

European Solidarity: Conditions, Forms, Limitations, and Implications



The TransSOL Project's Final Conference: A Presentation and Discussion of Three Years of Research Findings

16-17 May 2018

Factory Forty
Rue des Anciens Etangs 40
1190 Brussels, Belgium

16 May 2018

- 9:00 – 9:30 Registration
9:30 – 10:00 Opening Remarks
- 10:00 – 11:00 **Keynote 1**
Is solidarity based on a particular understanding of common good?
Gian-Andrea Monsch with Florence Passy (University of Lausanne)
- 11:00 – 11:30 Coffee
- 11:30 – 13:00 **Panel 1 - Civil Society**
(Chairs: Maria Kousis and Simone Baglioni)
Solidarity approaches of transnational organizations during crises: Migration, disability and unemployment across eight European countries
Maria Kousis, Christian Lahusen, Eva Fernández G. G., Angelos Loukakis
What solidarity is about? – Reflections among civil society activists in Germany, Poland and Greece
Ulrike Zschache, Maria Theiss, Maria Paschou
Transnational solidarity to refugees in Greece, Germany and Denmark
Kostas Kanellopoulos, Deniz Duru, Ulrike Zschache, Angelos Loukakis, Maria Kousis, Hans-Jörg Trenz
- 13:00 – 14:00 Lunch

- 14:00 – 15:30 **Panel 2 - Civil Society** (continued)
No borders? Tracing solidarity towards migrants and refugees in a changing Europe
Tom Montgomery, Ulrike Zschache, Eva Fernández G. G.
Transnational activism during global crises: Comparison of Greek and Italian solidarity and social movement organizations in times of economic and refugee crises
Angelos Loukakis, Nicola Maggini
Patterns of solidarity in precarious times: The role of trade unions and labour organisations in the UK, Greece and Poland
Kostas Kanellopoulos, Christina Karakioulafi, Tom Montgomery, Simone Baglioni, Janina Petelczyc
- 15:30 – 16:00 Coffee
- 16:00 – 17:00 **Keynote 2**
Between hope and fear? Regional dividing lines in attitudes towards a Social Europe
Wim van Oorschot (KU Leuven, Belgium) and Femke Roosma (Tilburg University, Netherlands)
- 17:00 Reception

17 May 2018

- 8:30 – 9:00 Registration
- 9:00 – 10:00 **Keynote 3**
Welfare reform in Greece: A major crisis, crippling debt conditions and stark challenges ahead
Maria Petmesidou (Democritus University, Greece)
- 10:00 – 10:30 Coffee
- 10:30 – 12:00 **Panel 3 — The Public Discourse on Solidarity**
An introduction and comparative perspective
Manlio Cinalli and Hans-Jörg Trenz

Roundtable Discussion
- 12:00 – 13:15 Lunch
- 13:15 – 14:30 **Panel 4 - Public Opinion and Solidarity**
(Chairs: *Maria Grasso and Marco Giugni*)

Till debts do us part? Exploring the relationship between the digital divide and support for bailout funds amongst EU citizens
Olga Eisele and Verena K. Brändle

Brexit, separatism and individual solidarity: Evidence from eight European countries
Simone Baglioni, Olga Biosca, Tom Montgomery
- 14:30 – 14:45 Coffee

- 14:45 – 16:15 **Panel 5 - Public Opinion and Solidarity** (continued)

Do unto others? Individual-level mechanisms of solidarity
Marco Giugni and Maria Grasso

European solidarity: The spatial reach of civic solidarity between the national and the global
Christian Lahusen, Maria Theiss

Ties of solidarity at the fringes of the political spectrum: partisan cleavages in reported solidarity action across Europe
Johannes Kiess and Hans-Jörg Trenz
- 16:15 – 16:45 Coffee
- 16:45 – 18:15 **Panel 6 - Public Opinion and Solidarity** (continued)

Refugees and individual solidarity: an unconditioned and universalistic, but politically bounded solidarity?
Nicola Maggini, Veronica Federico, Eva Fernández G. G.

Welfare attitudes and transnational solidarity
Anna Kurowska, Olga Eisele, Johannes Kiess

Institutionalized forms of solidarity and the migration challenge
Eva Fernández G. G.
- 18:15 – 18:30 Closing Remarks

Keynote 1

Is solidarity based on a particular understanding of common good?

Gian-Andrea Monsch with
Florence Passy (University of Lausanne)

Is solidarity based on a particular understanding of common good is the key question of our presentation. We will see that understandings of common good allows individuals to bring solidarity to others, but in a more extensive or restrictive way. The activists' mental construction about common good enables them to orient their action specifically. This mental construction allows activists to commit for others in distinct ways. Either they commit for a 'universal' other – without any social distinction – or for a specific group of people inhabiting society. In addition, common good perceptions orient activists' action towards politics: Either by challenging political actors or by providing other with help and thus completely avoiding the political arena as well as political conflicts. According to the activists' conception of common good the way they bring solidarity greatly varies. Based on survey and interview data of activists committed to contentious politics, volunteering and unionism in Switzerland, we discuss how activists grasp common good and how this conception specifically orients their action. We also discuss why those understandings vary from one activist site to another.

In our talk, we will first define the concept of common good and examine how it relates to the idea of solidarity.

Here, we adopt a pre-liberal definition of common good, based on Aristotle's works, that defines common good as goods which should be accessible to all society members and should objectively improve people's well-being. Commonness and Goodness are the two key dimensions to think about common good. Second, based on those dimensions we will show how activists understand common good, how they make sense of commonness and goodness, and how both mental constructs orient their action towards specific form of action. We underscore a mental process by which broad perceptions of commonness and goodness are transformed into cognitive components that set activists' intentionality: In particular, they enable to understand for whom, for what, and in which field activists mobilize.

Finally, we will address the question of how this mental construction of common good is elaborated in the activists' minds. We will see how central conversational interactions taking place within a commitment site are to shape the activists' understandings of common good. This in turn explains why activists construct community-specific understandings, why these understandings of common good are as plural and how they enable to perform distinct actions of solidarity. To conclude, we aim to enlarge our findings from the Swiss context to the transnational one. What do our results bring to seize transnational solidarity?



Gian-Andrea Monsch is a senior researcher at the Swiss Centre of Expertise in the Social Sciences at the University of Lausanne. He works for and with the Swiss Household Panel data. He is

therefore specialized in the collection and analysis of longitudinal data where he tries to trace the effects of contentious participation and other forms of activism on people's minds. He conducted his PhD as an assistant of the research project where the upcoming talk and the book manuscript *Contentious Minds* are grounded. His PhD analysed the importance of understandings of common good, politics, and citizenship for contentious participation.



Florence Passy is professor of political science at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland). She has extensively written on contentious politics, and specifically on individual participation. She is

particularly interested to seize the role of social networks in mobilization processes, and to grasp the effect of the interpretative dimensions of networks on contention in particular, and activism at large. She has also worked, in collaboration with Koopmans, Statham, and Giugni, on discourse and culture in the claim-making of collective actors in the field of citizenship and migration. In addition, she has undertaken research on altruism, and political altruism.

Keynote 2

Between hope and fear? Regional dividing lines in attitudes towards a Social Europe

Wim van Oorschot (KU Leuven, Belgium)
and Femke Roosma (Tilburg University, Netherlands)

In the process of European integration social policy has been, and still is, a contested issue. The development of European social policies and the inherent trans-national solidarity has proven not to be politically feasible. One of the main reasons suggested for this is that there is too much diversity in Europe, in an institutional, socio-economic and cultural sense (Banchoff and Smith, 1999; Ferrera, 2005; Habermas, 2013), which makes it difficult, as suggested by Scharpf (2002), to come to agreement on the types and levels of social protection that would be needed. In other words, European diversity in welfare perspectives and attitudes may stand in the way of a truly 'Social Europe', in which there are EU social rights for EU citizens.

From past Eurobarometer data we know that in general majorities of the citizenry of EU countries oppose to the EU taking binding decisions on health and welfare policies (Mau, 2005). However, there are differences between European regions: e.g. people in the Scandinavian countries oppose such binding decisions strongest, while the Mediterranean people are stronger supporters. Mau (2005) suggests that these differences are rooted in the performance evaluations of people's

own welfare states: Where Scandinavian people may fear that the standards of their generous benefits are levelled out in European social policies, the Mediterranean people are more critical on and therefore less attached to their own welfare policies, and may hope for something better. These are interesting suggestions, because if true, they would inform us about the different motivations and expectations that underlie popular ideas about European social policies in different regions of Europe.

Analyses of data from the Welfare Attitudes module of the European Social Survey 2008 (wave 4) have shown first empirical backing for the suggestion of regional differences in hope and fear regarding the outcomes of EU regulated social policy, be it indirectly. That is, where in Northern and Western welfare states people show to be overall positive about the role of the welfare state as well as about its actual performance and outcomes, in Southern, and especially in Eastern European welfare states people are mostly performance critical, meaning that they do support a strong role for the welfare state, but they are critical about their own welfare state's performance (Roosma et al., 2014). In other words, the first part of Mau's reasoning seems to be true, that is, that in the South and East of Europe people are much more critical on the performance of their welfare states, than in the North and West. However, until recently, there was no suitable EU comparative data that allowed analysing whether and how these differences in performance

evaluation are related to attitudes towards EU social policy. With the repeat module on Welfare Attitudes in the latest European Social Survey 2016 (wave 8) possibilities have opened up, since it contains direct measures of people's support for EU social regulation in the domain of minimum income protection, and a measure of people's expectations of whether EU regulated social policy will improve welfare provision in their countries, or not.

In my presentation, based on analyses of this new ESS data, I will address the following questions:

1. Are there differences between European regions (North, West South, East) in support for EU social policy?
2. If so, to what degree are such differences driven by hope or fear, that is by people's positive or negative expectations about the effects of EU social policy on their welfare protection levels?
3. And, to what degree are differences in hope and fear driven by people's evaluations of the performance of their own national welfare state?



Wim van Oorschot is Professor of Social Policy at the Centre for Sociological Research (CeSO) at the University of Leuven (Belgium).

His main research interests regard the EU-comparative analysis of the social legitimacy of welfare policies and their reforms. He is initiator and co-design-

er of the Welfare Attitudes modules in the European Social Survey waves 2008 and 2016.



Femke Roosma is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Department of Sociology at Tilburg University (the Netherlands).

Her main research interests regard the social legitimacy of welfare states and the cross-national analysis of multiple dimensions of welfare attitudes.

Keynote 3

Welfare reform in Greece: A major crisis, crippling debt conditions and stark challenges ahead

Maria Petmesidou
(Democritus University, Greece)

The presentation tracks the unfolding of the Greek crisis and examines the main policy reform options under the three rescue-deals, which the country signed with its international lenders. A raft of significant reforms since 2010 in labour market policies, social insurance and health and social care are assessed according to whether and to what extent fiscal consolidation has been balanced with concerns about improving protection and redressing inequalities, or whether standards of social protection have been forced ever lower.

Undoubtedly, neo-liberal austerity is the mantra of social adjustment under the successive bailout agreements. A "fightback" stance rejecting austerity

and its neo-liberal assumptions in an attempt to reassert neo-Keynesianism acquired broad political significance with SYRIZA's rise to power, which tapped into the discontent resulting from the harsh austerity measures. However, the government's failure to translate the anti-austerity stance into a realistic economic policy and negotiate a better deal for Greece has seriously narrowed the scope for reform towards a sustainable redistributive welfare state.

The major questions raised are: How will the on-going reforms impact upon the social structure, social cleavages and conflicts? More importantly, how will they impact on the large middle class strata in Greek society? Will the outcome be "a race to the bottom" in wages and social welfare? Could, instead, a socially embedded form of liberalization and flexibilization be followed (for example, along the lines of social investment)? These issues are examined in the light of a broader debate on welfare transformation in Europe and the changing socio-political cleavages and solidarities.



Maria Petmesidou (Ph.D. Oxford University) is Emeritus Professor of Social Policy at Democritus University (Greece), and Fellow of CROP/ISSC (Comparative Research on Poverty/International Social Science Council under the auspices of UNESCO). She has published extensively on social

policy and welfare reform in Greece and Southern Europe. Most recently she co-edited the books: *Economic crisis and austerity in Southern Europe: threat or opportunity for a sustainable welfare state?* (London: Routledge, 2015) and *Child poverty and youth (un)employment and social inclusion* (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2016). From 2014 to 2017, she co-ordinated research on policy learning and transfer in the field of youth employment policies, in the context of the STYLE project funded under the EC FP7 programme.

Panels 1 and 2: Civil Society

Solidarity approaches of transnational organizations during crises: Migration, disability and unemployment across eight European countries

Maria Kousis, Christian Lahusen, Eva Fernández G. G., Angelos Loukakis

Although transnational solidarity organizations have a long history and cover a wide repertoire of activities, there is a lack of up-to-date empirical, systematic and cross-national studies within Europe. This is particularly true when examining specific fields of recent transnational solidarity, such as those of migration, disability and unemployment since the global financial crisis of 2007 and the refugee crisis of 2015.

This paper presents a new perspective on defining and identifying Transnational Solidarity Organizations (TSOs) and fresh data on such initiatives across three fields and eight national

settings (Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Switzerland and the UK), in the context of the TransSOL project. Our sample of 2,408 randomly selected TSOs allow us to offer an overview of solidarity actions in the public sphere by formal or informal civil society organizations engaging in solidarity-based exchanges and cooperative structures (including time banks, alternative social currency), citizens' self-help groups, solidarity networks covering urgent/basic needs, and social enterprises. Our data were produced in the context of the TransSOL project applying a new methodological approach (Action Organization Analysis) based on hubs-website retrieval and the subsequent content analysis of organizational websites; the approach stems from protest event, political claims and protest case analysis (Kousis, Giugni and Lahusen 2016).

The main aim is to contribute to a literature that is highly fragmented and rarely differentiates among solidarity approaches (for exceptions see Giugni and Passy 2001; using qualitative data see Duru, Sejersen and Trenz, 2016). It will answer two types of research questions. On the one hand, we wish to show empirically which approaches towards solidarity are prevalent in the various issue fields and countries under analysis. Are bottom up or top-down solidarity approaches more diffused among TSOs in the fields of disabilities, unemployment and refugees? How are the four main solidarity orientations (mutual-help, bottom-up; support/assistance between groups; Help/offer support to others;

and distribution of goods and services to others, or top-down, solidarity) spread across the eight countries and the recent period (2007-2016)? On the other hand, we wish to analyse which organizational traits these various approaches are tied to. Are top-down or bottom-up approaches determined by the degree of formalization and professionalization of TSOs, the type of constituencies or beneficiaries they work for, and/or their missions? Can we thus identify structure or cleavages within the organizational field of civil societies?

On the basis of these findings, the paper will develop a typology of TSO solidarity approaches across the eight countries, for each of the three fields. It will situate these findings in reference to the related literature.

What solidarity is about? – Reflections among civil society activists in Germany, Poland and Greece

Ulrike Zschache, Maria Theiss, Maria Paschou

Transnational solidarity organisations providing help and support to refugees, disabled and unemployed people are crucial social actors that mobilise and organise solidarity on both domestic and transnational scales. Particularly in times of crises, solidarity work by civil society activists and volunteers has increased remarkably. Against this backdrop, the media, scientists and politicians were quick to appraise the increase in civic solidarity work as a new level of active citizenship and civic responsibility. Howev-

er, public expectations towards civil society organisations are not always shared by the activists and volunteers themselves. In fact, the understanding of what solidarity is and what contribution organised civic solidarity can and should make varies substantially and is highly contentious.

The goal of this paper is to analyse to what extent civil society organisations in the fields of migration, disabilities and unemployment understand their engagement as solidarity work and what concept of solidarity they follow. In particular, we seek to study if and how the solidarity understandings of these civil society representatives relate to theoretical conceptions of solidarity. Following recent scholarship (e.g. Bayertz 1999, Deken et al. 2006; Featherstone 2012; Giugni/Passy 2001; Stjernoe 2012, Smith/Sorrell 2014), we will analyse the ways in which the different aspects of solidarity concepts are shared or rejected by civil society representatives. For instance, to what extent and how is solidarity motivated by altruism, charity and empathy with people in need, by reciprocal concerns among members of (imagined) communities and perceptions of homogeneity, togetherness, equality and inclusiveness (Stjernoe 2011; 2012) or by collective political ideas, interests and goals (e.g. fight for justice, for political, social or human rights) (Bayertz 1999: 16; Passy 2001: 5)?

Based on qualitative interviews with representatives of informal transnational solidarity organisations in Germany, Poland and Greece we will study

and compare their solidarity conceptions by means of a qualitative content analysis. Following a “most-different systems” approach, the aim is to identify similarities between the interviewed civil society organisations of the three countries. Given that they are characterised by very different impacts of and responses to the recent crises, they promise to reveal fruitful insights into the common features of organised civic solidarity in Europe.

Transnational solidarity to refugees in Greece, Germany and Denmark

Kostas Kanellopoulos, Deniz Duru, Ulrike Zschache, Angelos Loukakis, Maria Kousis, Hans-Jörg Trenz

In the past few years the number of refugees and/or migrants entering the European Union in Greece to reach North European destinations such as Germany and Denmark has increased drastically, to the extent that 2015 has been considered a refugee-crisis year. The concurrent economic and refugee crises that have recently hit most European countries have apparently on the one hand reinforced the austerity regimes and have, also, given rise to xenophobic and racist attitudes across the continent.

On the other hand, a growing body of research has revealed a rapid expansion in transnational organising and solidarity activism. These changes may be influenced by political opportunities and threats (Tilly and Tarrow 2006, Goldstone and Tilly 2001) in the involved countries and at the broader EU framework. For example, whereas

under SYRIZA's and CDU/SPD governments in 2015, refugee and migration policies facilitated migration inflows in Greece and Germany, these were considerably constrained under the right-wing government in Denmark. Additionally, the closure of borders by many Central European countries and the EU-Turkey agreement of 2016 effectively decreased migration inflows.

Our analysis will use a fresh set of empirical evidence on migration related transnational solidarity activities drawn from a random sample of Transnational Solidarity Organisations (TSOs) on migration, disabilities and unemployment across the two European countries. It aims to illustrate the effects of political opportunities and threats during the past five years on migration related solidarity activities organised by TSOs in Greece, Germany and Denmark. It will do so through tri-national comparisons tracing the patterns in which migration related TSOs: appear through time, organise formally or informally, provide solidarity activities from the local to the transnational levels, address beneficiary/participant needs, and target their goals and collaborations. The data used is produced in the context of the TransSOL project by a new methodological approach (Action Organisation Analysis) based on hubs-website retrieval and the subsequent content analysis of the websites; the approach stems from protest event and protest case analysis (Kousis, Giugni and Lahusen 2017).

No borders? Tracing solidarity towards migrants and refugees in a changing Europe

Tom Montgomery, Ulrike Zschache, Eva Fernández G. G.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the role of civil society organisations in organising solidaristic activism in an ostensibly transnational field (Tarrow, 2005), namely migration. Our study takes place across three contexts; the UK, Germany and Switzerland. These three countries have been selected in order to reflect the diverse institutional contexts within which migration organisations are currently embedded and more specifically the diversity of migration regimes (the principles and practices which shape migration policies) operating across Europe. The UK, which has recently voted to leave the European Union and is in a transitional period in terms of its relations with other member states; Germany, a key player in the European Union and which was central in welcoming refugees during the crisis of 2015; and Switzerland which although not a member state of the European Union, has been involved in long running negotiations with EU institutions over the free movement of people.

We undertake a website-based systematic content analysis of 100 migration organisations randomly sampled across each of the three countries in order to better understand the types of organisations engaged in this field and the variety of activities which they undertake. Our research recognises that these activities take place within

increasingly contentious political contexts. Therefore, a key question underpinning our research is: what effect does the policy context have on the activities of migrant organisations? To answer this question, we analyse the factors which act as pathways and/or barriers to solidarity by focusing upon the political opportunity structures (Eisinger, 1973; Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi, 1995; Koopmans, 2004) and “windows of opportunity” (McAdam 1999; Tarrow 1989) which shape access to the policymaking process, enable or constrain certain actors and facilitate or restrict specific actions and activities. This paper identifies similarities and differences between the UK, Germany and Switzerland and assesses how solidarity with migrants is constructed in a changing and more fragile Europe.

Transnational activism during global crises: Comparison of Greek and Italian solidarity and social movement organizations in times of economic and refugee crises

Angelos Loukakis, Nicola Maggini

In recent years, the global financial crisis and the austerity measures which followed in EU countries have resulted in drastic cuts to public services, heavy job losses and reduced incomes. At the same time, the economic crisis has been accompanied by a refugee crisis. Two countries have been particularly affected by both crises: Greece and Italy. In this context, ordinary citizens and new or re-energised networks of cooperation among civil society actors (e.g., NGOs, churches, trade unions, cooperatives, grassroots initiatives,

and so on) foster (transnational) solidarity's practices. These practices are more and more important as they try to address people's needs unmet by national governments given the lack of financial resources.

This article investigates and critically analyses the initiatives and practices of Transnational Solidarity Organizations (TSOs) in Italy and Greece by combining descriptive and explanatory analyses within a comparative approach and through statistical techniques. In this regard, the article provides the socio-political profile of TSOs in three thematic areas (namely disabilities, unemployment and migration), by investigating their organizational type, their network features, their approach towards solidarity, and their aims and routes followed to achieve them. Moreover, explanatory analysis focuses on the type and the spatial level of solidarity actions. In particular, through regression analysis we examine which TSOs' features are linked to a specific type of activities. Then, we focus on the actions' spatial level looking at the factors that might increase or decrease the probability of TSOs being active at the transnational level. The article aims at contributing, through fresh empirical data, to the scholarly discussion on the field of transnational solidarity practices and organizations by pointing out that issue fields and national contexts can affect the TSOs repertoire of action but not their transnational engagement.

Patterns of solidarity in precarious times: The role of trade unions and labour organisations in the UK, Greece and Poland

Kostas Kanellopoulos, Christina Karakioulafi, Tom Montgomery, Simone Baglioni, Janina Petelczyc

Against the backdrop of financial turmoil and a refugee crisis, the growing insecurity and precariousness within EU labour markets continues to resonate with policymakers and civil society. Although these crises have had a differential impact across the UK, Greece and Poland, all three countries have introduced changes to liberalise labour policies or have enacted austerity measures (Heyes 2013, Eichorst et al., 2010). These policies have contributed to a widening divide between policymakers and traditional trade unions, forcing the latter to adapt to new circumstances (Almeida 2010, Waddington, Kerr 2009, Lévesque, Murray 2010). In the literature, trade unions and "other actors" are increasingly situated within a common framework, and trade unions are involved in broader alliances in the context of "social movement unionism" (Diani, 2017).

In our contribution to these debates, we examine the role of traditional trade unions as well as other grassroots labour organisations in the emerging patterns of solidarity in Europe. The conceptualisation and actual practices of solidarity have become issues of concern for trade unions and labour organisations across different European countries. In the paper, we shall adopt a mixed meth-

ods approach, integrating qualitative data from interviews with key informants from labour organisations and quantitative data collected by a coding analysis of labour organisations in our three countries. In particular, we will examine the type of activities of the labour CSOs, the beneficiaries of their solidarity actions, and the value frames which underpin these activities. Our aim is to enhance the understanding of solidarity in action against the backdrop of crises in Europe. How do organisations intervene in the field of unemployment? What common patterns have developed, if any? Our findings from three diverse European contexts reveal both the opportunities and the challenges for those organisations offering solidarity in the field of employment.

Panel 3: The Public Discourse on Solidarity

The public discourse on solidarity: A comparative perspective

Manlio Cinalli and Hans-Jörg Trenz

This roundtable panel will feature an introductory presentation as well as a discursive platform on public debates on solidarity in eight countries: Greece, Italy, the UK, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Denmark, and France. Short statements regarding the state of discourse on solidarity in each country will be provided, followed by a structured discussion. Results will be presented and discussed from an analysis of mass media coverage as well as online commentaries by news consumers.

Panels 4, 5 and 6: Public Opinion and Solidarity

Till debts do us part? Exploring the relationship between the digital divide and support for bailout funds amongst EU citizens

Olga Eisele and Verena K. Brändle

The EU has been in crisis for a long time now. Scholars have pointed out the dangerous potential of crises to increase feelings of social exclusion while the need for solidarity seems greater than ever. Against this broader background, this paper looks at motivations to support or object to EU bailout funds taking into account state level and individual level explanations pertaining to democracy and solidarity in the EU. In addition, a special focus is laid on feelings of disenfranchisement and exclusion embodied in the discussion revolving around the 'digital divide'. Here, we include the self-reported sources of information, including either traditional media sources (i.e., newspapers, radio, TV) or new media (internet, social media). Methodologically, the analysis is based on a large-scale survey conducted in 7 EU member states and Switzerland; we employ multinomial logistic regression to understand the motivations of supporters and adversaries of bailout funds. Results seem to suggest that traditional media users tend to disagree with the measure of bailout funds while the opposite is true for new media users.

Brexit, separatism and individual solidarity: Evidence from eight European countries

Simone Baglioni, Olga Biosca, Tom Montgomery

Solidarity amongst member states, one of the European Union’s fundamental values, has recently been put to the test by numerous and diverse challenges. Financial crises and migration, as well as nationalist and separatist movements have contributed to this so-called “crisis of solidarity”. In the UK, two referendums have contributed to mark recent times. First, in 2014, the Scottish independence referendum was held and, in 2016, the British referendum on European Union membership led to ‘Brexit’. Whilst the outcome of both referendums revealed the opinion of voters, little is known about the perceptions of other European citizens on these matters. However, the results of these processes have contributed to shape the present and future of the European Union affecting all European citizens. In this paper, using a representative survey conducted in eight European Countries including the UK, we aim to explore and contrast cross-country evidence on the individual perceptions and opinions held by survey participants on both Scottish independence from the UK and British independence from Europe. We then aim to establish if an association exists between opinions on separatism and individual solidaristic attitudes and concrete behaviours of survey respondents. The complex relationship between opinions on these two separatist events

and expressions of solidarity at different levels (local, national, European and beyond) will be explored using multivariate regression techniques. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of individuals will also be included in the regressions.

Do unto others? Individual-level mechanisms of solidarity

Marco Giugni and Maria Grasso

The main title of the proposed paper explicitly refers to the title of a paper by Charles Tilly (in *Political Altruism? Solidarity Movements in International Perspective*, edited by Marco Giugni and Florence Passy. Rowman and Littlefield, 2001). In that paper, Tilly distinguished between four kinds of behaviour depending on different combinations of harm and benefit for the actors and for others. He thus defined altruism as situations in which a given actor sustains harm while another actor gains benefits. This sets it apart from egoism (situations in which a given actor gains benefits while another actor sustains harm), cooperation (situations in which a given actor gains benefits while another actor likewise gains benefits), and destruction (situations in which a given actor sustains harm while another actor likewise sustains harm). In this paper we start from this definition and typology in order to try to unveil the underlying individual-level mechanisms of altruism through the analysis of survey data. To do so we compare the behaviours of respondents in relation to the members of three main beneficiaries: migrants/refugees, unemployed peo-

ple, and people with disabilities. We investigate the reasons why people act on behalf of each of these three groups without being a member of any of them or having close ties with any individuals in these groups. What is the profile of people engaging in such acts? What are their underlying motivations to do so? These respondents will be compared with respondents who are not members and have not people close to these three groups in their entourage, so as to single out the reasons and mechanism that push someone to act altruistically?

European solidarity: The spatial reach of civic solidarity between the national and the global

Christian Lahusen, Maria Theiss

Europeans proclaim a readiness to engage for solidarity in support of others, even across their most immediate environment. However, our knowledge is rather limited when asking how widespread this transnational (European, global) solidarity is. Additionally, we do not know what kind of beliefs and ideas are patterning cognitively the popular conceptions of transnational solidarity. Finally, we know little about the social and political profile of those people supportive of this type of solidarity, and thus about the beneficial and detrimental factors. This paper wants to present fresh insights on all these aspects, but taking a closer look at the spatial dimension of solidarity. The analysis is based on an individual survey conducted among 16.000 Europeans coming from eight countries (Denmark, Germany, France,

Greece, Italy, Poland, Switzerland, the UK). This survey provides illuminating data about citizens reporting to have supported people abroad through various practices. In conceptual and theoretical terms, the paper wishes to analyse and discuss transnational solidarity with reference to two disciplinary debates. On the one hand, we wish to understand whether transnational solidarity is related with more open concepts of (social) citizenship. In fact, while our preliminary findings suggest that most citizens are sceptical towards a universalistic and cosmopolitan conception of solidarity, they do seem to proclaim, at the same time, a rights-based conception tied to the notion of citizenship, stressing that solidarity is tied to legal entitlements and mutual obligations. On the other hand, we wish to understand the sociological underpinnings of transnational solidarity. Solidarity is not only linked to socio-demographic characteristics (age, gender), but also with social-structural resources (education, income, social class) and attitudinal dispositions (religiosity, trust), demonstrating that solidarity and the related concepts of open citizenship are unevenly distributed within society. This will sensitize us for potential conflicts and contentions about the implicit glue tying societies together.

Ties of solidarity at the fringes of the political spectrum: partisan cleavages in reported solidarity action across Europe

Johannes Kiess and Hans-Jörg Trenz

The strength of solidarity ties among individuals is often discussed in relationship to membership within a community of equals. This assumes a strong correlation between attitudes of solidarity towards co-citizens, reported solidarity-action and national identity. In terms of political party affiliation, we would expect that adherents of political parties driven by right-identitarian politics and parties driven by left-distributive politics differ considerably in terms of reported solidarity action and that such differences are explained by the nationality of the different groups as targets of solidarity. In this paper, we test these assumptions by looking at ideological cleavages in attitudes and reported solidarity action towards three different target groups of solidarity: unemployed (nationals), disabled persons (nationals) and refugees (non-nationals). By comparing respondents at the right and left fringes of the political spectrum with adherents of centre-left and centre-right parties (control group) across countries, we can systematically map solidarity attitudes and behaviour across the ideological spectrum. Our findings indicate first of all that partisan affiliation matters: there are important ideological cleavages in solidarity attitudes and behaviour that divide populations. Secondly, and contrary to the expectation, adherents of right-wing populist parties

are among those being least solidarious towards both nationals and foreigners, while adherents of left and radical left parties show strong levels of engagement in solidarity action at both national and transnational level.

Refugees and individual solidarity: an unconditioned and universalistic, but politically bounded solidarity?

Nicola Maggini, Veronica Federico, Eva Fernández G. G.

The increased inflow of refugees from Syria and other regions affected by wars, and the inability of the EU institutions and its member states to establish a coordinated asylum policy and mechanisms of admission and integration, have raised the concerns that solidarity between EU member states is severely at risk. Furthermore, the refugee crisis followed with a gap of few years the economic crisis. In this regard, economic hardships and social inequalities, as well as the mobilization of Eurosceptic and xenophobic protests across Europe have raised further concerns about not only the weakening of solidarity between member state governments, but also the deterioration of solidarity at the level of the European citizenry. Nevertheless, the refugee crisis has accentuated the importance and growth of transnational solidarity organisations (Ataç, Rygiel and Stierl, 2016). Indeed, a web of civic engagement sustained by civil society organisations has been working on a daily basis to meet basic needs of refugees, taking the form of both advocacy and a service provision. In such a

difficult landscape, therefore, attitudes and behaviours towards migrants/refugees can take two main paths: fear and resentment, deliberately exploited by political entrepreneurs; altruism and social ingenuity, deployed through a range of civil society organisations, social movements, and social innovations. Which of these paths mirrors the current situation in Europe? In this paper, using a representative survey conducted in eight European countries, we will explore and contrast cross-country evidence on individual perceptions and behaviours towards migrants/refugees. In particular, we aim to understand how strongly solidarity towards refugees is rooted at the individual level, both in terms of attitudes and practices, and which factors seem to trigger (or inhibit) solidarity practices in favour of refugees. As far as the main explanatory variables are concerned, we will rely on previous studies showing how solidarity can be patterned by political-ideological orientations (Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003; Amat and Wibbels, 2009; Likki and Staerklé, 2014), perceptions of deservingness, reciprocity and conditionality (Oorschot, 2000 and 2006), social capital (Putnam et al., 2003; Jenkins, 1983) and religiosity (Abela, 2004; Stegmüller et al., 2012; Lichterman, 2015). The effect of these factors on solidarity practices towards refugees will be tested through multivariate regression models, including also demographic and socio-economic characteristics of individuals as control variables. In particular, we will focus on two analytical dimensions. On the one hand, we wish to understand whether solidarity prac-

tices towards refugees are related with more open concepts of (social) citizenship, underlying a universalistic and cosmopolitan conception of solidarity (Arendt, 1972). On the other hand, we wish to understand the political underpinnings of solidarity behaviour towards refugees. Indeed, scholars have highlighted the increasing importance in the political space of a cultural dimension based on “demarcationist” issues such as immigration (Kriesi et al. 2006). The latter is a divisive issue that is strongly politicized by right-wing populist parties in order to gain votes (Mudde, 2011). Consequently, we would expect that solidarity towards refugees is a contested issue that separates people with different political orientations.

Welfare attitudes and transnational solidarity

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The article aims to explore to what extent the welfare attitudes of Europeans may explain their transnational solidarity attitudes and behaviours. We conceptualize transnational attitudes and behaviours as referring to both migrants/refugees within the country of the respondent and towards citizens living in other countries. We will rely on the conceptualizations developed in previous work within the project so as to ensure consistency between papers in the special issue. As far as the main explanatory variables are concerned we will drive from the concept of ‘multidimensional welfare attitudes’ (Van Oorschot and Meuleman

2011; Gelissen 2000; Sihvo and Uusitalo 1995; Svallfors 1991), and focus on three basic dimensions of these attitudes, i.e. their goals, range and degree (Roosma, Gelissen and Oorschot 2013). We would either estimate multilevel regressions or a structural equation model and control for a wide range of country level (socio-economic) and individual (socio-demographic) characteristics.

Institutionalized forms of solidarity and the migration challenge

Eva Fernández G. G.

The article aims to understand individual attitudes and behaviour related to civic solidarity towards migrant populations. Civic solidarity refers to the interdependence between citizens embodied in institutionalized forms of social protection. Civic solidarity is found in the obligations of civil society to protect citizens against vulnerabilities through the partial socialization of social risks under the principle of de-commodification. The welfare state is the institutionalized form through which those protections are issued and it embodies shared feelings, interests, risks, and responsibilities on the social level. This solidarity bonding involves obligations among the members of the community and benefits derived from their membership. However, migration raises the thorny issue of belonging, questioning the boundaries of the community. In this sense, the challenge is to unveil the factors that promote individual support to civic solidarity beyond a shared cultural experience or some other uniting feature among group members based

on social proximity and homogeneity. As part of the main explanatory factors I will rely on previous studies showing how civic solidarity can be patterned to individual perceptions of vulnerability, fairness and deservingness; to social capital which is closely related to social cohesion, trust and institutionalized trust and is a key component for the establishment of bonds, networks and norms for cooperative endeavours. In addition, I will investigate how social identification and proximity, as well as communitarian and cosmopolitan orientations might condition civic solidarity towards migrant populations. More specifically, I aim to unveil the factors associated with individual support to institutionalized forms of solidarity that also ensure adequate basic needs to migrant populations across 8 European countries (Denmark, Germany, France, Greece, Italy, Poland, Switzerland, the UK). Through the lenses of institutionalized solidarity, I investigate the profiles and underlying motivations of the individual who show civic solidarity attitudes and engage on civic solidarity actions towards migrants. The paper uses survey data on individual forms of solidarity at times of crisis collected within the EU project “European paths to transnational solidarity at times of crisis: Conditions, forms, role models and policy responses” (TransSOL).

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About TransSOL

TransSOL is an EU-funded research project dedicated to describing and analysing solidarity initiatives and practices at a time in which Europe's existence is challenged by the consequences of the 2008 economic and financial crisis, by the problematic management of large fluxes of refugees and by the outcome of the 2017 Brexit referendum. In particular, TransSOL focuses on three areas of vulnerability: migration / asylum, unemployment and disability.



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For more information about the TransSOL project, visit the website: <http://transsol.eu>
To register for this event, please contact Natalie Roxburgh (natalie.roxburgh@uni-siegen.de).

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