the fact that the majority of the citizens agree that carbon emissions have a more than marginal impact on global warming⁹. Still, global warming was considered a less important global challenge than poverty, lack of food and drinking water and the economic downturn. More problematic from the green policies perspective is that the urgency and importance attributed by EU citizens to the issue of climate change has indicatively declined in comparison to a survey in 2008. Whereas 62% still held climate change to constitute one of the most serious problems of the world in 2008, only 50% did so in 2009. In the same line the number of citizens considering global warming a very serious problem dropped with 7% over the same period¹⁰.

Direct impact and risk perception

How can this paradox be explained? On the one hand European and US citizens acknowledge the importance of the fight against global warming and are fairly well-informed, while on the other hand they prioritize several other social and economic issues over tackling global warming.

It has been argued that risk perceptions of citizens do not result from a rational analysis of the urgency of the problem as portrayed by science even if the scientific proof is recognized by citizens. Instead, researchers argue, the perceived threat of global warming is significantly connected with the affective images people attribute to climate change¹¹. Most citizens will prioritize those risks closely connected to their daily life higher than distant threats. Affective images with emotional connotation impact on the risk perception of citizens.

US research showed that most citizens consider climate change rather a threat to non-human nature and people in other places than to their own local communities or themselves¹². When demanded which images they associated with global warming most answered melting polar ice and upsetting ecological balance. Policies have portrayed the effects of global warming to the world as a whole (e.g. rising temperatures) and the environment (e.g. animals under threat) based on scientific research¹³. The scenarios

7. Eurobarometer, *European's attitude towards climate change jan-feb 2009*, report 313, publ: june 2009.

8. *Ibid.* 56 percent of all Europeans consider them very well or fairly well informed on the consequences and causes of climate change.

9. *Ibid.* 58 percent of all European disagree that carbon emission has only a marginal impact on climate change.

10. US survey shows that the number of US citizens indicating that global warming is a great or fairly important issue is likewise down with 6 percent in contrast to 2008. Gallup poll, 11 March 2009. See Saad, L., “Increased Number Think Global Warming Is “Exaggerated”. Available at: www.gallup.com.

11. Leiserowitz, A. (2006), *Climate Change Rise perception and policy preferences: the role of affect, imagery and values*, *Climat Change*, 77, pp. 48-49 and Lorenzoni, I., Leiserowitz, A., Miguel De Franca, D., Poortinga, W. and Pidgeon, N. (2006). “Cross-National Comparisons of Image Associations with “Global Warming” and “Climate Change” Among Laypeople in the United States of America and Great Britain”, *Journal of Risk Research*, 6, pp. 265-281.

12. Leiserowitz, A. (2006), *Climate Change Rise perception and policy preferences: the role of affect, imagery and values*, *Climat Change*, 77, p. 54.

13. It has been observed that research over the last 25 years has shifted from the regional and local effects of environmental issues like water pollution to the focus on the global scale of environmental issues. Dietz, T. and Rosa, E.A., “Human Dimension of Global Environmental Change” in Dunlap, R.E. and Michelson, W. (2002). *Handbook of Environmental Sociology*, p. 389.

portrayed in scientific reports of negative macro effects of climate change on the world economy, poverty of developing countries and ecological conditions risk too appear too remote from the daily lives of citizens. It must not surprise that the European survey of 2009 showed that economic downturn was conceived as a more important issue than climate change while this was not the case in 2008. When the media started focusing on the jobs lost due to the crisis the risk perception of EU citizens in consideration to the economic downturn seriously increased¹⁴. Job loss directly concerns the family household, quality of life, friends and family. The rise in concern about the economy might have pushed climate change back as a crucial problem for the world¹⁵. The perceived direct impact of the global downturn threatens to change people's opinions on the fight against climate change from an urgent problem into a "luxury problem", notwithstanding the continued support by research that climate change will have significant and direct impact on our local communities and living conditions.

The claim that climate change lacks affective impact on the population is strengthened by the differentiated risk perception of global warming by demographic and societal groups. Climate change is considered a serious problem mostly by young and higher educated people, especially student and managers¹⁶. There appears to be both an age as social issue. Although people with a political preference for the left appear more concerned about global warming than citizens adhering to the centre or right of the political spectrum¹⁷, age and level of education turn out to be more determinate for the risk perception of global warming. Elderly people show a very low risk perception of climate change¹⁸. This is connected with the belief that climate change will not have a direct impact on the nearby future and thus, their lives. Also people who finished their studies before or at 19 attribute far less urgency to climate change¹⁹. They are more concerned by the economic downturn, infectious diseases and international terrorism.

Appreciation of climate change measures

This affects the approval of instruments chosen to tackle climate change. American citizens support a shift in US subsidy politics from fossil fuel industry to renewable energy²⁰. There appeared even a majority in favour for taxing "gas guzzlers". Yet, a large majority opposed taxes on gasoline and on business actions in order to reduce greenhouse gas emissions²¹. Hence, US

14. The respondents answering that a global economic downturn is an important challenge is up with 17 percent over the last year. See Eurobarometer, European's attitude towards climate change jan-feb 2009, report 313, publ: june 2009.

15. Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus even called it a "distraction". "Financial crisis a distraction, says Nobel winner", AFP, 3rd December 2008.

16. Eurobarometer, European's attitude towards climate change jan-feb 2009, report 313, publ: june 2009.

17. This is, however, crucially different in the United States. There occurs an ever increasing gap in positions on climate change between citizens who identify themselves as republicans and those who adhere to the democrats. Gallup poll 29 May 2008. Dunlap, E., "Climate-Change Views: Republican-Democratic Gaps Expand". Available at: www.gallup.com. Values and cultural differences are, however, an indicator for general environmental behavior explaining differences between European Member States. Schultz, W., Gouveia, V., Cameron, L., Tanka, G., Schmuck, P. And Franek, M. (2005) "Values and their relationship to environmental concern and conservation behavior", *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36, p. 457.

18. Ibid. The 55 plus category are the only category where less than 70 percent indicates the climate change as a very serious problem. The EU citizens minus 40 are mostly likely to agree that climate change is a fairly to very serious problem. 55 percent of under 30 mentions climate change as one of the most important problems the world faces to 44 percent among 55 plus.

19. Ibid. 57 percent of respondents who ended their studies after the age of 20 mentioned climate change as a major world problem to 42 percent by those who ended their studies at 15 or younger and 47 percent by the respondents who ended their studies between 16 and 19.

20. 92 percent supported more funding for research on renewable energy sources, such as solar and wind power. Leiserowitz, A., Maibach, E. and Roser-Renouf, C. (2008) *Report climate change in the American Mind*, George Mason University, Centre for Climate Change communication.

21. Leiserowitz, A. (2006), *Climate Change Rise perception and policy preferences: the role of affect, imagery and values*, *Climat Change*, 77, p. 55.

citizens are more likely to oppose government measures targeting carbon emissions if these measures might affect the gas bill of the common American household or local businesses. In line with the higher concern for climate change issues, EU citizens are more willing to accept carbon reduction measures. The majority of Europeans believe that climate change is reversible and that carbon emission ought to be tackled. In comparison to the spring of 2008, more EU citizens considered that alternative fuels ought to be used in order to reduce carbon emissions²². Although still a majority indicates that they have taken personal action to fight against climate change, the number is down from 2008²³. This personal involvement is mostly directed versus recycling rather than searching for alternative, more environmental friendly ways of transport. The second and third most common actions are the reduction of energy consumption (47%) and reduction of water use (37%). Financial gains accompanied with such reduction are important incentives alongside environmental concerns²⁴.

To conclude, EU citizens consider themselves well-informed on climate change and comprehend the seriousness of the problem. They understand that personal action might contribute to tackling global warming and support in large majorities the transition to renewable energy. Still, social issues which impact on the household budget are given priority over this fight. The economic downturn exemplifies that the fight against global warming is still considered a less gripping issue for citizens when confronted with job insecurity. **Showing affective images of the impact of global problems on the daily and personal life of citizens is far more determinate for risk perceptions of citizens than rational, scientific proof of the large scale impact of global warming on the world in general and non-human nature.** This might explain why the fight against global warming is so highly prioritized by Greek citizens²⁵. The smog around the capital and increasing number of forest fires majorly due to the very high temperatures in the Greek summers are affective images for Greek citizens how higher temperatures and carbon emissions directly impact on their lives²⁶. For most European citizens global warming appears an important but more distant issue in comparison to those challenges directly impacting on the daily life and household budget. Especially those citizens with lower incomes are more concerned about the inability to heat their dwellings than the impact on the environment of the energy used for the heating. Social realities affect importantly actions taken by household and the appreciated public measures. Fuel poverty is a clear example where social realities might obstruct policies tackling global warming.

22. 75 percent of EU respondents agreed that alternative fuels should replace greenhouse emitting fuels. In the spring of 2008 70 percent mentioned alternative fuels as substitute for greenhouse emitting fuels. Eurobarometer, European's attitude towards climate change jan-feb 2009, report 313, publ: june 2009

23. Ibid. 59 percent indicates to have taken personal action. In the spring 2008 still 61 percent indicated to have taken action.

24. Emphasising co-benefits might increase support for climate change policies. Compston, H. and Bailey, I. (2009) "How can we build political support for action on climate change in western democracies?" in Giddens, A., Liddle, R. and Latham, S. (ed.) Building a low-carbon future: the politics of climate change, Policy Network publication, pp. 56-57.

25. Ibid. Greece shows a considerable climate change awareness comparable to the Scandinavian countries. 71 percent of the respondents mentioned climate change as an important global issue and prioritized climate change over the economic downturn. A staggering 94 percent of the respondents mentioned climate change as a very serious problem.

26. The 4th assessment report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change mentioned that Greece would be one of the countries most affected by changing temperatures. IPCC Fourth Assessment Report: Climate Change 2007 (AR4).

The social agenda: energy poverty

No European definition on fuel or energy poverty has yet been agreed upon. Such definition would enable better comparative research between the member states²⁷. In general energy poverty is defined as the inability to acquire sufficient level of utility services like heating and water. Fuel poverty has been defined as the difficulty or even inability to adequately heat dwellings at a fair price²⁸. A European report highlighted that already in 2005 more than a fifth of the household expenditure was spent on utility bills²⁹. For many states of the European Union the larger scale of energy poverty is a rather recent phenomenon. Most crucially for the increasing number of people struggling with their energy bills are the elevated energy prices over the last couple of years due to the dramatic increase in energy prices at the global level³⁰. Before the liberalization of the energy market energy and water was generally distributed by state companies or by companies working within a very strict framework of social rules. With the liberalization of the energy market several countries failed to uphold the same social standards. The liberalization did not necessarily result in lower prices for energy supply for low incomes³¹. The presence of only a couple of large players on the national energy markets due to the high sum costs did not generate an important lowering of prices out of competitive reasons. Moreover, the many different energy products, reductions and conditions are complex and consumers are not yet adjusted to “shopping” energy. Especially, social weak consumers do not fully benefit from these different tariffs³².

The fuel poverty trap

An ever larger portion of the family budget being spent on energy³³. An increasing number of citizens has been shut down from their electricity or gas supply by energy companies because of unpaid bills and were faced with the placement of pre-payment meters³⁴. At the same time the high

27. Several definitions have been used. A well-known definition is the one presented by the UK. Someone is considered fuel poor if he or she is required to spend 10 percent or more of income on adequate heating. See Department on Climate and Energy, “Addressing fuel poverty”. Available at: www.decc.gov.uk. The definition was set in Boardman, B. (1991) *Fuel poverty: from cold homes to affordable warmth*, Belhaven Press. Another definition can be found in WHO documents. Fuel poverty is defined as the situation “in which a household has to spend more than one tenth of its income to pay bills to heat its dwelling to an acceptable standard, based on levels recommended by the W.H.O”.

28. EPEE report, “Diagnosis of causes and consequences of fuel poverty in Belgium, France, Italy, Spain and United Kingdom”, EIE/06/158/SI2.447367. The EPEE and Intelligent Energy Europe proposed another definition: “Fuel poverty as a household’s difficulty, sometimes even inability, to adequately heat its dwelling at a fair, income indexed price”. See EPEE and Intelligent Energy Europe recommendations guide for policy makers, *Tackling Fuel Poverty in Europe*. Available at: www.fuel-poverty.com

29. Among all services of general interest most respondents indicated that they considered the prices paid for electricity and gas supply not affordable or excessive. Eurobarometer, *Services of General Interest in 2006*, report 260, publ: 2007

30. See Eurostat (2009), *Latest development of energy output prices and consumer energy prices driven by oil prices*, Issue number 54/2009, 4 August 2009. Rising unemployment due to the economic downturn has been mentioned as a third factor. See Fuel Poverty Advisory Group (FPAG), *seventh annual report*, 20 June 2009. Available at: www.decc.gov.uk.

31. Low incomes have not been able to benefit from liberalization as general consumers have. See UK House of Commons, Committee on Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2009), *Energy Efficiency and Fuel Poverty, third report 2008-2009*. On the consequences of fuel poverty in general see EPEE and Intelligent Energy Europe recommendations guide for policy makers, *Tackling Fuel Poverty in Europe*. Available at: www.fuel-poverty.com. Specifically for the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Spain and Belgium see EPEE report, “Diagnosis of causes and consequences of fuel poverty in Belgium, France, Italy, Spain and United Kingdom”, EIE/06/158/SI2.447367.

32. It has been mentioned that unless such social tariffs are made mandatory many will miss out. See U.K. House of Commons, Business and Enterprise Committee (2008), “Energy Prices, fuel poverty and Ofgem”, *Eleventh Report of session 2007-2008*, vol. 2.

33. For a comparative study between the EU member states on fuel poverty see Healy, J. (2004) *Housing Fuel Poverty and Health: A pan-European Analysis*, Ashgate Publishing. A comparative study on the ways of tackling fuel poverty see EPEE, *Report on the different types of existing mechanisms to tackle fuel poverty*, EIE/06/158/SI2.447367.

34. National Energy actions mentions that in the UK the rising use of prepayment meters is directly connected with the gas and electricity disconnections over the last years. Prepayment meters are more likely to be used by lone parents, those in receipt of welfare benefits, those with no bank account and those with payment difficulties. Available at: www.nea.org.uk.

energy bills have an impact on consumption patterns whereby consumers will look for the most energy efficient products and reduce their consumption of energy³⁵. **An insulated home is crucial to reduce the energy bill**³⁶. However, those who would gain most from an energy reduction in general live in very ill-insulated homes³⁷. Low-incomers mostly live in older dwellings or rent an apartment or house where the investment in energy-saving measures depends on the willingness of the house-owner. The large majority of dwellings, both private as public, in West and Central European states were constructed before thermal regulations were introduced³⁸. **Households with lower incomes do not have the financial resources to invest in a better insulation or energy efficient products.** The subsidies in place for such insulation or better heating are mostly used by the higher and upper middle incomes because they are better informed of the possibilities and because most subsidies require a certain co-investment or pre-payment. Surprisingly the carbon emission of high and low incomes is not as disparate as the difference in income³⁹. Whereas the carbon emission of high incomes might be elevated due to flights, gasoline guzzling cars and larger dwellings to heat, lower incomes are responsible for high carbon emission principally due to the heating of their ill-insulated homes. Although a higher energy efficient household would both serve lower incomes out of financial reasons and the fight against global warming, lower incomes are faced with high energy bills due to relative high use of energy.

Social impact of carbon reduction policies

The carbon emission reduction agreements have been translated by many countries into national policies. The reduction of carbon emission via a more energy efficient energy use by households has been high on the agenda. Financial stimuli and greenhouse taxing are two common tools to achieve a mentality change of household on their energy use. However, such policies might seriously disadvantage those citizens in energy poverty⁴⁰. First, certain policies tax polluting activities. Taxing short distance flights is a well-known example. Financial burdens are placed on those who are responsible for high carbon emission. Where carbon emissions are taxed without social correction the household with a higher carbon footprint would be taxed more than those with a mediate or small carbon footprint. This might negatively impact the lower incomes as they are less financially capable of reducing their footprint via insulation of the home⁴¹. Universal taxation might thus disturb

35. On the connection between energy prices and the consumption on energy see Ahlroth, S. and Höjer, M. (2007), "Sustainable energy prices and growth: comparing macroeconomics and backcasting scenarios", Elsevier.

36. Liddle, R. and Latham, S. (2009), "How can the response to climate change be socially just?" in Giddens, A., Liddle, R. and Latham, S. (ed.) *Building a low-carbon future: the politics of climate change*, Policy Network publication, p. 69.

37. It must be noted that in several EU member states (UK, Ireland, Belgium and Austria) the housing stock in general are rather old and ill-insulated. Healy, J. (2004) *Housing Fuel Poverty and Health: A pan-European Analysis*, Ashgate Publishing, p. 33.

38. EPEE report, "Diagnosis of causes and consequences of fuel poverty in Belgium, France, Italy, Spain and United Kingdom", EIE/06/158/SI2.447367.

39. Hills, J. (2009), "Future pressures: intergenerational links, wealth, demography and sustainability" in Hills, J., Sefton, T. and Stewart, K. (eds.) *Towards a more equal society? Poverty, inequality and policy since 1997*, The Policy Press/Joseph, p. 332 and Pye, S., Skinner, I., Meyer-Ohlendorf, N., Leipprand, A., Lucas, K., and Salmons, R. (2008), *Addressing the social dimensions of environmental policy: a policy briefing* (Brussels: European Commission). Rowntree Foundation

40. Pye, S., Skinner, I., Meyer-Ohlendorf, N., Leipprand, A., Lucas, K., and Salmons, R. (2008), *Addressing the social dimensions of environmental policy: a policy briefing* (Brussels: European Commission).

41. Ekins, P. and Dresner, S. (2004) *Green Taxes and Charges – reducing their effect on low income households*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation and Liddle, R. and Latham, S. (2009), "How can the response to climate change be socially just?" in Giddens, A., Liddle, R. and Latham, S. (ed.) *Building a low-carbon future: the politics of climate change*, Policy Network publication, p. 65.

social redistribution policies⁴². A wide variety of factors affects the impact of such taxing on income distribution changes⁴³.

Second, certain governments have established positive incentives for households to change their carbon footprint. Such policies range from partly subsidizing the insulation of the home or a better heating system over fiscal stimuli for those choosing energy efficient products. Such policies favour particularly those households who can at least pre-finance or partly finance measures of insulation or who pay a level of taxes to profit considerably from financial stimuli. Although such positive stimuli are important tools to promote energy-efficiency and reduce carbon emissions for a large portion of the population, they do not necessarily aid the increasing group of citizens struggling with their utility bills⁴⁴. In that respect the EU directive on the energy efficiency of buildings was an important step forward as it demanded new buildings or buildings with floor areas of over 1000 m² in renovation to meet certain standards of energy efficiency⁴⁵.

Still, most low income households live in older dwellings and the 1000 m² condition excludes a large number of the privately allocated houses and apartments. Obviously, there is still improvement possible by setting stricter conditions for all publicly owned dwellings. It could be feared that if such obligations are set for smaller privately allocated buildings in renovation this might result in seeing renovations being delayed as long as possible or, worse, having the extra costs due to insulation being paid by the low income inhabitants through a rent increase. Fuel poverty might thus be replaced by rent poverty if the Energy regulator provides for no effective control⁴⁶. From that perspective it is clear why certain policies intended to improve energy efficiency of buildings and the overall reduction of the energy consumption might be met with opposition from social weak groups. A more general fear for higher energy costs results in a by times negative public reaction to carbon reduction policies of the government or European Union. Still, improving energy efficiency of dwellings is a crucial tool in fighting both fuel poverty and carbon emission reduction.

Connecting the social and green agenda

Citizens are well-aware of the potential dangers of climate change but do not feel that it might impact their lives directly in the near future. Many encourage a transition to renewable energies and appreciate international treaties to reduce carbon emissions as very important. However, high fuel bills in contrast are a concrete and daily burden for many households. Therefore, many citizens might

42. An OECD report hints how such disparate impacts might be remedied by analysing national practices. OECD (2006) *The Political Economy of Environmentally related taxes*, OECD Publishing, pp. 139-141.

43. Such factors include the magnitude of the carbon tax, the unit upon which the tax is based, the extent to which dynamic effect is taken into account, etc. For a good summary see Oladosu, G. and Rose, A. (2007) "Income distribution impact of climate change mitigation policy in the Susquehanna River Basin Economy", *Energy Economics*, 29, pp. 523-524. Particularly for the EU see Barket, T. and Kohler, J. (1998), "Equity and eco-tax reform in the EU: Achieving a 10% reduction in CO₂ emissions using excise duties", *Environmental fiscal Reform Working Paper no. 10*, University of Cambridge.

44. European Environmental Bureau (2004) *Position Paper December 2004*. Especially in Belgium much research has been dedicated on this evolution and is called the Matteuseffect (those who have will be given). Deleeck, H. (1975) *Het Matteus-effect: over scheefte trekkingen in de verdeling van de collectieve voorzieningen*, *De Gids Op Maatsch. Gebied*, pp.711-737.

45. Directive 2002/91/EC on the Energy Efficiency of Buildings.

46. See proposal Local Government Association (2008) "Combat climate change and fight fuel poverty by insulating every home", 7th March 2008. Available at: www.lga.gov.uk.

oppose policies reducing such emissions when they impact on the fuel and electricity bills. The personal transition to a low carbon household is crucial for the reduction of the national carbon footprint, for most households it is not prioritized in the spending of the household income. The fear that an even bigger amount of the income might be spent on energy, even if only temporarily, induces negative perceptions towards several policies tackling global warming. **If the European social democracy wants to fight climate change in a sustainable and social equitable way, it will have to adapt their policies to social realities and even change the way it communicates on climate change. Such adaptation is not just needed in order to achieve popular support for carbon reduction policies, but also from the concern for just outcomes for all.** This entails a three-fold approach: first, translate climate change to local level, second, ensure that the “normal” use of energy is ensured and affordable and third, take potential social disparate impact on the low and lower middle incomes into account when elaborating carbon footprint reductive policies.

Public survey shows that the vast majority of EU citizens is concerned about climate change and believe the emission of carbon is responsible to global warming. The percentage of disbelievers is fairly small⁴⁷. It is, however, remarkable that climate changes has significantly lost priority among many member states in comparison to the beginning of 2008 and that in certain member states fewer people connect carbon emission with global warming. With the Copenhagen summit media and politicians have dedicated more attention to climate change and the urge of many NGOs has demanded more focus on global warming as a global threat. Yet, the job insecurity due to the economic crisis appears instills for fear and is prioritized over the fight against climate change. The direct risk of losing a job is a more affective issue resulting in higher risk perceptions than climate change. This suggests that in public debate less focus should be put on the scientific proof that climate change is real and that it will have enormous effects on the world, since the large majority of citizens believes that global warming is happening and most connect it to carbon emissions. Instead, politics should bring the effects of global warming to the streets and reconnect with the real and daily concerns of people⁴⁸. When asked about climate change, references to a healthy neighbourhood and clean affordable energy ensure more support for climate policy than references to melting ice gaps and ice bears threatened with extinction.

The trade-off prioritizing between climate change and the economic downturn as important world problems to solve implies that the fight against global warming will always be second placed to global issues whereby the direct effect on the household is direct and significant. The risk perception results in the actions individuals are willing to take themselves or the support for public policies which they might support. Hence, if social democracy intends to ensure ambitious schemes of carbon reduction the fear for higher energy bills will need to be met⁴⁹. As mentioned, the liberalization of the

47. Only 10 percent considers global warming not a serious problem. Eurobarometer, European's attitude towards climate change jan-feb 2009, report 313, publ: june 2009.

48. Compston, H. and Bailey, I. (2009) “How can we build political support for action on climate change in western democracies?” in Giddens, A., Liddle, R. and Latham, S. (ed.) *Building a low-carbon future: the politics of climate change*, Policy Network publication, p. 57 and Leiserowitz, A. (2006), *Climate Change Rise perception and policy preferences: the role of affect, imagery and values*, *Climate Change*, 77, p. 64.

49. Meadowcroft, J. (2005), “From Welfare State to Environmental State?” in Barry, J. and Eckersley, R. (eds) *The State and the Global Ecological Crisis*, p. 23.

energy market has not yet resulted in lower energy prices due to a lack of competition in certain member states and the high prices paid for fossil fuels at the global level. When pushing its green agenda, the European Union might be put in the defensive of having promoted an anti-social agenda. Under pressure of the European Parliament an obligation for member states to fight fuel poverty was introduced in the third Energy Package⁵⁰. The directive called upon the countries to elaborate national action plans and adequate measures to tackle fuel poverty. Sure, many of the policies needed to fight fuel poverty are national competences, e.g. higher incomes or better information for the social weak on the different distributors. Still, the European Union could make a considerable difference by introducing in the Energy Package an obligation for the member states to ensure that there are social energy tariffs available for the low and lower middle incomes. The majority of member states had no such policies in place⁵¹. The fear that the European Union might disregard such rules in a liberalized area as limiting the free market of services could decisively be taken away. This could reconcile the free market of energy services with a social framework.

Finally, serious and drastic changes in the household footprint and increased energy efficiency must remain high on the agenda. The transition to alternative fuels is supported by large majorities throughout the European Union. They regard such transition vital for tackling global warming is surprisingly homogenous throughout the European Union. The household energy use is exemplary for the dilemma politics is faced with when advancing a low carbon footprint agenda. On the one hand financial stimuli or taxation might seem very effective in changing people's behavior towards energy consumption while on the other hand such policies might have a disparate negative impact on the low incomes. Smart meters might help households to use energy more energy efficient resulting in a lower utility bill, but as long as low incomes inhabit ill-insulated buildings with high maintenance heating such meters are futile. Taxing high energy use might become socially unacceptable in such circumstances. Public housing projects and new major private building projects can be obliged to keep up with the highest standards of housing insulation and heating due to the EU directive on energy efficiency of buildings. Yet, an important number of low and lower middle incomes, especially those struggling with their heating bill, live in old allocated houses. The cost of renovation of such dwellings in order to ensure higher energy efficiency might result in increased rent even if large amounts are repaid via subsidies. All too general taxing measures might result in negative outcomes for lower incomes and the loss of public support for climate change policies. Instead, the low energy efficiency of dwellings might be tackled via a differentiated subsidizing system or pre-financed subsidies in case the owners have a low or lower middle income or the dwelling is rented at social tariffs. Climate change challenges social democrats to take social realities of many households struggling with utility bills into account when advancing ambitious climate change policies.

50. Directive 3648/09 concerning common rules for the internal market in electricity, 29th June 2009 and Directive 3649/09 concerning common rules for the internal market in natural gas, 29th June 2009.

51. EPEE and Intelligent Energy Europe recommendations guide for policy makers, *Tackling Fuel Poverty in Europe*. Available at: www.fuel-poverty.com.

Conclusion

The fight against climate change is high on the agenda of most West and Central European Union social democratic parties and gaining prominence in the East EU member states. Still, many countries pushing a greener agenda fail to transmit the public acknowledgment of climate change as an important problem into widespread public support for ambitious national carbon reduction policies. This is due to the fear of citizens for even higher utility bills and the perception of climate change as a problem distant from their daily life. The European Union has already invested in a more competitive market of energy products, in more energy efficient buildings and renovations, in clear targets of carbon emission reduction and the support for renewable energy. The EU green agenda needs to be supplemented with a social element communicating directly to the daily concerns of the moderate households⁵². Changing the communication to affective images of local impact alongside social policies accompanying climate change measures will be important to ensure a continued support for a greener agenda. It is, moreover, a transition from an agenda built on the climate change threat to a more positive and inspiring policy pushing for greener and fairer energy consumption. Time Magazine's 2008 Heroes of the Environment Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus expressed this need for a positive narrative on global warming as follows: "Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I have a dream speech" is famous because it put forward an inspiring, positive vision that carried a critique of the current moment within it. Imagine how history would have turned out had King given an "I have a nightmare" speech instead⁵³.

52. Liddle, R. and Latham, S. (2009), "How can the response to climate change be socially just?" in Giddens, A., Liddle, R. and Latham, S. (ed.) *Building a low-carbon future: the politics of climate change*, Policy Network publication, p. 67.

53. Shellenberger, M. and Nordhaus, T. (2004) *The Death of Environmentalism: global warming politics in a post-environmental world*. Available at: www.thebreakthrough.org. Supported by Compston, H. and Bailey, I. (2009) "How can we build political support for action on climate change in western democracies?" in Giddens, A., Liddle, R. and Latham, S. (ed.) *Building a low-carbon future: the politics of climate change*, Policy Network publication, p. 57.

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Biography note

Catherine Van de Heyning is a researcher at the Faculty of Law of the University of Antwerp. She is a member of the Research Group of Public Law of the Faculty and of the Centre for Law and Cosmopolitan Values. She obtained a scholarship of the FWO (Flemish Scientific Fund 2007-2011). Ms van de Heyning completed a BA and MA in Law from the University of Antwerp – Paris V cum magnum laude. She also obtained an LL.M with distinction from University College of London. She holds extra degrees in educational law and environmental law (University of Antwerp) and International Human Rights Lawyering (ICS, University of Oxford-George Washington University). Ms van de Heyning has worked as intern at the Flemish Cabinet of Work and Education (2006). She has published several articles and papers, and she won the Emila Zola essay prize 2008.



Queries 5

EUROPE OF DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION





The next communicated Europe as seen by EU officials

A “European public sphere” in the making?

Ana Isabel Martins

The urgency of bringing the European Union (EU) closer to its citizens, as well as boosting an active citizen participation in EU democratic life, has been a core component within the debate on the future of Europe. This political priority was particularly enhanced with the French and Dutch ‘no’ to the former Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe in 2005, followed three years later by the negative answer in the first Irish referendum to the Treaty of Lisbon. Throughout the intense discussions about this latter document, whose ratification was preceded by a long process of negotiations and political bargaining, the European Commission (EC) insisted on the need for getting citizens involved, namely through the creation of a “European public sphere” (EPE).

In connection to this, the present paper aims at contributing to the debate on the future of Europe from a communication viewpoint. In Part I we discuss the implications of the concept of EPE, focusing on both the factors that have been curtailing its emergence and its possible configurations. This theoretical introduction is followed by a brief analysis of the way this notion has been appropriated in the context of the European Union (EU) Communication Policy.

The last section seeks to add an empirical dimension to the debate. Drawing on interviews with EU officials, we will focus on the evolution, current state and future trends of this policy area, without losing sight of the creation of public spheres as one of its main components. We expect this approach to shed light on the prospect of an EPE, on what the interviewees believe to be the political needs of the European public in this field, and on the possible policy scenarios that will compose the next *communicated* Europe.

Defining a “European Public Sphere”

The classical and most systematic approach to the concept of “public sphere” was developed by Jürgen Habermas in *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, published for the first time in 1962. Whilst exploring this seminal theory and its developments over time is beyond the scope of this paper, we argue that the symbolic nature of such a space, where public interest issues are discussed by the members of a certain community, should underlie the transposition of this notion into a European context. Habermas himself strongly advocates the relevance of a EPE, which in a normative-ideal dimension can be described as “a network that gives citizens of all member states an equal opportunity to take part in an encompassing process of focused political communication”¹.

However, the complex and multi-layered character of EU political processes leads several scholars to revise the classical habermasian premises, rather admitting the simultaneous existence of diverse heterogenic public spheres². For the purpose of this study we draw on Eder, Kantner and Trenz’s definition of the EPE as “the degree to which the same topics are discussed simultaneously and with the same criteria of relevance in several public spheres”³.

The relevant literature acknowledges a number of factors impeding the emergence of such a space. Several scholars indicate the absence of a common language⁴, the existence of an ‘other’ beyond the national borders⁵ and the changes inflicted by the enlargement process⁶ as major causes for what Brüggemann classifies as an “unpublic sphere”⁷. Nevertheless, the dominant body of research assigns that responsibility to the media⁸. A common media agenda⁹, a uniform journalistic culture¹⁰ or a shared media system¹¹ are considered as a sine qua non for the creation of an EPE.

Notwithstanding these hindrances, existing literature acknowledges two main theoretical configurations for such a sphere: on the one hand, a pan-European dimension independent from individual member-states; on the other hand, a model stemming from the Europeanisation of national spheres.

1. HABERMAS, J. (1984) *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. Darmstadt: Luchterhand (original work: 1962).

2. HABERMAS, J. (2001). “Why Europe needs a Constitution”. *New Left Review*. Vol 11. September-October (pp. 5-26).

3. VAN DE STEEG, M. (2002). “Rethinking the Conditions for a Public Sphere in the European Union”. *European Journal of Social Theory*. Vol. 5(4): 499-519 and RISSE, T. (2002). “How do we know a European Public Sphere when we see one? Theoretical clarifications and Empirical Indicators”. Florence: European University Institute. Paper presented at the IDNET Workshop Europeanization and the Public Sphere, February 20-21.

4. EDER, K., KANTNER, C. and TRENZ, H.-J. [eds.] (2000). *Transnationale Öffentlichkeit und die Strukturierung politischer Kommunikation in Europa. Antrag auf Förderung eines Forschungsvorhabens im Rahmen des DFG-Schwerpunkts Regieren in Europa*. Berlin: Humboldt Universität.

5. KIELMANSEGG, P. (1994). “Läßt sich die Europäische Gemeinschaft demokratisch verfassen?”. *Europäische Rundschau*. Vol. 22(2): 23-33 (pp.27-28).

6. PETERS, B. (2005). “Public Discourse, Identity, and the Problem of Democratic Legitimacy”. In ERIKSEN, E. [ed.]. *Making the European Polity: Reflexive integration in the EU*. London: Routledge: 84-123 (p. 113).

7. MACHILL, M., BEILER, M. und FISCHER, C. (2006). “Europe-Topics in Europe’s Media. The Debate about the European Public Sphere: A Meta-Analysis of Media Content Analyses”. *European Journal of Communication*. Vol. 21(1): 57-88 (pp. 60-61).

8. BRÜGGEMANN, M. (2005). “How the EU constructs the European Public Sphere – Seven Strategies of Information Policy”. *Javnost – The Public*. Vol. 12(2): 57-74.

9. See for instance ADAM, S. and BERKEL, B. (2003). “Media structures as a brake block of the Europeanization of public spheres? Development of a cross-national Typology”. Paper presented at the International Conference “Europeanization of Public Spheres?” WZB: June 20-22 and SCHLESINGER, P. and FOSSUM, J-E. [eds.] (2007). *The European Union and the Public Sphere: a Communicative Space in the Making?* London: Routledge.

10. SCHLESINGER, P. (1999). “Changing Spaces of Political Communication: The Case of the European Union”. *Political Communication*. Vol. 16: 263-279 (p. 277).

11. SIEVERT, H. (1998). *Europäischer Journalismus. Theorie und Empirie aktueller Medienkommunikation in der Europäischen Union*. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag (p. 78).

12. GRIMM, D. (1995). “Does Europe Need a Constitution?”. *European Law Journal*. Vol. 1(3): 282-302.

While to date the former has been raising skepticism amongst researcher¹³, the latter is largely seen as a more consistent approach, particularly if we take into account the failure of genuinely transnational-oriented projects such as the magazine *L'Européen*, as well as the *EURIKON* and *Europe TV* channels.

Numerous scholars have acknowledged the importance of recent public debates embedded in a European framing, including EU-driven campaigns like those of the euro¹⁴ and the Eastern enlargement¹⁵, as well as non-EU topics such as the 'Haider case'; the 2003 demonstrations against war in Iraq¹⁶; the solidarity with the Spaniards following the 11th of March attacks¹⁷; or the BSE debates¹⁸. Alongside these common public issues, we have been observing the creation of a shared repository of media stories, for instance through the distribution of some quality newspapers in the most important European languages (e.g. *Financial Times*) or in a specific European edition (e.g. *International Herald Tribune* or *Wall Street Journal Europe*). In the last analysis, this attempt to create a European-wide communication flow has been the yardstick of some projects carried out by the EU, which we will discuss in the following section.

"European Public Spaces" and the EU Communication Policy

EU Treaties do not include any specific provisions governing Communication Policy, which is rather based on the relevant premises (e.g. right to information and freedom of expression; right of access to EU documents, amongst others) of the Charter of Fundamental Rights. **Despite the absence of a legal basis in this field, the acknowledgement of an increasing gap between Europe and its public in the last decade has been gradually placing the need of communicating Europe in the top of EU political priorities.** In this context, whilst an exhaustive chronological analysis of this policy is not the purpose of the present paper, we intend to highlight the milestones that appear to be more relevant taking our research questions into account.

The first comprehensive debates on the problem of an *uncommunicated* Europe were not boosted by the aforementioned 2005 and 2008 referendums, but find their roots in the beginning of the nineties, when the difficult ratification process of the Maastricht Treaty launched the idea of an EU "democratic deficit". Research dealing with this issue ever since tends to define the concept as a remarkable contrast between EU political and institutional deepening on the one hand, and the permanence of public debates and citizen participation in the redoubt of national arenas on the other¹⁹.

13. GERHARDS, J. (2002). "Das Öffentlichkeitsdefizit der EU im Horizont normativer Öffentlichkeitstheorien". In KÄELBLE, H., KIRSCH, M. und SCHMIDT-GERNIG, A. [eds.] (2002). *Transnationale Öffentlichkeiten und Identitäten im 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt a.M./New-York: Campus: 135-58 (p. 142); and VAN DE STEEG, M., Op. Cit.

14. SCHLESINGER, P. and KEVIN, D. (2000). "Can the European Union Become a Sphere of Publics?". In ERIKSEN, E. e FOSSUM, J-E. [eds.]. *Democracy in the European Union. Integration through Deliberation?* London: Routledge: 206-229 (p. 219).

15. VAN DE STEEG, M., Op. Cit.

16. RISSE, T. (2004). "Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Kommunikationsgemeinschaft: Theoretische Überlegungen und empirische Evidenz". In FRANZIUS, C. e PREUSS, U. [eds.]. *Europäische Öffentlichkeit*. Baden-Baden: Nomos: 139-154.

17. ERIKSEN, E. (2005). "An Emerging European Public Sphere". *European Journal of Social Theory*. Vol. 8(3): 341-363 (p.350).

18. DELANTY, G. and RUMFORD, C. (2005). *Rethinking Europe: Social theory and the implications of Europeanization*. London: Routledge (p.73).

19. GRUNDMANN, R. (1999). "The European Public Sphere and the Deficit of Democracy". In SMITH, D. and WRIGHT, S. [eds.]. *Whose Europe? The Turn Towards Democracy*. Oxford: Blackwell: 125-146 (p. 137).

From this period onwards, a myriad of EU policy documents explored notions like those of “democracy” and “transparency”²⁰, guided by the political motivation of explaining the functioning of European institutions and policies to the wide public. Nevertheless, the low participation rates in the 2004 European Parliamentary Elections and the citizens’ rejection of the former Constitutional Treaty in the following year clearly mirrored the lack of enthusiasm and public engagement towards European integration.

This scenario led to the development, under Margot Wallström’s Cabinet, of the Commission’s “Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate”, aimed at helping “the emergence of a *European public sphere*, where citizens are given the information and the tools to actively participate in the decision making process and gain ownership of the European project”²¹. The idea of an EPE was the common denominator for the first “Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe”²² and the subsequent “White Paper on a European Communicating Policy”. Postulating that “European citizens need access to a steady flow of common information if they are to see the European dimension of common issues”²³, this latter document coheres with the theoretical definition outlined in Part I.

The concept of an EPE is the backdrop to understand the latest EU Communication initiatives, particularly the new trends in Audiovisual and Internet policies. As the most significant examples, we would stress the creation of the international radio network *EURANET* (April 2008), a consortium of fifteen broadcasters transmitting in twelve languages, and of the multilingual website *Presseurop* (May 2009), with European news stories in ten languages²⁴. These two projects, to which a similar European Television network will be added next year, are driven by the White Paper’s main goal of assigning a European framing to a set of public issues. Adopting the web as a central communication tool²⁵, both *EURANET* and *Presseurop* reiterate the academic argument emphasising the centrality of the media in the emergence of an EPE. Interestingly enough, this theoretical assumption is shared by the general public: in the last qualitative study on the Future of Europe, the creation of a European TV Channel or newspaper printed in all languages was cited by respondents as a strategy to enhance citizen participation in EU democratic life²⁶.

Research Questions

The possible emergence of an EPE, particularly its relevance within the communicative purposes of the EU, has seen an increasing importance within recent scholarly agenda. While a solid body of

20. See for instance BARBERO, J. (2002). “Identities: traditions and new communities”. *Media, Culture & Society*. Vol. 24(9): 621-641; BROWMAN, J. (2006). “The European Union Democratic Deficit: Federalists, Skeptics, and Revisionists”. *European Journal of Political Theory*. Vol. 5(4): 191-212; or MEYER, C. (1999). “Exploring the EU’s communications deficit”. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 37 (4): 617-640.

21. See for instance EUROPEAN COMMISSION, “Inter-institutional Declaration on Democracy, Transparency and Subsidiarity” (October 1993) and EUROPEAN COMMISSION, “New framework for cooperation on activities concerning the Information and Communication Policy of the EU” (June 2001).

22. EUROPEAN COMMISSION, “The Commission’s contribution to the period of reflection and beyond: Plan-D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate” (October 2005).

23. EUROPEAN COMMISSION, “Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe” (July 2005).

24. EUROPEAN COMMISSION, White Paper on a European Communicating Policy” (February 2006) (p. 9).

25. For further information see the official website of the projects: <http://www.euranet.eu/> and <http://www.presseurop.eu/en>.

26. The relevance of the Internet in the context of the EU Communication Policy was also evident in the recent restructuring of “Europa – Gateway to the European Union” (September 2009) and in the initiative “Debate Europe” (April 2008), a follow-up of Plan D based on public consultations and other online resources.

literature offers comprehensive approaches regarding the latest developments of EU policies in this matter, this research remains predominantly descriptive, and largely devoid of an empirical component.

In this study we seek to supplement the theoretical perspectives with field discussions with high-ranking EU officials working for DG COMM. Following the methodology used in recent literature²⁷, a total of ten face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted, relying on a standard protocol which combined multiple-choice questions and space for follow-up comments²⁸. More concretely, we focused on the interviewees' perceptions about:

- A. The past: evolution of the EU Communication Policy in the last decade;
- B. The present: is there an EPE?
- C. The future: the EU Communication Policy/EPE in the next decade;

Responsible for developing key communication strategies and/or dealing with the media, this specialist group plays a key role in explaining the motivations that underlie the EC political options and shaping the main developments of this policy field.

No EPE, no Communication Policy?

The assumption that the EU Communication Policy has seen a positive evolution in the past decade was consensual amongst the interviewees. As an example of this development, officials mentioned the improvement of media relations at two levels: in Brussels, where the rising number of correspondents might illustrate the extent to which the EU is considered newsworthy; and in the member-states, through a closer collaboration with the EC representations, perceived as privileged channels to reach national and local journalists.

Interestingly enough, when asked to reflect about the main problems in this policy field, the obstacles more frequently mentioned are in line with aforementioned hindrances to the emergence of an EPE. **The absence of a common language²⁹ poses one of greatest challenges to the communication efforts of a complex multi-layered organisation like the EU.** As one of the officials acknowledges:

"To communicate in the twenty-three official languages, that is to say, to people with very different understandings, is a mammoth task, especially if you do not have a clear political line. It is primordial to have the member-states communicating together with the European institutions" (Interview 6)

These linguistic barriers are perceived in close association with the inexistence of a common media system³⁰, which appears to indicate the officials' adherence to the theoretical assumption that

27. OPTEM, "The European Citizens and the Future of Europe: qualitative study in the 25 member states" (May 2006) (p. 64).

28. FIRMSTONE, J. (2008). "Approaches of the transnational press to reporting Europe". *Journalism*, 9(4): 423-442 and STATHAM, P. (2008). "Making Europe news. How journalists view their role and media performance". *Journalism*, 9(4): 398-422.

29. BERG, B. (1998). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

30. Cf. KIELMANSEGG, P., *Op. Cit.* (pp. 27-28).

the media are a *sine qua non* for the creation of an EPE³¹. One of the interviewees established this connection stating that “in the case of the press, for example, evidence shows that citizens prefer to read their own language and a newspaper from their own country” (Interview 1). Others assigned the failure of the magazine *L’Européen* to its monolingual nature³², adding that the creation of similar projects would face even greater difficulties today due to the heavy effects of the economic crisis in the newspaper industry (Interview 4).

Alongside the language and media ‘external’ factors, officials encounter two impediments for effective communication at European level internally. First, the absence of a chapter or article in the Treaties concerning this matter, which according to Interviewee 2 expresses the lack of political will of EU countries in providing the EU “with powerful communication tools”. The difficulty of reaching an inter-institutional agreement in this field was also exemplified by the “Communicating Europe in Partnership” document, as

“It speaks for itself the fact that it took us four years to get the Council and the Parliament to sign two pages saying ‘We must communicate Europe together’ (...). The refusal of the Council towards a legal basis for communication and specific budget lines should tell us the whole story about the member-states attitudes” (Interview 5)

Second, the EU budget for the Communication Policy, which three officials describe as limited and insufficient (Interviews 2, 3 and 6). As official 2 ironically illustrates, “if Barroso wanted to send a letter informing inform citizens about the new mandate, he would need the five-year budget to cover post stamps (...) It is impossible to think that European Public Spheres can be created with this budget”. The degree of identification between the concept of EPE and the success of EU Communication Policy is omnipresent throughout the interviews.

A specialised and elite-centred EPE

Another research point relates to the officials’ perception about the existence of an EPE in small yet significant domains, which dovetails with the theoretical approaches described in section 1. The acknowledgement of the emergence of such a space is first and foremost tied to specific EU actions in diverse areas from Education (e.g. the Erasmus Program) to Audiovisual Policies (e.g. the MEDIA Programs) – Interview 1.

However, it was interesting to discover that other examples of an EPE went beyond the scope of action of EU initiatives. Interviewee 5 mentioned the Eurovision Song Contest or the UEFA European Football Championships as privileged occasions to generate common debates amongst people of different nationalities. Finally, another remarkable example was that of a demonstration of hundreds of milk producers from France, Germany and Belgium, which occurred in Brussels on the week before these interviews took place. Despite its negative motivation towards EU

31. Cf. SCHLESINGER, P., *Op. Cit.* (p. 277) and GRIMM, D., *Op. Cit.*

32. Cf. ADAM, S. and BERKEL, B., *Op. Cit.*, and SCHLESINGER, P. and FOSSUM, J-E., *Op. Cit.*

policies in the milk sector, official 6 admits that it was a clear example of a Europe-wide discussion. Therefore, although interviewees establish a clear cut correspondence between the obstacles to the EU Communication Policy and those to an EPE, this does not mean that the latter is necessarily perceived in a mere EU acceptance.

Furthermore, most of our interviewees admitted that these specialised spaces are still elitist in their essence, thus corroborating previous literature in this field. Reflecting Schlesinger's theory³³ that the rise of transnational media has been contributing to the reinforcement of a supranational elite community, officials referred to *CNN*, *BBCWorld* and mainly *Euronews* as significant achievements of an EPE, but with extremely low viewing figures. Although this latter case is considered "a quasi-European TV channel" and "one of the main agenda-setters" in this field (Interview 4), it is metaphorically seen in Interview 1 as "a kind of audiovisual *Financial Times* or *Le Monde*: extremely specialised and targeted to an audience already keen in EU affairs".

Trends & Scenarios: the "Era of the network"

Our final research question seeks to investigate the way EU officials anticipate the trends that will guide the EU Communication Policy in next decade, and the potential public sphere(s) that might be created in this context. The examples mentioned in Section A (e.g. the failure of Europe-wide projects such as *The European*) and B (e.g. a myriad of debates with a European framing) demonstrate that the interviewees tend to favour an EPE resulting from the Europeanisation of national spheres rather than a pan-European model.

This theoretical choice is clearly reflected in the concrete actions that according to the officials will dominate the EU communication efforts in the early future. As Interviewee 7 argues:

"I believe more in networks than in channels. Let's take, for instance, *EuroparlTV*. In spite of being a valuable initiative at EU level, the number of people watching it is derisive. *EURANET* programs on the other hand are likely to attract more citizens, because they are really embedded in their national contexts. This "network-oriented" approach might be more complex, time-consuming and decentralized; however, it is undoubtedly the most effective in the long term"

The importance of *EURANET* is corroborated by Interviewee 4, for whom "the solution does not rely on pan-European media, but on the Europeanisation of national media", and by Interviewee 5, when reflecting about this network-oriented approach:

"*EURANET* was an excellent idea, and it is working quite well. The same is valid for *PressEurop*, which for instance allows someone in the Check Republic to read the top stories in *Financial Times*. However, for me the most interesting project is the Television Network to be launched next year (...). If people were used to watch *BBC* or *ZDF*, they will still be watching something on those channels, but this happens to be the same thing that someone in Denmark or Portugal will be watching. I think this

33. Cf. NEVEU, E. (2002). "Europe as an 'un-imaginable community'? The failure of the French news-magazine *L'Européen* (March-July 1998)". *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. Vol. 10(2): 283-300.

is the way forward, other than creating a brand new channel, which would probably be seen as mere propaganda vehicle.”

These Europeanised media projects are concomitant with a strong investment in online resources. Official 5 adds that it is vital to recognise the potential of the Internet as a communication tool. The role played by the web appears to be particularly relevant to boost the emergence of new public spheres:

“Physical spaces are important, but their value should not be overestimated. Let us think of a room, maybe in a building located in the centre of a capital city, where conferences are organised on a regular basis. Despite its symbolic importance, this kind of initiative has extremely limited effects. Blogs, online discussion forums and social media on the other hand are gradually breaking out borders, including language borders. Through the Internet an idea might be generated in one country and transferred to another after being translated by somebody else.”

Without losing sight of the EPE debate, Interviewee 4 the independent media portal *EurActiv.com* as a successful example of a multilingual web resource, reiterating the idea that online public platforms represent the most effective strategy to ensure a European dimension in policy debates.

Conclusions & further avenues for research

This paper allowed us to make some introductory remarks to the debate on the future of Europe from the standpoint of the EU Communication Policy, through interviews with EU officials focusing on its past, present and future trends. **Although our interviewees agreed on the improvement of the EU Communication Policy in the last decade, this assumption did not prevent them to recognise a wide range of hindrances to the emergence of a *communicated* Europe.** It was interesting to acknowledge that the main negative factors largely coincided with what scholars indicate as the theoretical obstacles to an EPE: the absence of a common language and shared media system. Hence, the success of this policy field and the creation of a full-blond EPE appear to be considered concomitant by EU officials.

In spite of the aforementioned problems, the idea that we can already find European forums of discussion was omnipresent throughout the interviews. These spaces combine two main features. Firstly, their existence in highly-specialised domains, not only as a result of EU initiatives (e.g. Educational and Audiovisual programs) but also beyond its scope of action (e.g. Europe-wide competitions or even demonstrations against European policies). Secondly, the fact that they remain confined to business and political elites, as shown by the target audience of *Euronews* channel or quality newspapers such as the *Financial Times*. Analysing these features against the academic background of our paper, it is clear that interviewees perceive the Europeanisation of national spheres as a more realistic option when compared to a pan-European model.

This position has practical implications for the EU Communication Policy in the coming years. The hegemony of a “network” over a “channel” approach, illustrated by recent initiatives like *EURANET* or

Presseurop, permit us to anticipate a scenario where Europeanising domestic realities will overlap the complex and budget-consuming alternative of an ex novo genuinely transnational project. A major role is assigned to the Internet in this context: the web has the capability of expanding the public platforms of discussion beyond the physical spaces, thus reiterating the symbolic nature inherent to the *Habermasian* notion of “Public Sphere”.

From our point of view, a further avenue for research lies in the importance of the media for the construction of an EPE. Their relevance was recurrently stressed by EU officials through concrete examples and spontaneous thoughts, even when our question did not make any explicit reference in this particular. Little is known, however, about the concrete influence exerted by the media on the changing spaces of political communication at EU level and effective configuration of an EPE. A closer collaboration between scholars, EU officials and journalists, together with surveys involving the general public, could pave the way to a better understanding of policy motivations and society needs in what concerns to a truly communicated Europe.

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Biography note

Ana Isabel Martins is a PhD candidate and a scholar of Foundation for Science and Technology at the University of Coimbra in Portugal. Ms Martins completed her BA and MA at the same University, having experienced however also studies abroad – at the University of Leipzig Germany as an Erasmus Exchange Student and as a research fellow at the National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury, New Zealand and at Marcquaire University in Sydney, Australia. In her academic career she has been awarded several times for her achievements, receiving, among the others: Best graduation student Award (1999 – 2004), 2nd Prize at the Essay Competition “50 years of Europe” by Portuguese Ministry for Foreign Affairs and a Silver Medal LUBPREX’09. Ms Martins has been an author of several academic papers, conference contributions and she is awaiting the publication of her new book “Europe and the media. The coverage of European Constitution in the quality press”. She is a member of several organizations, among them of: ECREA (European Communication Research and Education Association) and CIMJ (Research Centre for Media and Journalism at the New University of Lisboa, Portugal).



Contested discourses of Europe

European identity formation

Anton Pasisnychenko

“...emergence of a European network state and fully integrated European economy without a European Identity seems to be an unsustainable situation”

Nezar Alsayyad and Manuel Castels

“European identity is fascinating, because it is to be worked out anew, and we can observe how it is being constructed and also observe how it is impossible to construct at the same time”

Alessandro Ferrara

Today it is a general statement that study of recent processes of European integration is dealing with a problem of defining Europe itself as a specific term, meaning of European identity and its role in development of the European Union (Demossier, 2007). In this article we are addressing the European discourse through a perspective of historical method in sociology in order to show how the EU and European identity are constructed in contested discourses and what is the impact of this identity building on the future of the enlarged Europe.

Historically dynamic European integration was followed by a wide search for roots of “European” in history, religion and culture. For much of its history, the construction of European unity was associated with existence of two models, one positive and one negative. On the one hand, Europe meant freedom, democracy, solidarity, rationalism, critical spirit, market economy, etc.; on the other, Europe represented dictatorship, collectivism, passivity, statism, nationalism, etc (Hollinger, 1994:163). Both traditions could draw on past history. Besides, geopolitical and symbolic borders of Europe are also a subject for rethinking, because they are being formed historically and discursively: ‘the images of Europe do not exist as a natural phenomenon but are discursively shaped’ (Strath, 2002: 397).

When referring to Europe it is conceptually important to distinguish between the European Union as

- 1 an entity that is a result of a common will to build certain institutions; and
- 2 as the European civilization or *cultural space* which is the result of long-term, non-intentional, non-anticipated and indirect circumstances (Llobera, 2003: 159).

Variety of meanings attached to Europe open a discourse on power of nomination that forms definitions and classifications of Europe itself, its frontiers, its inhabitants. With the development of this discourse by the end of XX century the idea of Europe has grown into a mobilizing political metaphor. In many cases Europe is described as a cultural organization that is united by shared values, culture and identity. Mainly references are made to “European heritage” that brings together the Greek-Roman civilization, Christianity, the ideas of Enlightenment, science, progress and democracy, in short all that stands for Europe’s legitimacy.

Still a hard question is whether we can speak of European culture? Taking into consideration that European national cultures remain diverse at religious, linguistic, political, economic and other levels – although certain features could be labeled European – in this article we prefer to use a notion of European *cultural space*, or even better – European civilization. In this context we share an assumption of R. Scrutton that ‘nations may share a civilization; but they will always be distinct in their culture, since culture defines what they are’ (Scrutton, 1998:1).

Before making any predictions of the future it is always helpful to look back at the lessons our history has already taught us. In our case discussing future of the cultural space of Europe needs to be supplemented by a study of its past.

When talking about integration of Europe we usually focus on the institutional dimension. But does there exist a cultural integration which gives the sense of tight social bonds as in perspective of the United States of Europe vision. From previous practices of European governing from Brussels it is

clear that relying upon institutional development without having support at the level of intercultural dialogue may lead to wasting of resources and losing public trust. The development of the European Union institutions starting from early Coal and Steel Community in 1951 was successful due to its evolutionary character. Clear objectives of the organizations have made the institution-building process “natural” and effective. These efforts to integrate Europe were not only understood by the public but supported as well. Institutional reforms were just supporting and fixing achieved public consensus, shared visions and values.

Yet, since the integration urge has shifted to the Brussels cabinets this institution-building has lost its “natural” evolutionary features and became unclear if not suspicious to the public. It has led to a drop of support and trust to the institutions of the EU. Starting building institutional framework in advance did not appear to be successful. Painful and dangerous results of this new integration policy (inspired by an initiative of Y. Fisher) we could see in the failure of voting for European Constitutional Treaty in 2005 (by France and Netherlands). This Constitutional draft was an attempt to encourage new institutional structures to form the fundamental moral intuitions of European public culture. Later this draft was embedded in Lisbon Treaty that was also rejected by Ireland voting. **Despite its happy end in a recent ratification of the Treaty, this experience shows a vulnerability and practical incapability of proceeding with further European integration by enforcing institutional reforms that have no support from the EU citizens.**

Therefore, thinking about the future of United Europe means dealing with a problem of gaining support from below first off all in terms of European identity construction (on a basis of existing local, regional and national historical and cultural identities). It is clear that primary institutions of the EU that were built in the early 50s weren't putting any efforts into cultivating feelings of “Europeanness”, they rather came as an unplanned outcome in the beginning. Only in 1992 Maastricht treaty on European Union the idea of EI was first formulated in written and ratified altogether.

One of the main clearings that have to be made is that ‘the EU is neither a *demos* nor an *ethnos*, neither a *polis* nor a *societas*’ (Llobera, 2003:165). So the basic question appears to be: how Europe can be united if there are not European people or a European state? The most efficient and yet obscure idea of such a bond, that appeared in contemporary political and scientific discourse, is a concept of European identity. It was used to describe how people while not being relatives by blood, territory or history could still be close to each other by sharing a feeling of belonging to Europe which was grounded in their identity.

Nevertheless European identity is an extremely contested concept. It is hard to ground it as a type of collective identity because it doesn't appear to form the very necessary “we-feeling”, or at least now it does not seem to be a priority value for Europeans themselves. It is even harder to determine a “we-group” Europeans (especially considering nation-states of the continent as European/non-European) which would serve as a reference group for European identity. Surely European identity is not a type of national identity because it implies going beyond borders of nation-state body. No wonder that this situation is described by growing number of scholars as

a proof that 'attempts to provide an acceptable definition of European Identity have failed' (Demossier, 2007: 7).

One of way to clarify this notion is to explain European identity as a *political identity*. Following such approach D. Green suggests that if European identity is understood as a new form of political identification it might even become a general characteristic for all postmodern societies: 'Given that nationalism has arguably been the most consequential political force of the past two centuries, no exaggerated argument is necessary to make the case for the potential significance of European identity to international and domestic politics' (Green, 2007:17).

Sharing a similar approach to European identity J. Weiler put forward a theory of *constitutional patriotism* which defines 'membership of a polity in civic, non-organic cultural terms' (Weiler 1997: 277). It gives an instrument to separate ethos from demos and nationality from citizenship. A sense of belonging to each of these levels is based on different criteria: ethnocultural elements at the national level, civic values at the state and European levels (Llobera, 2003).

Another way of European identity conceptualization explains it as a *cultural identity*. This attempt was done by J. Habermas and J. Derrida when in a joint article they tried to present a list of 'core European values' as a basis for Europe's integration. Habermas and Derrida accept that much that constitutes European legacy – 'Christianity and capitalism, natural science and technology, Roman Law and the Code Napoleon, the bourgeois-urban form of life, democracy and human rights, the secularization of the state and society – had become a common property of the West, if not of the world as a whole' (Habermas and Derrida, 2005). They also admitted that Europe had been repeatedly convulsed by divisive bouts of nationalism. However they think that those very experiences of division had produced a common outlook and attitude.

Contemporary discourse on the subject draws more or less clear division line between attitudes towards future of United Europe and European identity. Optimistically predisposed authors share an idea that diversity is probably the main condition for European unity (Wallace, 1985; Reif, 1993; Delanty, 1995; Delanty and Rumford, 2005; Eriksen and Fossum, 2004; Fossum, 2004). Josef Llobera adds to this idea by saying: 'to be European is, negatively, to reject annihilation and subjection; positively, to defend the richness of a dialogical culture' (Llobera, 2003: 161).

Ulrich Beck with his project of a *cosmopolitan* Europe is firmly on the optimists' side. He argues that Europe's problem is not in the malfunction of its institutions, but in self-misconception as a nation-state. In public debates Europe is still mostly conceived of as an 'incomplete nation', an 'incomplete federal state', and in consequence it is treated as if it should (and could) become both nation and state (Beck and Grande, 2007: 69). The idea of cosmopolitanism should help Europe to overlap its current state and become something different from a nation-state and a super-state at the same time. According to Beck the main element of cosmopolitan spirit in Europe is difference. He writes that 'in a nutshell, cosmopolitanism combines the tolerance of otherness with indispensable universal norms; it combines unity and diversity' (Beck and Grande, 2007: 71).

Optimists usually agree that new European identity can exist only simultaneously in combination with other identities present in Europe. However, we might want to transform some existing aggressive and exclusive identities and ideologies – such as nationalism(s) or hegemonism – that could destroy a new complex and internally diverse European identity.

Following this logic European identity should become:

1. an inclusive identity,
2. a multiple and plural identity that will have to incorporate existing different sub-national (regional), national and supranational identities,
3. a multicultural/intercultural identity that will recognize, respect and facilitate existing (linguistic, cultural, religious, etc.) diversity, as well as development of new identities,
4. an identity built upon democracy and democratic vision of a common Europe,
5. an identity built upon democratic, supra-national patriotism, etc. (Zagar, 2001).

On the other skeptical side of the European discourse “barricades” authors like J. Llobera, C. Shore, B. Strath, and C. Katner argue that following Hobsbawm’s certitude in nationalism’s death is quite a premature stake. It is true that national identities can not be eternal, but their time has not passed yet. Such powerful primordial feelings of attachment as language, culture, religion and historical memory are still attracted to the concept of nation. **It is really doubtful that a power of nationalism would surrender to the only fact of existence of international elite that demonstrates its cosmopolitanism in certain academic, business or other circles.**

Smith’s contention that any attempt to create a supranational European entity is ‘unlikely to be successful on the social and cultural levels’ (Smith, 1993: 134) is as valid today as in the foreseeable future because Europeans do not share any primordial identities. In the same context J.Llobera writes: ‘to say that Europe is ‘unity in diversity’ is insufficient. For most Europeans the idea that there is an overarching European culture that encompasses all national cultures is a chimera’ (Llobera, 2003: 165). It is hard to believe that the increase of contacts among Europeans (holidays, sports, etc.) and the existence of more consumer convergence are insufficient evidence to state that a European identity is developing (Shore, 1997). Finally, some of them make such sharp notice that ‘identity becomes a problem when there is no identity’ (Strath, 2002: 387).

At the moment in no way can we say that, at the cultural level, there is at present an entity that we can call ‘Europe’. On the other hand culture in its practical sense as a basis for identity has been used as an argument by both optimists and skeptics. Even if we take the optimists’ side and suggest that European identity is a real and powerful construction (if not now than maybe in the future) quantitative data doesn’t add much optimism to it. In his analysis of survey on European identity David Green finds out that for a period of more than 30 years only about 4-8 percent of the sample in every survey chose European as their first identity (Green, 2007: 66). He concludes that European identity does indeed exist, though it is a minority sentiment, and one that is particularly prominent

among elites and sympathizers of the integration project. It means that future of the United Europe might be seized in this small 'elite', those 4-8 percent that feel more European than anyone else. This also means that to go further with Europe's integration we would need to convert this real 'minority sentiment' into a form comprehensible and acceptable for publicity – the citizens of Europe.

Our short overlook of contradictory European discourse on the issues of identity and its role in the EU integration shows that there are two major ways of perceiving European identity construction:

1. as an objective process that correlates with life world of the European Union as a polity (understanding European identity as an identity typical for citizens of Europe);
2. as a potential project of building a cultural community (taking into account not only the EU member-countries but geo-political map of the whole Europe).

In the past diversity was Europe's problem #1 because it has shred the continent with endless conflicts and wars. Now cultural diversity appears to be considered as it's major wealth. At this stage of civilization development past inconveniences can be redirected in a far more positive direction in the frame of the enlarged EU. In practice, the key to building European identity is shifting from dividing "we" and "they" to uniting "us". In theory, at the core of this concept's ambiguity lies a paradox how European identity could be constructed while at the same time being unavailable. Whether in the next decade we can manage to take necessary steps both in practice and theory at the moment stays a question with no answer yet.

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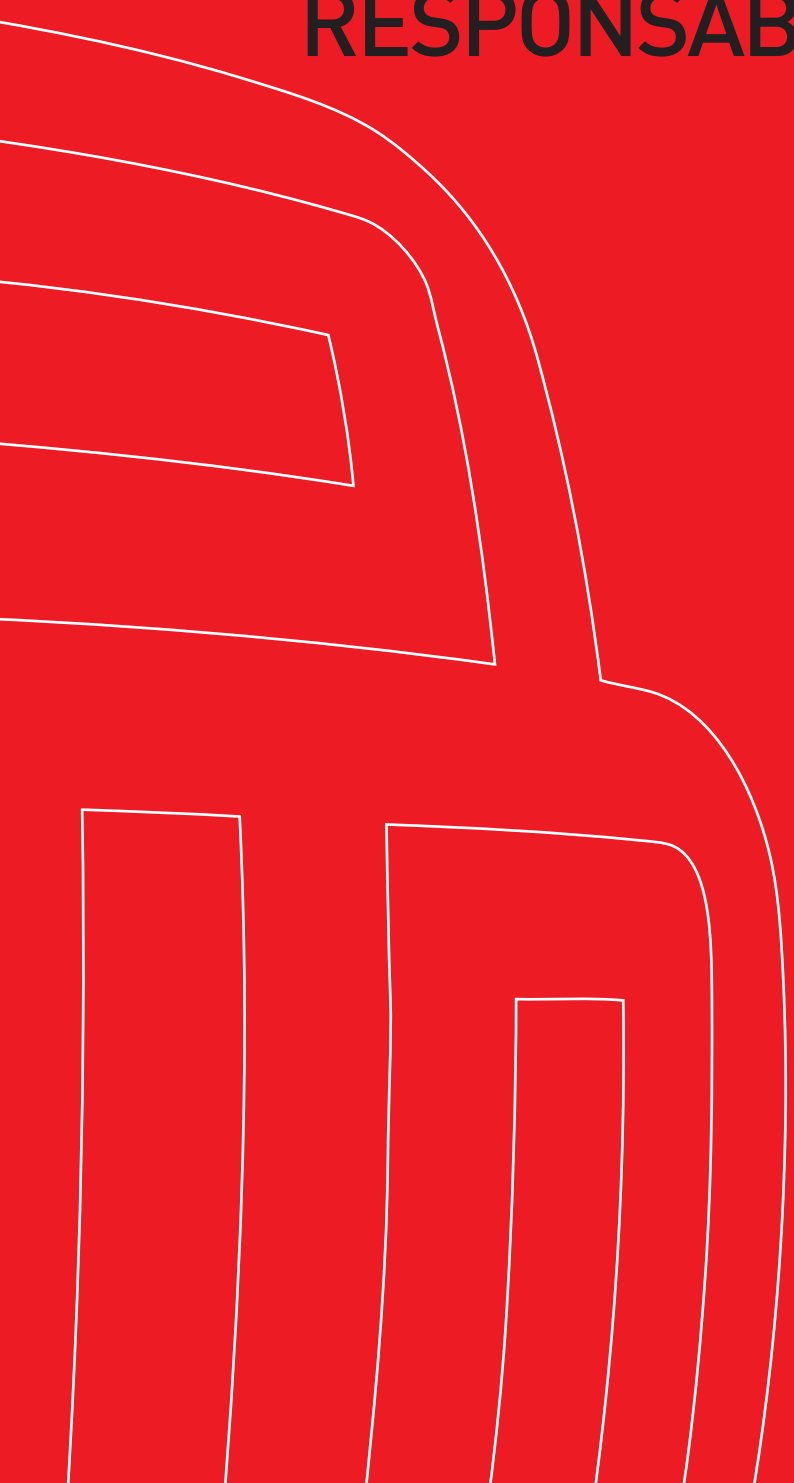
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Queries **6**

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSABILITY OF EUROPE IN A GLOBAL AGE





Addressing the representation crisis in the external relations of the EU.

The European Security and Defense Policy: in search of common values?

Vasilis Margaras

With the establishment of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) in 1999, the EU achieved considerable progress in the field of foreign affairs. Since then, ESDP was equipped with its own institutions and started to work on various security issues. Ten years of ESDP developments brought a number of achievements in the field of security, most notably, the deployment of various ESDP missions in many parts of the world. ESDP has been characterized by considerable dynamism but also by various weaknesses. The Lisbon Treaty addressed some of the issues that hinder the development of ESDP but did not provide a remedy to all its problems. The new Lisbon Treaty developments in the field of external relations are summarized in the article. However, the article claims that further institutionalization brought by the Lisbon Treaty is not a panacea. ESDP needs a clear set of values in order to become more cohesive and successful.

The impact of the Lisbon Treaty on ESDP

So far, the competencies of the EU in external relations have been divided between the areas of European Community and the intergovernmental pillars. However, many policy issues seem to overlap between these two spheres. The question of competencies within the EU has not been clear as at least four different Directorates-General (DGs) are involved in the external relations of the EU. **Lack of transparency, bureaucracy and institutional competition amongst different DGs are common obstacles in the shaping of EU foreign policies. The Treaty of Lisbon tried to address these issues with the establishment of the European Union Minister for Foreign Affairs, the development of the European External Action Service and with the idea of the presidency of the European Council.**

However, according to Wessels and Bopp (2008: 28), whether these developments will lead to more overall efficiency and coherence or, contrary, to mutual blocks, overlapping competencies and inter-institutional tensions cannot be answered at this stage¹. Furthermore, 'the adoption of legal acts is still not possible for CFSP/CSDP and decisions have to be taken by unanimity' (Wessels and Bopp 2008:29)². The organizational details of these new institutional inventions are not yet decided. Diverging views amongst Member States already appear on how these institutions will be created and which exactly their functions would be. According to Duke (2009: 26): 'the innovations in the external relations area, such as the Union Minister for Foreign Affairs or the European External Action Service, may hold the potential to alter the institutional balance of powers, but they will also become part and parcel of the competencies struggle and most likely its focus'³.

Another institutional development is the establishment of the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PermStrucCoop). Article 28 A p. 6 of the Lisbon Treaty, establishes Permanent Structured Cooperation for 'those Member States whose military capabilities fulfill higher criteria and which have made more binding commitments to one another in this area with a view to most demanding missions'. The introduction of permanent structured cooperation can be seen as an element of innovation as it may facilitate further cooperation amongst those Member States that want to work closely in issues of security. However, according to Hougardy (2008: 12), 'a key factor to success will be to what extent participating Member States are willing to adjust their way of thinking with regard to national defense planning'⁴.

Furthermore, according to the Lisbon Treaty, the EU subscribes to the Petersburg tasks which are joint disarmament operations, humanitarian and rescue tasks, military advice and assistance tasks, conflict prevention and peace-keeping tasks, tasks of combat forces in crises management, including peace-making and post-conflict stabilization (Article 28 B of the Lisbon Treaty). These tasks are the primary focus of ESDP. However, the list of Tasks constitutes a very broad description of aims and allows for considerable divergence in their interpretation by the different EU Member States.

1. Wessels and Bopp (2008) *The Institutional Architecture of CFSP after the Lisbon Treaty – Constitutional breakthrough or challenge ahead?*, Research Paper No. 10, June 2008, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

2. *Ibid.*

3. Duke, S. (2006) 'Arenas of Grey: Tension in EU External Relations Competences', *Eipascop Bulletin* No. 1

4. Hougardy, P. (2008) 'Permanent Structured Cooperation' in Biscop, S. and Algieri F. *The Lisbon Treaty and ESDP: Transformation and Integration*, 11-15.

In search of a 'common values' agenda?

No matter the degree of institutionalization, ESDP is not going to develop further unless there is a common consensus on the values that underpins its strategic action. Only if there is a commonly accepted normative space can ESDP flourish. Indeed, the European Security Strategy (2003: 12-13) mentioned that the EU needs to develop its own strategic culture in order to become a more efficient player. The strategic culture of the EU is defined in this article as: 'the ideas of Brussels-based ESDP officials regarding the current and potential use of force as well as their practices on the deployment of police and military instruments in various ESDP missions'.

The strategic culture of the EU consists of ideas and policy practices which are manifested in the way missions are discussed and planned. Strategic culture is influenced by the policy decisions of ESDP as well as by the interaction of ESDP officials in ESDP institutions. Elements of strategic culture were developed through the historic evolution of the European security debate and especially through the marks that this debate left on the shaping of the foreign policies of the EU member states in the 1990s⁵. The implementation of ESDP missions is another important process in the shaping of strategic culture as ideas stemming from operations on the ground are fed into the Brussels-based ESDP decision-making process.

Main ideas and values in the strategic culture of the EU

Already scholars claim that a particular EU strategic culture is under development⁶. The data provided in this article is extracted from 30 interviews which were conducted in the period between January and December 2008 on this particular subject. The findings of the fieldwork point to the direction that the strategic culture of the EU has its own values but also its particular weaknesses. The soft approach on the use of force, an EU selective humanitarian agenda and the acceptance of Civilian Crisis Management tools constitute the cornerstone values of the strategic culture of the EU. The importance of the UN Security Mandate and the question of the NATO-EU relationship still constitute grey areas in the cognitive development of the strategic culture of the EU. On the other hand, the belief in the intergovernmental nature of ESDP, the lack of clearly defined interests and the existence of different geographic priorities amongst the Member States constitute considerable obstacles to the development of a vibrant strategic culture. The article will now analyze each of the above mentioned issues.

A 'soft' approach on the use of force

Cornish and Edwards (2001, p. 588) suggest that: 'there are areas of political-military activity, such as policing actions of various types on the external borders of the EU, and the limited application of military force in the context of post-conflict reconstruction, peace-building and development aid, where perhaps a unique, 'gendarmierie' style EU strategic culture has been

5. For a discussion on the European security debate see Longhurst, K. and Zaborowski, M. (2005) *Old Europe, New Europe and the Transatlantic Security Agenda*, London and New York: Routledge.

6. See Cornish and Edwards (2001, 2005), Rynning, (2003), Hyde-Price (2005)

germinating'. Indeed, the EU managed to acquire its own strategic culture through a number of various missions that have been deployed in many parts of the world. According to interviewees, when it comes to the implementation of missions Europeans do not want to be seen as occupying forces. Rynning (2003, p. 485) also mentions that the less robust nature of the EU: 'is indicative of the same European inhibition that was seen in Kosovo with regard to applying force to win campaigns'⁸.

A selective humanitarian agenda

According to Hyde-Price (2005, p. 155), in the case of the EU: 'military coercion will rarely be employed unless it is seen to have a clear ethical or humanitarian goal'⁹. Indeed, ESDP missions have been developed in various parts of the world in order to tackle ongoing humanitarian crises. The key threats that are described in the ESS include terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime. These threats are also seen as points of strategic reference and reflection. In addition, the idea that Europeans should intervene in the internal affairs of third states (even if such action goes against the primacy of its sovereignty) also forms part of an extensive consensus that was developed within EU circles during the crises of the Western Balkans in the 1990s. Therefore, the idea of security that characterises the strategic culture of the EU is inextricably linked to the protection of human life and the avoidance of atrocities as seen during the Yugoslav Wars.

However, it should be also mentioned that the EU is very selective when it comes to intervention. Meyer (2006, p. 174) is cautious about the EU's attitudes towards the resolution of humanitarian crises and argues that: 'only if humanitarian crises pop up on the EU's doorstep in a form which is sufficiently in the mass media, can one expect the pressure to act to outweigh concerns over divergent norms on how to fight'. Furthermore, it is important to mention that the existence of such humanitarian consensus does not necessary imply that these humanitarian ideas are equally internalized or respected amongst the Europeans but that they are accepted as a point of reference for the undertaking of strategic action. This is also the case for the key threats that are described in the ESS. Tackling these key threats requires considerable 'flexibility' in terms of policy methods. Therefore, the basic ideational parameters of the strategic culture of the EU are still under a process of continuous development with flexibility being a key word in ESDP dealings. The strategic culture of the EU is characterized by a low willingness to act, manifested in the deployment of mostly short-term small/medium and low risk missions.

7. Cornish, P. and Edwards, G. (2001) 'Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy: the Beginnings of a European Strategic Culture', *International Affairs*, 77(3), 587-603.

8. Rynning, S. (2003) 'The European Union: Towards a Strategic Culture?', *Security Dialogue*, 34(4), 479-496.

9. Hyde-Price, A. (2005) 'European Security, Strategic Culture and the Use of Force' in Longhurst, K. and Zaborowski, M. *Old Europe, New Europe and the Transatlantic Security Agenda*, Abington, Oxon: Routledge, 137-158.

A cautious development of Civilian Crisis Management Instruments

Cornish and Edwards (2005, p. 809) claim that: 'the EU has largely regarded the value of military force as limited, preferring a more integrated response that tackles the threat'¹⁰. Indeed, the idea of tackling security issues through an integrated approach that includes civilian and military instruments is widely accepted by PSC officials. According to interviewees, the conduct of Civilian Crisis Management (CCM) implies that intervention may take place in order to deal with a humanitarian/political conflict or a natural/environmental disaster. Cooperation between the military and civilian instruments is necessary in order to tackle the complexities of particular crises. However, there is a gap between the rhetoric of ESDP and its everyday implementation. Because of the limited resources that EU member states invest in the EU Civilian Headline Goal, progress in ESDP is still slow. Nevertheless, although difficulties exist, it is possible to talk about a 'civilian turn' in ESDP as there is an ongoing discussion about reinforcing the civilian aspects of crisis management.

The 'Sovereignty first' approach

Although various EU member states have transformed some of their national resources into troops/police instruments ready to be deployed in out-of-area missions, progress in terms of out of borders deployment is still low. The fact that the EU member states are in general unwilling to invest further in out-of-area deployment of force limits the potential strategic action of the EU. Furthermore, according to Meyer (2005: 52-3), national awareness of the ESDP project is still low, thus blocking the development of the strategic culture of the EU¹¹. Confusion within the EU states on the direction of ESDP is commonplace. As various interviewees mentioned, it is not rare for various state ministries that are involved in the shaping of ESDP (Ministry of the Interior, Defense, Foreign Affairs) to hold converging views on ESDP thus rendering the strategic rapprochement amongst Europeans a more complicated task. Nevertheless, although difficulties exist, almost all interviewees accepted the fact that considerable progress has been made and that ESDP has been slowly consolidated itself as a component of foreign policy in the minds of capital based officials.

Lack of Clearly Defined Interests

The lack of clearly defined European interests in which all EU member states can subscribe to is a hindrance to the development of a robust European strategic culture. Various EU States still deploy missions unilaterally in order to satisfy their own geopolitical interests before reaching an agreement with their EU counterparts. Progress in creating a common EU agenda is slow and national reflexes prevail over united EU action. However, new geopolitical challenges arise that may bring the Europeans closer together in terms of strategic thinking. Strategic change is not a new phenomenon as many

10. Meyer, O., C., (2006) *The Quest for a European Strategic Culture: Changing Norms on Security and Defence in the European Union*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

11. Cornish, P. and Edwards, G. (2005), *The Strategic Culture of the European Union: a Progress Report*, Vol 81, Issue 4, 801-820.

studies in strategic culture point to the fact that the process of strategic culture formation is open to a new interpretation of emerging challenges and threats¹². The cases of piracy in the straits of Somalia shows that in a frenzy globalised world new security threats may push Europeans to a definition of new common economic interests such as the protection of free trade routes. Similar interests may form the basis of a new strategic culture which may include a clearer version of both humanitarian and economic priorities.

The existence of different Geographic Approaches amongst EU partners

The existence of different geographic approaches amongst EU partners is another point of division which is inextricably linked to the lack of clearly defined EU interests. The geographic space of the Western Balkans is a spot where, so far, Europeans managed to act in the most coordinated way through ESDP - although with considerable limitations. However, the case of the Western Balkans is the exception to the rule as a similar process of 'claiming responsibility' did not happen in other parts of the world. The strategic culture of the EU also displays a limited geographic remit with a concentration of major forces in its near abroad (e.g. Western Balkans). Although recent trends to engage more in Africa are of considerable importance this is mostly due to the French insistence to invest in the ESDP African dimension rather than due to a generalized willingness amongst EU partners to intervene in this particular continent. Therefore, the Europeans have not yet fully 'internalized' the idea of a global responsibility. Contributions regarding 'far away' missions still depend on an ad hoc cooperation amongst groups of countries that express an interest in participating at them rather than on a long term EU well-defined strategy.

Another challenge to the development of a cohesive EU strategic culture is the trend of enlargement which is also seen as 'problematic'. For instance, Meyer (2005, p. 52) mentions that: 'the overloaded agenda and the large number of participants can hamper substantive discussions about longer term strategic choices'¹³. ESDP officials mentioned that the division between 'Old' and 'New' Europe on the question of Iraq in 2003 highlighted the different belief systems amongst the Europeans. Although the divisions on the Iraq War seem to be somehow forgotten, divergences on other important strategic issues are still evident today. For instance, one can detect different strategic approaches when it comes to the question of the Russian inclusion in the European security architecture.

Furthermore, when it comes to missions that need to be implemented in far abroad areas, there is an important 'capabilities gap' between small states which possess limited resources and bigger EU states (such as France and the UK) which possess the necessary means in order to deploy demanding long-term missions. Therefore, there is a planning gap between the countries that possess instruments to deploy in demanding missions and the ones that do not. Unfortunately, this capabilities gap also creates different perceptions (and consequently different values) in terms of strategic thinking as various EU officials envisage a 'narrower' field of strategic action than others.

12. Meyer, C. (2005) 'European Defense: Why Institutional Socialization Is Not Enough', *Oxford Journal on Good Governance*, 2(1), 51-54.

13. Lantis S., J., (2005) 'Strategic Culture: from Clausewitz to Constructivism', *Strategic Insights*, IV (10), 1-13, Center for Contemporary Conflict, available: <http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2005/Oct/lantisOct05.asp> [Accessed on 20/01/2006].

The Acceptance of Multilateralism and its limitations (the EU-NATO conundrum)

Various ESDP missions were (or still are) open to contributions from third countries and institutions such as ASEAN, the African Union, the UN and NATO. However, cooperation with third countries and institutions is not always an easy task. This is due to the fact that the priorities and structures of third countries/institutions are not always similar to the ones of the EU. Another important cause of content amongst the Europeans is the depth of the EU-NATO relationship. Although the importance of NATO in ESDP is undisputed, there is no convergence on the issue of how far European autonomy should proceed vis-a-vis NATO. It remains to be seen whether the new Obama era will ease the tensions of the past by bringing a new cooperative approach in transatlantic relations. Nevertheless, the idea that in certain cases, an ESDP mission should take place under an EU flag (independent of NATO) is slowly being consolidated in the minds of ESDP officials. However, Atlanticism is still very strong amongst EU circles and no EU state wants to take any major risks that may bring further alienation to the EU-US relationship.

The Division over the Importance of acquiring the UN Security Council Mandate as a legitimizing tool for ESDP missions

Rynning (2003, pp. 485-6) claims that the European use of force will likely resemble that of the doctrine of just war: military coercion will take place only when mandated by international law (*jus ad bellum*) and that the use of force will be severely constrained (*jus in bello*)¹⁴. Indeed, the issue of acquiring a UN mandate is still important as it provides public and political legitimacy to the undertaking of security missions. For some member states the acquisition of a UN mandate is an important prerequisite in order to participate in a security mission whereas for others it is less so. The difference of opinions on the priority of the UN SC mandate is the proof of an important division amongst EU states when it comes to the legalization of the use of force. It demonstrates that there are countries which demand the 'green light' of intervention by an international body whereas others prefer to cooperate within coalitions of the willing in order to promote their own strategic plans. This division created various problems of ESDP cohesion in the past and will resurface every time a challenging crisis props up.

Conclusions

The strategic culture of the EU is characterized by certain values. It has the Petersburg Tasks at its epicenter and is characterized by a selective approach to humanitarian crises. **The strategic culture of the EU is based on the protection of human rights and the promotion of law.** However, these terms have not found their ways into clearly defined EU strategies and can be seen as very loose terms, open to various interpretations that may fit the different (even conflicting) interests of EU

14. Meyer, C. (2005) 'European Defense: Why Institutional Socialization Is Not Enough', *Oxford Journal on Good Governance*, 2(1), 51-54.

member states. Nevertheless, the EU humanitarian agenda is still important in ESDP as most EU missions have a humanitarian background.

Although the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty may bring some positive amendments in CFSP/ESDP (such as the External Action Service and the PermStrucCoop formula), it is highly unlikely that these will provide a stimulus for further robust external action on their own. The strategic culture of the EU suffers from a lack of concrete EU interests as well as from the insistence of EU states to maintain it intergovernmental. Different geographic approaches amongst EU states and the cultural differences between New and Old Europe are hindrances to its development. The strategic culture of the EU has a strong Atlanticist aspect, although the nature of the EU-US relationship still remains to be identified in detail. Furthermore, the importance of a UN Security Council mandate prior to the undertaking of missions still remains important but not accepted by all countries as the primary prerequisite for strategic action.

The strategic culture of ESDP is mostly limited to small cautious actions. Such cautiousness of involvement may render the EU a repository of small symbolic humanitarian missions with little impact on the global geopolitical agenda. The political will to proceed with the implementation of the ESDP agenda and a strong political signal of engagement are far from necessary for ESDP to succeed. In conclusion, although considerable progress has been achieved in ESDP, the EU needs to make further steps in order to acquire a robust strategic culture that is much needed in order to render ESDP more effective.

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Biography note

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Foundations, politicians, journalists and academics all work together, in the **"Next Left"** project, with the ambition to produce one comprehensive and thorough study of our current society, our values, political agenda, organization and communication – factors that determine the success or failure of social democracy in Europe.

To that end, young PhD researchers were invited to present new and fresh suggestions on social Europe, demographic developments, climate change, democracy and participation and international solidarity. The 10 most inspiring articles have been included in the first edition of **"Queries"**.