Integrated Report on Collective forms of solidarity at times of crisis (WP4)

Deliverable 4.2

TransSOL: European paths to transnational solidarity at times of crisis: Conditions, forms, role models and policy responses

WP 4: Collective forms of solidarity at times of crisis

WP Leader: GCU

WP Participants: UoC, USIEGEN, UNIGE, Sciences Po, GCU, UNIFI, UNIWARSAW, UCPH

Due date: September 2017

Submission: October 2017

Project Information
Project Type: Collaborative Project
Call: H2020 EURO-3-2014: European societies after the crisis
Start date: June 2015
Duration: 36 months
Coordinator: Prof. Dr. Christian Lahusen, University of Siegen
Grant Agreement No: 649435
EU-funded Project Budget: € 2,483,805.00

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 649435.

www.transsol.eu

Table of Contents

Transnational solidarity and civil society: Introduction to the WP4 integrated report

Simone Baglioni and Tom Montgomery (Glasgow Caledonian University)

Introduction

If solidarity is to be considered the element holding society together, the moral value committing people to mutual support, even in the absence of legal obligations and communitarian links (Supiot 2015, Musso 2015), civil society as associational life is a critical component of it. Actually, the voluntaristic nature of associational membership is considered by some as the quintessential form of solidarity where people engage not under the obligation of an authority nor following utilitarian calculations, but do so in accordance with the social spirit which is an intimate component of human beings (Rodotà 2014:44).

In other words, civil society provides solidarity with the organisational infrastructure it needs to be transferred from the spiritual to the 'real' world, as its deployment enables people to act collectively to achieve a given social or community benefit (for the TRANSSOL operational definitions of solidarity please see the project reports delivered for Work Packages 1 and 2 at http://transsol.eu/outputs/reports/).

Civil society organisations facilitate such pro-solidarity action through two functions: work at the political level such as advocacy and contribution to policy-making, and service delivery on a range of policy domains primarily related with the welfare state (Baglioni and Giugni 2014). Work at the political level focuses upon the enforcement of rights and policy innovation that helps public bodies to meet social needs, while service delivery is a consequence of the way public services are designed and delivered in contemporary societies. Two different interpretations of such changes have been proposed: a neo-liberal view considers the actions of CSOs as a consequence of the externalization of the welfare state (Paugam 2015), while another perspective considers the contribution CSOs provide to be an avenue of renovation for the welfare state (Barthélemy 2000).

Moreover, through both policy and service-oriented activities, civil society organisations enter the public space and therefore become proper political actors of solidarity (Paugam 2015).

Although the political and service-provision capacity of civil society at national and sub-national levels is considered to be an '*acquis*' in social science thinking, what proves more difficult to assert is their intervention as transnational or, in the approach of the TransSOL project, as cross-European actors. The existence of a civil society operating across country boundaries is still disputed in academia. In particular, several scholars have contributed towards providing critical perspectives about the existence and functioning of a cross-European civil society sphere: most of this criticism has focused on the relationship between the institutions of the European Union and civil society organisations and the capacity CSOs have had in shaping EU policies and discourse rather than them being shaped by the EU.

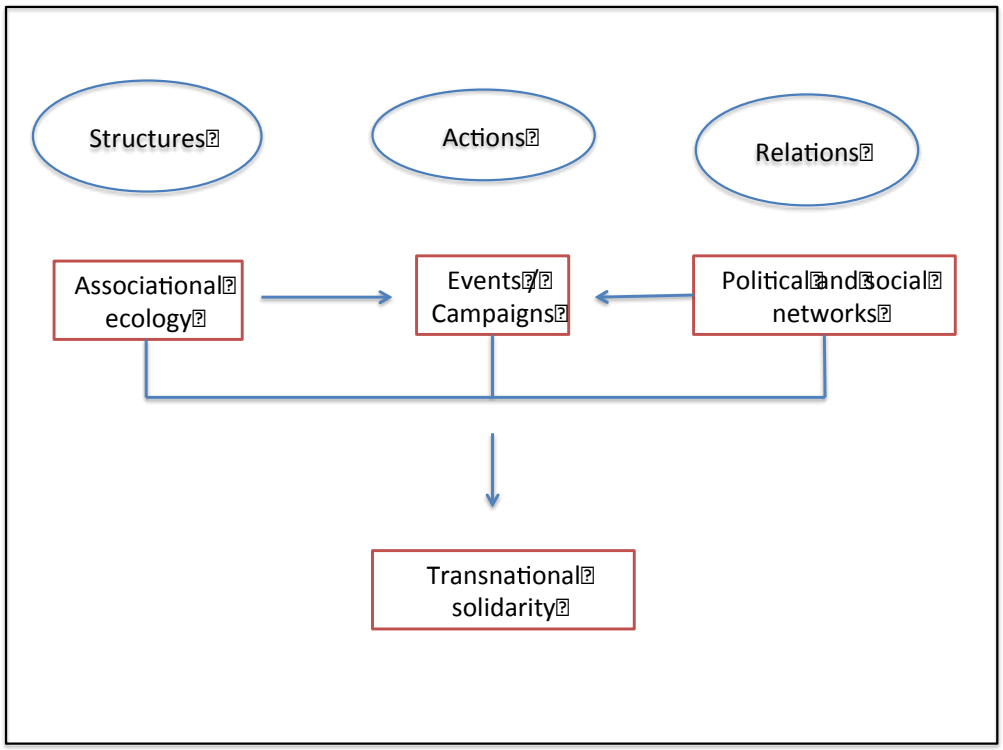
EU institutions have been criticized for an opportunistic use of civil society, that is, by confining CSOs to an ancillary role of policy implementation rather than policy inspiration and design. The existence of a genuine European civil society has been questioned from those perceiving EU funding mechanisms to have become a trap which contributes towards silencing the voice of CSOs and one where only 'tame' organisations are allowed to operate (Warleigh 2001). Others have pointed to a European civil society being de facto reduced to a Brussels'-based elite of professionals primarily devoted to lobbying (Greenwood 2007). Similarly, scholars have also criticized the selection bias operated through the modus operandi of European institutions according to which only the most resourceful and financially-hungry organisations succeed (Baglioni 2015). And finally, there are also scholars who consider the question regarding the existence of a European civil society as a non-question given that civil society organisations are country or nation bound rather than EU bound (van Deth 2008). Following such critical voices one would need to conclude that official policy rhetoric about the existence of a transnational or European-wide civil society qualifies as a participatory myth (Smismans 2006 as in van Deth 2008).

However, the economic and financial crisis that has affected Europe since the 2008 onward, and the massive influx in 2015-16 of would be refugees and migrants that have reached European shores as a consequence of the war in Syria and political destabilizations in the Middle East have brought to the attention of European public opinion and citizens the existence of a vast, cross-European mobilisation of organized actions to support people in need or to make claims for different socio-economic policies. Such collective action can be considered as evidence of what has been portrayed as transnational civil society (Florini 2000, Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002).

In between such diverse understandings, the TransSOL project has investigated civil society action occurring at the edges between national and cross-national boundaries to ascertain the degree of civil society involvement at supranational level as well as the different shades such involvement might have. We have conceptualised transnational civil society as a spatial dimension resulting from three sets of intertwined factors related to civil society organisations: a) Organisational formal structures, that is, those functional dimensions of CSOs that allow them to operate in policy advocacy and service delivery, such as human resources, funding, decision making mechanisms, etc.; b) Organisational activities, including the range of actions CSOs are involved in, with a particular focus on specific campaigns and events connected to the three fields of disability, unemployment and migration/asylum (as specified later in this introduction, in our methodology section); and c) Relational dimensions, that are CSOs social and political connections and networks (Figure 1 summarises our research framework).

In the next section we present our research strategy in greater detail, and after that we discuss some initial comparative results and related hypotheses about the existence of a transnational civil society sphere in Europe.

Figure 1: TransSOL research design framework to study Transnational CSOs



The Methodological Approach for WP4

The prism through which we undertook an analysis of collective forms of solidarity in WP4 was that of civil society organisations engaging in practices of solidarity in each of our fields of vulnerability: migration/asylum, disability and unemployment. Building upon the extensive experience of the teams in conducting research into civil society organisations, a survey design process was initiated during which teams were consulted for their expertise in the field and to draw upon their methodological skills and pre-tests took place to ascertain the effectiveness of the survey design and identify any issues prior to its deployment across all participating countries. Clear lines of communication were established between the WP4 leadership and the participating teams in order to ensure the rigorous methodological approach we adopted was deployed consistently across all countries and fields. The organisational surveys which emerged from this collaborative process (see Appendices A and B) reflect our objective to capture different dimensions of how collective solidarity is enacted both within and across fields and what dynamics enable and constrain collective solidarity at times of crisis. Moreover, our survey design process involved recognising that a slightly differentiated approach would be required for the analysis we were undertaking at the transnational level (focusing upon campaigns and events) and the national level (focusing upon umbrella organisations and networks).

The 245 interviews we conducted with civil society organisations can best be described in three parts. In the first part of our interviews at the national level we adopted an open ended question format to capture information from interviewees on the participation of their organisations in joint events and campaigns. The purpose of these questions was to elicit the key issues surrounding the organisation of collective solidarity including the motivations for the organisation to participate, the challenges that the encountered, their experiences, if any, of transnational collaboration as well as whether or not they understood their experiences of national and transnational levels of collective action and cooperation as forms of solidarity. The same open ended format was also deployed in the transnational level interviews we conducted but this time adjusting for the sharper focus on organisations that had participated in specific transnational campaigns or events (discussed further in our sampling section below). In the first part of these transnational interviews our questions sought to elicit the views of interviewees on various aspects of the transnational campaign or event in which their organisation had participated including the decision making processes, the challenges that emerged regarding common strategies or shared resources, whether or not they perceived

these modes of collective action as forms of solidarity as well as their expectations on what would be the eventual outcomes of the campaign or event.

The second part of our interviews adopted the same approach at both the national and transnational levels and focused upon the composition of organisations and their operational scope. In the course of our interviews we sought to uncover the shape of the membership of organisations, how members were recruited, the main activities of organisations at the national and transnational levels, and whether or not such activities were also directed towards groups outside their main beneficiaries as well as examining the services provided by the organisations. Moreover, in this part of our interviews we also focused upon the resources available to organisations including their operating budgets and their main sources of funding whilst gauging the extent to which the organisations have experienced an impact on their finances in times of crisis. One further dimension of this part of the interview process was to ascertain the degree to which organisations were embedded in policymaking processes and doing so involved eliciting from interviewees the interactions of their organisations with institutions and policymaking procedures at the transnational, national and sub-national levels.

The third part of our interview process involved working with interviewees to identify the relationships their organisation had with other civil society organisations and institutions. The data collected at this stage of the interview would later form the basis of the social network analyses found in each of the national level reports. At this stage of the process each interviewee was presented with a list of organisations drawn from the relevant umbrella organisations or networks in their specific field (migration/asylum, disability and unemployment, for more details see our sampling section below) and from this list they were asked to identify those organisations with whom they had shared information, collaborated in projects or events, had any personal contacts and finally whether or not they had any disagreements with any of the organisations listed. The interviewees were also asked to identify any organisations with whom they had interactions both within their own field and outside of it but were not to be found in the lists we had presented. Finally, interviewees were asked to name those public authorities with whom they had interacted and to identify those which they viewed as being the most relevant in their field.

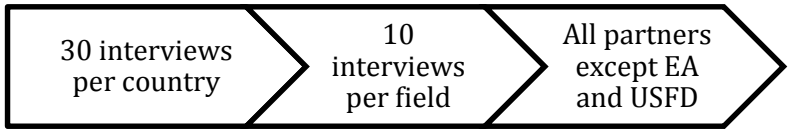
The interviewee process at the transnational level concerning campaigns and events was also complemented by non-participant observation across our three fields. One cross-thematic (employment/migration) event we attended was the meeting of the Transnational Social Strike

which took place in February 2017 in London and involved a range of activists from various organisations, some of whom would also later be interviewed. In addition we attended the European Day of Persons with Disabilities in November 2016 which took place in Brussels and brought together a range of actors, many of whom were themselves disabled, engaged in offering solidarity to disabled people. Our attendance at both of these events provided us with an opportunity for triangulation and offered a much needed first hand insight into how collective solidarity was differently organised not only in terms of across fields but also across different approaches, one being grassroots (the Transnational Social Strike) and one adopting a more official format (the European Day of Persons with Disabilities). This approach combined with our rigorous interview process enabled us to collect rich data for our analysis.

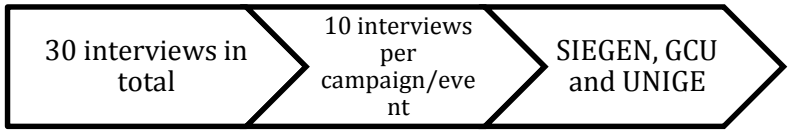
Sampling

The objective of our sampling process in WP4 was twofold: on the one hand to meet the required number of interviews (30 CSOs per country/10 per field for the national level interviews and 10 per campaign/event at the transnational level) and on the other hand to ensure the most relevant and cutting edge examples of transnational collective action in Europe at times of crisis.

National Level Sample



Transnational Level Sample



Our sampling approach sought to uncover the most relevant examples of how solidarity is operationalised through civil society organisations across two specific dimensions:

i) Umbrella organisations and networks

Building upon our previous research in the project combined with web searches, we mapped the most salient umbrella organisations and networks operating in each field at the transnational level and interviewed key informants. When the relevant umbrella organisation and networks were

identified in each field each participating team was provided with a list of these umbrellas and networks and asked to extract from these those organisations which were members in their own countries. The teams were then asked to collate the extracted organisations into lists for each field (which would also provide us with the list presented to interviewees in each country as part of the network analysis part of our interview) and begin contacting these organisations for interview. We also adopted the snowballing technique to allow teams to expand the number of interviews until we reach the required amount at both transnational and national levels.

ii) Campaign and events

We selected three campaigns and events that were either monothematic and thus focused upon one of the three issue fields (e.g. decriminalising solidarity on migration/asylum; European day of persons with disabilities) or those which were cross-thematic (e.g. the Transnational Social Strike operates across employment and migration). Moreover, our sampling encompassed both formal and informal (or less well-established) transnational networks/organisations which thus offered us an insight into the potentially variegated dynamics of transnational collective solidarity when it is performed from the grassroots or through more formal structures. Those organisations participating (e.g. national member organisations, transnational platforms) in the campaign or event were then mapped as they appeared on the event information available online and through the snowballing technique via telephone interviews (or email) with the purpose of gathering the contacts necessary to enlarge our map after the first round of interviews (through the deployment of an ad-hoc question in the questionnaire). The campaigns and events were led in each field by one project team: SIEGEN for Decriminalising Solidarity; GCU for the European Day for Persons with Disabilities; and UNIGE for the Transnational Social Strike.

Sampling selection

Dimension	Umbrella organisations or networks	Campaigns and events
EU Level	Umbrella organisations or networks	Participating organisations
National Level	National branches or affiliates of umbrellas plus connected organisations identified via snowballing	Participating national organisations involved in the campaigns plus connected organisations identified via snowballing

Discussion

In the following section we discuss some preliminary findings of our survey of CSOs by making use of two hypotheses. The first hypothesis builds from theories that conceive of solidarity as a political arena (Musso 2015): civil society organisations enter the 'solidarity arena' as the public space in which they intervene either as advocacy actors or as service providers to become de facto political actors. This idea, combined with a neo-institutionalist approach to civil society (Skocpol, Ganz and Munson 2000, Kriesi and Baglioni 2003) implies that civil society organisations will likely act at those spatial-political levels where they understand key-political actors to be located: therefore if a CSO decides that for a specific issue or mission goal, the key actors are located at the European level, they will likely engage at the transnational level, while if, due to their specific field of action, they consider it to be more effective or strategic to address authorities at a different (e.g. national or subnational) level, their action will primarily develop across these levels.

TransSOL focuses on topics that are intimately related with the welfare state such as disability and unemployment, or with issues related to justice and home affairs such as migration and asylum, these are all themes over which nation states have maintained policy authority and are reluctant to devolve it to supranational actors such as the EU. Therefore we expect CSOs active on these topics to develop their actions more at the national level than at the transnational one. Nevertheless, our sampling strategy to target transnational organisations could possibly lead to different results.

Our analysis of the transnational involvement of CSOs for solidarity purposes begins by considering their geographical scope of action. Table 1 provides an overview of the different geographical levels at which civil society organisations can deploy their activities, ranging from the local, to the regional, national, and finally European and transnational (representing those activities occurring inside and outside the EU) levels. For the purposes of this report, we consider as activities occurring at the transnational level those which occur both at the European (across Europe) and at the transnational (in and outside the EU) levels. As Table 1 shows, if we read the 'Total' row, one in every two civil society organisations are active at the transnational level (53.9% at EU, and 48.6% at 'transnational' level). Given that our sample focused on those organisations active in transnational campaigns or which were part of supranational umbrella organisations, we would have expected to find a higher share of CSOs to be active beyond their own national borders. Therefore, the first lesson we learn from Table 1 is that for civil society organisations, including those that are part of transnational networks and campaigns, the national level remains the most salient geo-political spatial dimension at which to act (the 'national level' of action is by far the most popular choice of our CSOs, with close

to 80% of them affirming that they operate at that level). Further reinforcing the importance of the 'country' level of action, Table 1 also shows that slightly more than one in every two organisations are active also at sub-state levels (both local and regional).

Moreover, Table 1 reveals that the situation is more nuanced if we consider cross-country differences: Danish and Polish CSOs lead the group on European and transnational level activities, while Greek, German, British and Swiss organisations appear to be less inclined to engage across their country borders, while French and Italian CSOs occupy an intermediary position. The transnational activism of Danish CSOs is, in part at least, explained by the connection and activation of these CSOs through Scandinavian networks rather than through EU based ones. While the high degree of Polish transnational (particularly EU level) activism might reflect the country's engagement with the EU in terms of access to regional development-related funding but it may also reflect the difficulties that Polish civil society organisations are facing at home in their relationships with a government which approaches migration, asylum, disability and unemployment, our CSOs fields of action, with a conservative policy frame (see infra the Danish and Polish country reports included in this integrated report).

Table 1: *In which of these geographical areas is your organization/group active?*

	Local (%)	**Regional (%)**	**National (%)**	**EU (%)**	**Transnational* (%)**
Denmark	63.3	66.7	96.7	86.7	63.3
France	69.7	75.8	81.8	57.6	57.6
Germany	23.3	33.3	90	40	43.3
Greece	36.7	46.7	73.3	36.7	30
Italy	76.7	66.7	76.7	50	56.7
Poland	56.7	53.3	86.7	76.7	66.7
Switzerland	50	63.3	66.7	43.3	33.3
UK	81.3	56.3	62.5	40.6	37.5
Total	**57.6**	**58**	**79.2**	**53.9**	**48.6**

*Transnational here refers to activism inside and outside the European Union (N=245)

The prominence of the national level also emerges when consider the spatial distribution of CSOs activities. Table 2 shows that no matter which specific activity an organisation deploys (it can be a political-related one such as 'political education of citizens' or a service delivery-focused one, such as offering counselling services or material support) in each case the national level largely overshadows the transnational one. Clearly, activities that imply an active mobilization of membership (in Table 2 these are 'Mobilizing members through direct actions' and 'Mobilizing members through protest/demonstrations') essentially occur at the national level: in contrast with literature having advocated for the existence of a European public sphere for political mobilization, it seems that our

CSOs are still much more focused on mobilising members at the national level rather than at the transnational one.

Another intriguing finding of Table 2 is the poor number of organisations that look to the transnational and European levels of action for fundraising: only one in every five organisations declare that they undertake fundraising activities at the transnational level while two thirds carry out fundraising at the national level. Given the importance of securing finance to the sustainability of CSOs we might conclude/predict that the strong focus on the national level will not disappear if we add in the analysis other organisational dimensions. In fact, organisations in constant need of funding will likely focus their capacity and resources for action at the spatial level where they can expect such funding to have the greatest impact and where future funding streams are most readily available. In sum, we might predict that our CSOs act at the national level more than at transnational one because their audience is, in many senses (funding-wise, policy-wise, and beneficiaries-wise) national more than transnational.

Table 2: *Action's types by geo-political level*

	National (%)	**Transnational* (%)**
Political education of citizens / raising awareness	89	28
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc..)	81	14
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions	79	36
Participation in legal consultations / policy making processes	79	31
Mobilizing members through direct actions	69	20
Fundraising	64	20
Services to others (e.g. clients)	61	17
Mobilizing members through protest/demonstrations	51	20

*Transnational here refers to activism inside and outside the European Union (N=245)

Consistent with our earlier findings, if we consider the sources of funding for CSOs (Table 3), we see that national level donors (in this case, 'Grants from national governments') are more than twice as important as European grants. Again, there are differences among countries: French and Polish CSOs show a higher interest in pursuing, or a greater reliance upon, transnational (European) grants than CSOs in the other countries as they have more than a third of their civil society organisations for whom European grants are very important for everyday action. Actually for Polish organisations European funding is as relevant as national government funding: as the Polish country report

illustrates (see infra Polish WP4 national report), in fact, due to the strong political polarization promoted by the centre-right government, many CSOs that oppose government policies need recourse to EU funding in order to survive, given that government funds are precluded to them. In Greece, funding emanating from the EU largely supersedes funds from national government, perhaps as a consequence of the reduced capacity of the Greek state to subsidise civil society due to the critical situation of its public budget. While for the remaining countries, national governments still provide a quite relevant source of economic resources not comparable with the transnational one (in Denmark 80% of organisations access national grants while only 13% consider EU grants as very important, similarly in Germany one in every two organisations rely upon national grants, while only less than one in ten consider as very relevant funding from the EU level).

Table 3: *Share (%) of CSOs for whom national and EU level grants are very relevant for survival*

	National Governments Grants (%)	**EU Grants (%)**
Denmark	80	13
France	45	36
Germany	50	7
Greece	7	20
Italy	27	10
Poland	37	33
Switzerland	37	3
UK	13	9
Total	**37**	**17**

(N=245)

Another indicator we examine to assess the capacity of CSOs to operate transnationally is whether or not they are part of consultative policy-making processes at various spatial levels. Table 4 provides an overview of this indicator: overall, once again the national level is more relevant than the European one as an arena for policy engagement, and also the subnational one is overall a political-spatial level where CSOs are engaged in policy advisory functions. However, if we consider the situation among countries, again, there are interesting differences to be noted. Firstly, consistent with our earlier results pointing to the importance that the EU represents for the fundraising activities of Polish CSOs, Table 4 reveals that Polish CSOs are highly engaged at the EU policy consultative level (63% of those we have interviewed in Poland say that they are consulted systematically on policy issues by EU bodies). Secondly, there are some differences between the results in Table 4 and earlier tables: while in earlier tables, for example in Table 1, Danish CSOs appeared to be more engaged at the transnational level than German CSOs, in Table 4 we see that

one in every two German organisations is consulted by an EU body during ad hoc policy making procedures, and the same occurs with Italian CSOs, while less than one fifth of Danish organisations are consulted in EU policy-making processes, despite Table 1 having shown that 87% of Danish CSOs were active at the EU level.

In sum, there is no direct correspondence between those CSOs that undertakes action at the transnational level and those that, although focusing on nationally-bounded activities, are still considered valuable interlocutors in policy processes in Brussels and are therefore invited to provide advice during a policy-making procedure. This is an outcome we should consider in greater depth as it may have implications for how we interpret transnational activism, drawing our attention to the existence of difference shades of transnational activism, and different types of organisations engaged at the transnational level: some more openly focused on supranational policy issues and arenas, others more concerned with their own country's situation but still open to engage, if invited and on an ad hoc basis, also at transnational level.

In fact, when we discussed with CSOs their experience of work at transnational level, most of them did appreciate acting across-state boundaries as an opportunity of mutual learning, and also as a viable way to strengthen their voice vis-à-vis policy makers and stakeholders. Moreover, activities done at transnational level seem somehow less exposed to infra-CSOs competition, and as such are appreciated for their fostering cooperation and reciprocal support. At the same time, the diversity of circumstances among European countries in the three policy fields covered by TransSol, the fact that the working across state boundaries requires substantial human and economic resources, and even language barriers, have all been pointed as factors obstructing further engagement at transnational level.

Table 4: *CSOs participation with a consultative status in policy-making procedures at different spatial levels*

	EU consultative	**National consultative**	**Subnational consultative**
	(%)	**(%)**	**(%)**
Denmark	17	80	40
France	39	61	51
Germany	53	53	30
Greece	33	53	60
Italy	47	70	80
Poland	63	77	60
Switzerland	20	57	50
UK	34	69	63
Total	**38**	**65**	**54**

(N=245)

A pre-condition of our initial hypothesis was that solidarity is a genuinely political arena, which may explain why CSOs act primarily at those levels in which they consider political actors to be more prominent and also more easily approachable, that is, the national level. We consider now more specifically the level of 'political' connotation our CSOs have.

Evidence about the political connotation of civil-society led solidarity was already provided by Table 2 earlier which showed the range of activities deployed by CSOs, among which political actions, such as 'Political education of citizens, raising awareness' or 'Interest representation, lobbying' were revealed to be very prominent. Table 5 provides additional evidence about the political nature of our CSOs' engagement: it shows answers to the question, 'why do people join your organisation'? Although the most important reason across the countries is an altruistic willingness to help others (63% of interviewed CSOs selected that response), the second most relevant reason to join the organisation is for sharing political ideas and values (55% of CSOs), and more than one third of the sample (36%) also chose another very political reason that is 'For political support'. The political connoted answer items are popular across all countries apart from Greece, where less than one third selected those options: once again, Greek CSOs stand apart as being primarily concerned with providing the help and support required by both an impoverished population suffering from the national public deficit and economic crisis, and masses of refugees fleeing Syria (see infra the Greek WP4 national report).

Table 5: *According to your experience, why do people join the organization?*

	For political support (%)	**For financial support (%)**	**For legal/judiciary support (%)**	**For social contacts (%)**	**For helping, assisting people (%)**	**For sharing political ideas values (%)**	**Other (%)**
Denmark	50	13	30	63	80	63	60
France	58	27	33	73	67	64	49
Germany	40	13	27	37	63	57	33
Greece	30	17	20	30	77	27	27
Italy	17	0	23	47	70	73	37
Poland	10	17	37	47	63	40	30
Switz.	57	37	13	20	40	53	27
UK	22	9	22	44	47	62	38
Total	**36**	**17**	**26**	**45**	**63**	**55**	**38**

(N=245)

We turn now to the activation of CSOs on welfare-state issues as a factor that contributes towards explaining the interest of CSOs in the national level. We consider the type of service provided by CSOs, their frequency and the number of beneficiaries of those services. Table 6 shows that the two

thirds of CSOs provide assistance with accessing the welfare state on a regular basis and another 10% does so from time to time. Interesting to note in Table 6 is that the complementary welfare state action of CSOs is not only relevant in countries with less generous welfare regimes such as Italy and Greece (where respectively 90% and 67% of CSOs interviewed provide assistance with accessing the welfare state system) but also in countries with generous welfare provisions, such as Denmark (73% of CSOs provide support with accessing welfare services).

Table 6: *Providing assistance in access to the welfare system*

	Often (%)	**Seldom (%)**	**Never (%)**
Denmark	73	3	0
France	61	15	9
Germany	33	17	0
Greece	67	10	0
Italy	90	7	0
Poland	50	7	0
Switzerland	33	13	7
UK	56	6	0
Total	**58**	**10**	**30**

(N=245)

Table 7 complements our understanding of the welfare-state related contribution that CSOs provide, by revealing how civil society organisations provide in-kind forms of support such as meals, clothes, and accommodation which would usually be provided by public anti-poverty programmes. Table 7 shows that one in every four organisations provide such in-kind services on a regular basis, and that more than one in every ten does it occasionally. The provision of in-kind services is more salient in countries such as Greece that are experiencing difficult circumstances, but is still not negligible in welfare generous and affluent countries such as Denmark, France and Italy, where a third of CSOs provide these services regularly or occasionally.

Table 7: *Providing assistance in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.)*

	Often (%)	**Seldom (%)**	**Never (%)**
Denmark	27	10	63
France	30	15	39
Germany	10	13	73
Greece	43	27	30
Italy	30	10	60
Poland	37	10	53
Switzerland	13	20	60
UK	13	22	66
Total	**25**	**16**	**56**

(N=245)

Table 8 provides an estimation of the number of beneficiaries that our CSOs reach with their welfare-state related services: 40% of our sample offer services on a yearly basis to a large number of beneficiaries (more than 1000), with some of these reaching even a much larger share of the population in need. There is evidence therefore in Table 8 of an active solidarity that reaches out to people through the various forms we have discussed earlier: more political forms, such as advocacy and policy-awareness but also more service-oriented forms such as support in accessing the welfare state and in-kind services.

Table 8: *How many persons (beneficiaries) overall obtained services in the last year?*

	None (%)	Less than 100 (%)	Less than 500 (%)	Less than 1000 (%)	More than 1000 (%)	Don't Know (%)
Denmark	7	7	20	10	50	7
France	0	18	15	9	55	3
Germany	0	17	10	20	27	27
Greece	0	17	33	10	30	10
Italy	0	7	23	13	53	3
Poland	0	17	17	17	30	20
Switzerland	0	17	20	3	37	23
UK	0	6	25	9	41	19
Total	**1**	**13**	**20**	**11**	**40**	**14**

(N=245)

Tables 6, 7 and 8 confirm the contribution that CSOs are making in keeping welfare state services running, and they provide vivid evidence of the welfare-mix (Evers 1995) which has been described to as reflective of contemporary European welfare systems, where a mix of public and private actors provide a range of services, in a diversified legal pattern.

Conclusion

In these introductory considerations we have seen that despite our efforts to target organisations that are active across countries through being part of a specific transnational campaign or through membership of an umbrella organisation, we have found limited evidence of transnational dimensions of solidarity. In some of our countries, namely Denmark and Poland, there is evidence of a degree of engagement by CSOs which operate across spatial-political levels, including the transnational or European levels. While in most of the other countries although cross-border activities are not rare (roughly one in every two organisations do operate transnationally on a cross-country average) their scope of action remains heavily centred on the national (and eventually sub-national) level.

Our understanding of these findings are based on a neo-institutionalist approach to civil society which considers civil society and public authorities to be intertwined and therefore an approach in which civil society action will likely occur at the same political-spatial level in which the actor bearing political authority of an issue operates. Given that our CSOs operate in very specific fields (disability, unemployment, migration/asylum) that are under the political remit of national government (and eventually subnational ones, in particular concerning the implementation of services for disabled people, but also for the unemployed as well as migrants and refugees), it is at that level that their action develops.

However, this introduction has provided evidence also of the existence of a range of activities that CSOs engage in—some in connection to a weakened degree of public intervention in welfare state issues—that speak about solidarity as both an act of support in meeting people's needs and an act of political expression.

How robust are such acts of solidarity in helping to meet needs in disability, unemployment, migration and asylum, and how different they are across the countries participating in the TransSOL project is specified in each of the country reports that we present here.

References

Baglioni, S. and Giugni, M. (Eds.) (2014) *Civil society organisations, unemployment and precarity in Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Mcmillan

Barthélemy, M. (2000) *Associations: un nouvel âge de la participation?* Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Evers, A. (1995) "Part of the welfare mix: The third sector as an intermediate area", *Voluntas*, 6(2):159-182.

Florini, A. M. (Ed.) (2002*) The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*, Tokyo: Japan Centre for International Change

Greenwood, J. (2007) "Organized Civil Society and Democratic Legitimacy in the European Union" *British Journal of Political Science*, 37(02): 333-57.

Khagram, S., Riker, J.V. and Sikkink, K. (Eds.) 2002, *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kriesi, H. and Baglioni, S. (2003) "Putting Local Associations Into Their Context. Preliminary Results of A Swiss Study of Local Associations", *Swiss Political Science Review*, 9(3):1-34

Musso, P. (2015) La solidarité: généalogie d'un concept sociologique, in Supiot, A. (Ed.), *La Solidarité. Enquête sur un principe juridique*, Paris: Odile Jacob, pp. 93-123.

Paugam, S. (Ed.) (2015) *Repenser la solidarité*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 4th edition.

Rodotà, S. (2014) *Solidarietà: un'utopia necessaria*, Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Skocpol, T., Ganz, M. and Munson, Z. (2000) "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States", *American Political Science Review* 94(3): 527-546

Smismans, S. (2003) "European civil society: Shaped by discourses and institutional interests", *European Law Journal*, 9(4): 482-504.

Supiot, A. (Ed.) (2015) *La Solidarité. Enquête sur un principe juridique*, Paris: Odile Jacob.

Van Deth, J. W. (2008) "European civil society: The empirical reality in the multi level system of the EU" in B. Kohler-Koch, D. De Bièvre, and W. Maloney (Eds.), *Opening EU governance to civil society. Gains and challenges*. Connex Report Series N. 05.

Van Deth, J. W., and Maloney, W. (2008) "Is local civil society conductive to European participatory engineering?", in B. Kohler-Koch, D. De Bièvre, and W. Maloney (Eds.), *Opening EU governance to civil society. Gains and challenges*. Connex Report Series N. 05.

Warleigh, A. (2001) "Europeanizing civil society: NGOs as agents of political socialization", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(4): 619-639.

Transnational solidarity in Danish civil society

Thomas Spejlborg Sejersen and Hans-Jörg Trenz (University of Copenhagen)

Introduction

In this report, we will investigate types and degrees of engagement in transnational solidarity action of civil society organisations (CSOs) active in Denmark within the last two years. More specifically, we will analyse how 30 transnational solidarity organisations (TSOs) working within three issue fields (disability, immigration, and unemployment) are involved in cooperation and transnational campaigns and events abroad. Ten TSOs from each issue field have been randomly selected from among organisations which have participated in such campaigns and events and/or are members of transnational umbrella organisations over the last three years.

The structure and availability of organisations are considered core components for how solidarity practices unfold and attitudes among citizens are shaped towards vulnerable groups within society (Font et al., 2007). Rather than being situated in an organisational vacuum, the Danish case is characterised by high degrees of professionalisation, centralisation of services and resources and a dense associational network that is strongly involved in the implementation of public policies and welfare services (Kaspersen and Ottesen, 2001). Our survey adds to this literature by pointing out the cross-sectoral and transnational dimension of organised civil society and its involvement in solidarity action at different levels. The expectation is that especially large organisations within the Danish civil society sector become professional players in cross-sectoral and transnational solidarity networks. Their transnational engagement is dependent on the allocation of resources and the development of professional competencies, which again are fostered by the opportunities provided, in particular, by the European Union (Ruzza and Sala, 2007; Sanchez Salgado, 2014). Large organisations develop, in particular, the type of social capital and 'informational capital' that is needed to a) participate in EU policy networks, b) contribute to the formulation and implementation of both national and EU-level policies in the three sectors analysed, and c) give voice to their constituencies in an effective way in the national and European arena (Bernhard, 2015).

By using the three issue fields as a starting point, we will describe how perceptions and practices of solidarity among civil society professionals travel across sectors, respond to European opportunities and are shaped by experiences of transnational networking. We will address three main dimensions in our cross-sectoral analysis. First, the perceptions of solidarity of professional TSOs and, in particular, the question of how participation in national and transnational campaigns accentuate the expression of different types of mutual, convivial and altruistic solidarity (Duru et al., 2017). Secondly, the associational ecology of Danish TSOs, and, in particular, the question of how size, degrees of wealth and professionalisation vary among our respondents and impact on their engagement in cross-sectoral and transnational activism (Kriesi, 2007). Thirdly, we will analyse the political, legislative and social embeddedness of the TSOs. Here, we will focus on the TSOs' participation in policy and legislative processes and collaboration with other actors in the Danish and European civil society.

Events and Campaigns as Opportunities of Organised Solidarity

In this section, we will present an overview of the variety of campaigns and events by investigating each type separately, before we move on to discuss the different types and degrees of solidarity they represent.[1]

In short, the majority of the Danish TSOs interviewed display a rather low level of engagement in transnational campaigns and events. An explanation for this is, most likely, that the list of Danish organisations involved in transnational solidarity action was of limited size, especially within the fields of disability and unemployment. This implies that most of our respondents had to be recruited from member lists of European umbrellas (e.g. FEANSTA or Eurordis) and not from the lists of attendees at transnational campaigns and events (e.g. European Day of Disabilities). Some among the smaller TSOs have therefore only participated in single events or campaigns of minor magnitude. Secondly, their experiences in carrying out or participating in these activities are valued very differently. There is, in short, a discrepancy between the formal participation in transnational solidarity campaigns and events, and the relevance that is given to these activities in practice. This is clearly stressed by a middle-sized patient organisation:

I was invited to European Day of Disabilities through our European umbrella (…) The way you typically do these things is a play-to-the-gallery, a facade-thing. We had to celebrate the Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, for example, even though we know it meant nothing at all. (…) In practice, when you confront socialworkers in Denmark with the convention, they will laugh at you: 'Put that away, we don't use this one here in our municipality'

(Interview 1).

This discrepancy of experiences between the TSOs that responded to our survey points to huge variations in the associational ecology of the Danish civil society sectors, and, in particular, discrepancies in the degrees of professionalisation (e.g. numbers of paid staff), wealth (rich-poor) and public dependency (Kriesi, 2007). The TSOs range from voluntary patient organisations to major professional humanitarian NGOs. The first are often listed as members of transnational umbrellas, but they have de-facto only limited resources to engage in any action or cooperation. They themselves frequently note that the purpose of their very limited participation in transnational campaigns or events is 'only' to gather inspiration and/or share knowledge (e.g. Interview 9 and 10). In the case of the latter, a significant part of respondents (mainly within immigration) were not able to provide us with much valuable information, because they were not personally involved in transnational campaigns and events and could not account for past activities of their major NGOs (Interview 17, 18, 19, 20). Few respondents quite simply declined to discuss matters they had no direct experience of or did not feel responsible for (e.g. Interview 20).

Some campaigns and events are recurrently discussed (e.g. Decriminalising Solidarity), which does not mean that these campaigns play a central or prominent role, but rather follow on from our sampling choices which required us to recruit respondents as campaigning participants. More often, however, campaigns and events are only mentioned once or twice, which indicates that there is little consistency in the way our respondents highlight events as important to them. This underscores that

[1] The first dimension deals with question 1-5 in the questionnaire.

both national and transnational campaigns and events are extremely diversified and do not converge at common characteristics or concerns.

National campaigns and events

The national field ranges from the smallest social/educative events organised by single associations to nationwide professional media campaigns run by a multitude of different actors, involving several TSOs and public, media, and academic institutions. In the literature, the question of whether and how organisational and financial resources explain degrees and levels of civil society activism has been a controversial issue, much discussed. On the basis of a comparative survey of organisational resources of local associations in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scotland, Germany, Spain and the UK, Kriesi (2007: 151) finds that the resource base of associations is largely disconnected from the level of activity deployed. In the case of Denmark, his findings indicate, however, that the resource base of local associations (the city of Aalborg) remains the least developed. This confirms our own findings of a strong centralisation of solidarity action in Denmark with a focus on the role of large associations and state-centred action. We would therefore expect resource dependency to play a more prominent role in the case of Denmark. The ability to organise and carry out campaigns and events would be expected to correlate with the availability of financial resources and 'wealth' of the associations and their capacities to make these resources available for cross-sectoral and transnational activism. Financial dependencies and the lack of resources can however be partially compensated for by high commitment through active membership and mobilisation, as found in the case of some smaller TSOs in our sample (e.g. Interview 8, 11).

Social and educative events organised voluntarily

The smallest events are typically organised by the smallest TSOs, and they often coincide with a general assembly or an annual one- or two-day meeting. These events rely on voluntary engagement, and have limited budgets and funding, if at all, derived mainly from membership fees and grants from national government (typically, smaller pools under the so-called "Udlodningsmidler"). A few of these events are funded by smaller private grants, whereas none of them are funded by EU grants of any kind. The events serve two purposes. First, to meet and socialise with people in the same vulnerable situation whether this is suffering from a disability (Interview 8), being part of an ethnic minority group (Interview 16) or being unable to support oneself through employment (Interview 26). Second, there is typically an educative perspective: knowledge-sharing, updates on relevant political trends, implementation of new legislation, academic research-presentation or 'best-practices'-lectures from experts of different kinds. The educative part often involves actors from other TSOs or public institutions, e.g. when the Ministry of Social Affairs presents relevant legislation affecting the living conditions of homeless persons (Interview 26). These events reflect directly how solidarity is practiced within specifically-defined areas of Danish civil society.

As we will stress below, solidarity is within the smaller TSOs mainly perceived as a practice of providing mutual help and assistance and is thus target-group related without significant effects on non-participants or on people who are not affected. The challenges for this type of solidarity action are mostly practical ones, related to logistical and financial problems of providing ad-hoc help and assistance. One respondent argues that doing campaigns and events is not the best solidarity

strategy for small TSOs: "…mostly because it is expensive and we don't have the means for that" (Interview 12). Instead, they argue that political lobbying activities are a more effective tool for the promotion of solidarity and the defence of vulnerable people's rights on a larger scale. This is, as we shall see in table 1 below, what we can label a convivial, solidarity aim.

Raising awareness and funds through professional media campaigns

When asked to reflect on the main aims of larger campaigns in a national context, two things are mentioned recurrently: "raising awareness and fundraising" (Interview 19). Such campaigns are mainly organised by the larger TSOs in cross-sectoral cooperation. Here, we will focus on one campaign, Børn i fattigdom? NEJ TAK, a cross-sectoral campaign related to a more general concern of vulnerability (poverty among children) that has resulted from retrenchments of the Danish welfare state.[2] The campaign was initiated by a network of 18 organisations covering diverse issues within the broader area of solidarity, and launched on January 6, 2017 with an open letter that targeted Danish media to initiate "widespread attention" (Interview 22). Seven of the TSOs interviewed, working within all issue fields, were co-organisers of this campaign.[3] According to respondent 23, the main aim of the campaign (a campaign they valued as highly important) was to raise awareness.

> "…By directing the attention towards children and the consequences they experience, we hope to stop the severe and negative development of the solidarity of today"
>
> (Interview 23).

Respondent 22 verifies this and explains the media strategy behind the campaign that purposely targeted children, which, as it was assumed, would prompt people to take matters of solidarity more seriously than campaigns that target the needs of adults. The campaign is still running and involves newspaper chronicles, events at Folkemødet at Bornholm ('The People's Meeting', an annual event with open debates where politicians meets citizens), and public hearings in Parliament. To a high degree, this campaign shows how civil society is working on a domestic level to increase solidarity as a form of social cohesion.

When the respondents reflect on the effects of this and other professional media campaigns, the tone is often positive in the sense of "good experience" (Interview 15) and "it was very easy" (Interview 18). When asked to elaborate further, they mention two key factors: First, the high degree of professionalisation and experience of the major TSOs in charge of the planning and implementation of the campaigns, and secondly, the fact that national cooperation is made easy in a small country like Denmark, where everyone 'knows each other'. Both factors mentioned are by and large in line with the literature, which puts emphasis on the need for professionalisation and the development of social and informational capital as a core condition for impact at all levels (Bernhard, 2015). In addition to these components, our respondents also accentuate two other factors considered as crucial in associational ecology research: relative density (the number of TSOs per inhabitant) and diversity (the distribution of associations within a certain issue field) (Baglioni et al., 2007: 225-26; Gray and Lowery, 1996: 93). The Danish case is, first of all, distinguished by the

[2] Translates into: *Children living in poverty? NO THANK YOU.*
[3] Interview 3, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 28.

high relative density of the solidarity networks: there are many 'fighting' for the same cause. While most of our respondents would emphasise the advantages of high density networks for solidarity campaigning, some also mention the down-side effects. High density can, for instance, translate into a competitive mentality among TSOs: there are too many 'fighting' for the same cause. Apart from the oft-mentioned fierce competition for funding, (e.g. Interview 18), the high density of the solidarity network also fosters what one respondent describes as a 'duck-yard-mentality': organisations that should ideally be working for the same cause start 'picking' on each other. This, they elaborate, is to be considered as a main difference between national and transnational cooperation, where the density is lower and the solidarity work far more focused (Interview 25).

Transnational campaigns and events

Similar to the patterns found at national level, the degree of participation also differs transnationally according to the financial and ecological conditions of the TSOs involved. One decisive difference of transnational campaigning seems to be, however, that the issue fields are more segregated than in the case of the national campaigns and events. Particularly in the field of disability, we find that their transnational activities are often of the social and educative type and almost exclusively carried out within Europe – never outside. It involves conferences that address mainly experts within the organisation, for instance, for the purpose of knowledge-sharing about a particular disease, disability or condition. This tendency towards 'special interest events' in transnational campaigns is also found within the unemployment sector (e.g. their focus on the problem of homelessness). Only two TSOs within the issue field of disability and the homelessness/unemployment category (see table 5) are actively working to change European legislation, and this is mainly through an active membership in larger European umbrellas (Interview 3 and 23). One of these (Interview 23) argue that lobbying activities only make sense when they target EU legislation, and that since the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, all meaningful social-political reforms have been initiated at EU-level. This statement is, however, rather exceptional, as all our other respondents abstained from expressing an opinion about the added-value of EU cooperation. Activism within the immigration sector and the trade union unemployment category (again, see table 5) often takes the form of humanitarian aid and as such is typically executed outside the limits of the European Union (and Europe). This often involves major international umbrellas of which our Danish respondents are members.

Trans-European inspiration and the exchange of knowledge

The effects of social and educative European campaigns and events are described by expressing a large variety of attitudes ranging from "somewhat of a joke" (Interview 1), over "the intentions are good but the specific, practical results are very limited" (Interview 9), to "we can learn a great deal from it" (Interview 25). On the negative side, we see a tendency to underline mentality differences between European partners, which are seen as an obstacle to the success of campaigning. Respondents stress a North-South divide in working attitudes, moral codes and transparency, which according to them can complicate cooperation. For example, this has led to respondent 9's TSO changing priority and investing in national activities instead of European cooperation. Another typical solution to this challenge is to initiate cooperation within Scandinavia (e.g. Interview 22) or cooperation with other Northern European countries, for instance, the Netherlands and Germany (Interview 8 and 10). In line with the literature, we can thus conclude that the socio-cultural context is thus a strong determent of associational life (Rossteutscher, 2002; Font et al., 2007). Strategic

choices to cooperate transnationally and to engage in European solidarity are informed by a Scandinavian ethos characterised by specific forms of purposeful cooperation, conflict avoidance and strong egalitarian and trust-based relations (Bendixsen et al., 2017).

On the positive side, we find that especially smaller TSOs deem their transnational cooperation (mainly with other Scandinavian or Northern European countries) invaluable. One respondent describes a very productive cooperation on different projects and campaigns with their Dutch sister organisation (Interview 8). Together they initiated a project (the creation of an app to help their specific disability), pooling funding from both countries. They thus help each other in a very specific way and profit from knowledge-sharing and a joint venture in developing a product. Cooperation with focus on a specific product is also what other TSOs describe as the most proficient form of transnational campaign and event participation. When the same respondent was asked to reflect on the aim of Danish-Dutch cooperation, they emphasised the necessity of small groups in Denmark to cooperate transnationally (ibid.). This, however, can also become a serious challenge for this type of TSO: They can only uphold their existence (some have below 200 members) by uniting with sister organisations in other European countries, but they do not have the resources to engage in these types of cooperation in a more sustainable way. Most transnational cooperation here is limited to no (Interview 4) or bi-annual participation in European conferences (Interview 10), not because they lack the will or the opportunity to engage in cooperation more frequently, but simply because they lack the necessary financial resources. These results stress that mutual solidarity found within especially the issue fields of disability and unemployment, are rather trans-Scandinavian or trans-Nordic than focusing on Brussels or EU-level activities.

Humanitarian aid for Non-EU people in need

The larger campaigns or humanitarian aid projects are exclusively carried out by the large humanitarian NGOs working within the issue field of immigration. Our respondents were, as aforementioned, not very specific when discussing challenges, purposes and aims, which relates to the fact that these campaigns tend to be highly complex, involving a large number of actors from many countries. In general terms, we can nevertheless conclude that Danish NGOs involved in such humanitarian campaigns are often branches of an international head organisation, and in organising campaigns abroad they cooperate with their sister or umbrella organisations (e.g. Interview 17 and 20). As global campaigners, they organise and execute humanitarian aid all over the world: in the Middle East, North Africa and elsewhere. Such campaigns are clear examples of how solidarity is conceived as charity that is carried out in the form of direct support action aimed at people in need independently of their national, ethnic or religious background. Some of these Danish TSOs belong, for instance, to Church organisations, but they would nevertheless extend their support action to people of other religions (e.g. Interview 18).

Types of solidarity: mutual, convivial, altruistic

Solidarity is at the core when explaining the motivations of Danish civil society to engage in national and transnational campaigns and events, but still their understanding of solidarity differs in important ways. Some conceive their activity mainly as a form of mutual help, others provide humanitarian aid or charity and again others fight for justice and a more egalitarian distribution of life-chances. Accordingly, we will distinguish between three forms of solidarity: mutual, altruistic and

convivial (Duru et al., 2017). Mutual solidarity is a form of self-organised assistance among people in need. Often, it comes close to what is commonly referred to as 'reciprocal solidarity' (Kymlicka, 2015), even though it is not so much driven by long-term expectations of pay-backs and reciprocity than by practical considerations of assisting members of the peer-group. Altruistic solidarity is a one-sided and often singular act of assistance towards third persons in need who are not perceived as members of the same peer-group. Convivial solidarity, on the other hand, is characterised by the will to bridge boundaries and the purpose to secure universal justice, expand welfare and improve living conditions (Duru et al., 2017).

Table 1. Types of solidarity by geographical scope.

Types of solidarity	National	Transnational
Mutual	People in need support each other domestically	People in need support each other across borders
Altruistic	People provide services and/or goods to beneficiaries in need domestically	People provide services and/or goods to beneficiaries in need across borders
Convivial	People work to secure justice and equal living conditions among co-nationals	People work to secure global justice and equality among humans

Among Danish TSOs, mutual support forms of solidarity are mainly accentuated within the disability sector. TSOs active in this field tend to have one specific target group and one-issue scopes of engagement. Here, solidarity is described as an in-group behaviour between those who have the same need and can support each other to perform better. As one of our respondents put it: "…If we are not solidaristic towards ourselves – nobody will be" (Interview 4).

It follows from this that the 'in-group' of persons in need of solidarity is not defined by nationality (as in: reciprocal solidarity within the national community), but by specific needs. Accordingly, solidarity is typically extended to people in need of assistance transnationally. Even though no principled distinction between nationals and non-nationals applies, practical considerations still limit the geographical reach of mutual help activities, especially smaller TSOs which are predominantly active locally, and whose level of transnational engagement remains limited to activities such as knowledge-sharing with related sister organisations.

Altruistic forms of solidarity are typically found in larger organisations, mainly the humanitarian NGOs and professional trade unions working within immigration and unemployment.[4] Typically, they specialise in humanitarian aid in remote parts of the world, or they engage in cross-sectoral activities extending their activities to beneficiaries outside their organisations (e.g. trade unions providing assistance for incoming refugees). Altruistic solidarity is often service-oriented and targets particular beneficiaries in need of temporary limited assistance. Finally, convivial solidarity is typically

[4]Altruistic forms of solidarity action are seen here as resulting from social interactions of CSOs in a wider transnational field. As such, they are not simply outbursts of generosity, but often substitutes for the lack of political action (see Giugni and Passy, 2001; Jeffries, 2014).

promoted by human and political rights' organisations working within the issue fields of both immigration and unemployment. Here, we witness that target groups and beneficiaries are defined according to broader, universal characteristics such as religion (Muslims), sexual orientation (LGBT), gender (women), and social status (the "lower" social class). Convivial solidarity is also promoted more actively by larger professional groups often by way of pooling funding and engaging in cross-sectoral campaigning on more general issues related to global justice, peace and sustainable development.

Neat distinctions between these three forms of solidarity are, however, often difficult to apply. Within Danish trade unions (e.g. Interview 24), for instance, we often find a reference to two notions of solidarity: First, solidarity is described as a form of mutual support that is reserved for members only, i.e. people who belong to the same professional group and pay a (relatively high) membership fee which entitles them to receive assistance. Solidarity is thus restricted to a kind of insurance system that applies to fully-subscribed members of the professional association (similar to the operating principle of mutual assistance of disability organisations). At the same time, solidarity is described as an altruistic concept: members of the trade unions would often define it as their responsibility to provide help to socially vulnerable people outside of their associations. They would thus recognise the needs of others who are geographically distant, or who are not targeted as members (like incoming immigrants). This can include, for instance, the use of trade union membership fees to a 'Solidarity Fund' which supports projects in developing countries outside the European Union (e.g. Interview 24).

Not surprisingly, we observe that financial and ecological conditions (e.g. budget and number of full-time employees) play important roles in how the TSOs define solidarity. Engagement in altruistic forms of solidarity often depends on the availability of additional resources and is therefore typically found as an additional form of engagement in trade unions. Smaller TSOs, on the other hand, might still share the perceptions of the need to engage in more transnational solidarity action. Economic resources then mainly decide the capacity to extend from feelings to actions of solidarity. Thus: the larger the TSO, the more action-oriented or direct its solidarity.

Degrees of solidarity: from 'sense' to 'action'

When comparing the scope of solidarity, nationally and transnationally, we find a discrepancy between an indirect scope of solidarity (what can be labelled as a 'sense' or 'feeling' of solidarity embedded in the value system of the TSOs) and a direct scope of solidarity action carried out by the TSOs. One of our respondents reflects on this matter:

> "I believe that you can have different gradients of solidarity, where solidarity in the most basic is just acknowledging people for their work. The highest degree of solidarity is actually working directly with people to achieve the same goal"
>
> (Interview 18).

According to the same respondent, most of the Danish civil society TSOs are located at the higher end of this scale when it comes to solidarity action at the national level:

> "On the national level, we experience a very high degree of solidarity when we agree on a certain cause. For example, that there are too many poor children in Denmark. We meet – and react"
>
> (Interview 18).

This is exemplified in the above discussion of Børn i fattigdom? NEJ TAK, where civil society shows direct solidarity towards each other – by agreeing on a specific cause and acknowledging the urgency to act together in support of children living in poverty. Transnationally, Danish civil society associations are found on the lower end of the scale.

> "On the trans-European level, we meet, discuss the issues we are facing at the moment, inspire each other. And then we go home and don't do anything"
>
> (Interview 18).

They share common issues, they inspire each other towards best-practices and 'feel' the urgency to become active, but their campaigns are often limited to meetings that serve the purpose of knowledge- and inspiration-sharing, and only rarely become direct solidarity action. In the rare case it does, such transnational solidarity actions are often limited to Scandinavia and Northern Europe. It thus seems that the degree of solidarity when it comes to direct participation and involvement becomes gradually lower according to geographical distance. Within the Danish civil society, it also seems that there is a tendency to relate to Scandinavian and Northern European countries before other EU countries and the EU, in general. As mentioned before, the type and degree of solidarity is also conditioned by financial and ecological conditions of the TSOs. We will proceed with an analysis of this second dimension in the next part of the report.

The associational ecology of solidarity

In this section, we deal with organisational patterns of TSOs as explanatory variables for their engagement in transnational solidarity.[5] Due to the high level of cross-issue-engagement found in Denmark, we will discuss six categories that overlap between issue fields: 1) small- and medium-sized patient and disability organisations that are either fully based on voluntary engagement or have few paid employees; 2) larger patient umbrella organisations; 3) smaller and medium-sized human and political rights organisations with either a very specific and/or local cause, or a more global, human rights-oriented perspective; 4) major transnational humanitarian NGOs that work to a high extent in a cross-issue field; 5) homelessness organisations, providing assistance to socially vulnerable people who are not able to uphold a traditional work-life; and 6) professional trade unions (see table 5). With regard to these last two categories, the Danish case deviates since it does not focus on solidarity with the unemployed in a narrow sense. This is explained by the particularities of Danish civil society organisations which do not consider unemployed people as a priority for solidarity action. As unemployment schemes in Denmark are almost exclusively handled by the publicly funded unemployment insurance funds (A-kasser), civil society organisations would rather focus on more marginal groups in need of assistance.

[5] The second dimension of this report deals with responses from question 6-29 in the interview.

In the following, we will discuss these six categories of associations mainly from a cross-sectoral perspective, with a focus on their organisational traits and resources and, for the time being, disregarding differences related to the three issue fields. As part of this investigation, we will collect data on size, budget scale, sources of funding, number of employees, and degree and scope solidarity – and how these different variables relate to different types of actions and services.

Patient organisations and disability umbrellas[6]

The interview sample of patient organisations comprises seven TSOs.[7] They have very limited financial resources (typically below €50,000), mainly originating as grants from national government (and local municipalities), and membership fees. Within this category, we also see that they have only very limited capacities to apply for and receive EU and international grants.

Table 2. Sources of funding in the full sample (N=30).

Sources of funding (%)	*Irrelevant*	*Fairly relevant*	*Very relevant*	*Total*
Returns from fundraising	33	17	50	100
Membership fees	23	17	60	100
Donations from individuals	47	27	27	100
Sponsorships from companies/firms	53	27	20	100
Finance from federations or umbrella organisations	83	10	7	100
Grants from national government	13	7	80	100
EU grants	60	27	13	100
Other sources (Grants from private funds)	60	13	27	100

The patient organisations define their target group of beneficiaries narrowly: they adhere to a specific disability, disease or diagnosis. The narrower the definition, or the rarer the disability, the smaller the organisation. There is also a clear-cut difference between TSOs who label their beneficiaries as adhering to a' rare diagnosis' or 'familiar disability'. Concerning the 'rare diagnosis'-organisations, they all operate with a budget below €50,000, are run only by voluntary engagement, and have no employees. Their main actions are member services, more specifically to provide assistance in getting access to the welfare system (mainly how to get social benefits) and non-material issues such as emotional and interpersonal. Due to their limited finances, they do not provide financial or in-kind support.[8]

The 'familiar disability' organisations work under better conditions. Typically, they operate on budgets that are ten times higher and provide employment for up to 50 full-time employees. In

[6] In this first section, we will compromise the first two categories as they exclusively relate to the issue-field of disability that is more one-issue-limited than the other issue fields.

[7] Interviews 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

[8] See the general distribution of main actions and services in table 3 and table 4 below.

general, they provide the same kind of services as the 'rare diagnosis' organisations but to a higher number of beneficiaries. Furthermore, we see that they engage in more activities and direct actions in the public sphere (campaigns and events), lobbying and policy-making processes. The level of transnational cooperation within this category – and especially active transnational solidarity actions – is very limited. However, we see a high degree of knowledge-sharing with other related TSOs, especially in Scandinavian and Northern European countries, but never at an institutional EU level.

We have interviewed three of the four main civil society disability umbrellas in Denmark.[9] As with the smaller organisations, they relate to either the 'rare diagnosis' organisations or the 'familiar disability' organisations. These umbrellas have an operating budget close to €500,000 or above, and employ up to 38 people. They define their members as organisations – not individual people. Their sources of funding originate mainly from membership fees from member organisations and grants from the national government. They also have a much stronger tradition of fundraising than the patient organisations. Their main actions are lobbying activities (on a national level) and they are also consulted in EU policy making.

Table 3. Main actions (N=30).

Main actions among those listed below used by the organisation in order to reach its aims?	**No %**	**Yes %**	
		Nationally	***Transnationally***
Mobilising members through protest, demonstrations	57	40	3
Mobilising members through direct actions	13	87	27
Political education of citizens / awareness raising	0	100	40
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions	7	93	43
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc.)	23	77	13
Services to others (e.g. clients)	37	57	17
Fundraising	10	90	40
Participation in legal consultations / policy- making processes	7	93	23
Other	0	27	37

[9] Interviews 4, 6, 7.

Table 4. Type and frequency of service provisions (N=30).

Service Type	Frequency (%)				
	Often	***Seldom***	***Never***	***DK/NA***	***Total (%)***
Providing assistance in housing and shelter	37	7	57	0	100
Providing assistance in employment seeking	37	7	57	0	100
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (health care, education, etc.)	73	3	23	0	100
Providing financial support	20	20	60	0	100
Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes)	27	10	63	0	100
Providing legal assistance	47	13	37	3	100
Providing assistance in education services	40	20	40	0	100
Providing assistance in debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)	27	7	63	3	100
Providing assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal)	70	10	20	0	100
Other	17	3	0	80	100

Human and political rights organisations

The human and political rights organisations are comprised of seven TSOs working within the fields of unemployment and immigration.[10] They work to secure contextualised, in-group justice domestically within the human and political rights-area, for instance social and gender equality and sexual discrimination. Their beneficiaries are, as aforementioned, defined according to more universal characteristics such as socially vulnerable people in general, people living in poverty, or women. Still, their operating budgets are small (less than €100,000) or medium-sized (less than €500,000) and the number of employees range between zero and five people. In contrast to the disability-related categories, their operating budgets comprise various sources of funding. Among those, the grants from the national government and the membership fees are the most important sources, but these TSOs are also dependent on EU grants to a higher extent.

Rather than carrying out specific member services, their main actions aim at raising public awareness through demonstrations, protests and direct actions in the public sphere. They do provide some advice to beneficiaries (access to the welfare system and legal assistance), but to a much lower extent than in the other categories. On the contrary, they engage in transnational lobby activities, legal consultations and policy processes to a high extent. It also shows that these smaller organisations are more politically and transnationally networked, which we will deal with more thoroughly in Part III.

[10] Interviews 11, 12, 13, 15, 26, 22, 23.

Homelessness organisations

The organisations working with homeless and socially vulnerable people comprise five TSOs that can be divided into two sub-categories.[11] First, the organisations working directly to help beneficiaries who are homeless people living on the street and in shelters, and second, organisations which understand themselves as social enterprises for the homeless (more specifically a privately funded foodbank and a school for homeless and socially-vulnerable people). Common to the homelessness organisations is that they all have an operating budget above €500,000 and – with one exception (the school) – employ around 10 full-time workers. Their sources of funding follow the same pattern that we have witnessed in the other categories, thus grants from national and local funds are of the utmost importance and labelled as 'very relevant'. Furthermore, it is clear that returns from fundraising and revenue and sales of services play an important part, too. This is especially the case for the social enterprises-organisations.

The organisations engage in a rather broad range of actions domestically. They all participate in various direct actions, lobbying activities and legal consultations. Furthermore, they are skilled fundraisers, both in a public and private – and national and transnational context. Their particular member services are also quite extensive, even though not all organisations raise membership fees and beneficiaries of solidarity action are not necessarily considered as members. Innovative types of solidarity action are found among the social enterprises-organisations, where there have been established forms of assistance that reach beyond altruistic solidarity. One of our respondents emphasises the need to treat homeless people not just as passive receivers of services (like in many traditional forms of humanitarian aid), but to involve them more actively. He describes his approach of solidarity as "help to self-help" (Interview 28). Such beneficiary-activating types of solidarity are meant to develop individual capacities, while at the same respecting the individual needs of the beneficiaries.

The scope of transnational solidarity within this category is limited to fundraising and knowledge-sharing. The TSOs do not engage in direct action of any kind and merely articulate their sympathy towards similar homelessness organisations in other EU countries and to homeless people outside Denmark.

Trade unions

The trade unions were by far the hardest group to approach in the sampling process. We invited around 25 unions, and only four agreed to participate.[12] The explanation is found in the structure of the Danish (un)employment and labour area (discussed in the introduction of this section), where services for the unemployed are provided almost exclusively by public institutions and the unemployment insurance funds. Trade union representatives, who received our invitation letter, therefore felt that our area of investigation did not fall under their competence. With this is mind, we need to recognise that our trade union sample is biased with those who accepted our invitation coming exclusively from the health sector. The unions all have high operating budgets that often called for a different scale than the one presented in the interview. All of them were willing to present their operating budget that vastly exceeded that of €500,000, and the average number of

[11] Interviews 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.
[12] Interview 14, 21, 24, 30.

employees is approximately 50. The budget of the trade unions originates almost exclusively from membership fees which covers a variety of services.[13]

Their main forms of actions are divided between direct actions and member services (carried out domestically) and lobbying activities, fundraising (both domestically and transnationally), and participation in policy making on a national-political level. Furthermore, the trade unions are involved in sales of services (educative courses, etc.) to non-members and clients. The direct actions involve highly-professionalised member services covering assistance in accessing the welfare system, legal assistance, education, and various forms of non-material assistance to unemployed members (such as job seeking or personal help). Financial support for the unemployed rests, as previously mentioned, entirely on the unemployment insurance funds and is thus not covered by the unions.

Humanitarian NGOs

The four humanitarian NGOs interviewed for this report are by far the TSOs with the highest operating budget and number of employees.[14] As in the case of the trade unions, their budget vastly exceeded that of €500,000, and the NGO with the most employees employs over 1000 – and many more globally. This is explained by the fact that all of them are national branches of major global NGOs. Typically, the respondents were not able to grasp and discuss concrete details about the vast range of actions and services carried out by their organisation, and were only able to provide responses covering questions within their restricted field of competence. Still, some general points relating to their sources of funding, main actions and services, and degree and scope of transnational solidarity will be mentioned here.

The focus of their activities lies in direct actions and the provision of services to beneficiaries whether these are refugees, immigrants, or socially vulnerable people both domestically and globally. This primarily entails humanitarian help aid, which together with fundraising is described as their key action. The fundraising originates from a variety of sources: membership fees, sales of goods and services, nationwide fundraisers and collections, grants from the national government and the EU. The NGOs also employ PR and marketing departments that are highly professional in raising awareness through major fundraisers and nationwide campaigns and collections. Furthermore, they are specialised in lobbying activities domestically and transnationally and policy-making processes mainly at a national level. The NGOs are highly connected to other global actors and umbrellas, whether this involves direct actions in developing countries or lobbying activities for global actors such as the UN.

Below, we have summarised the key characteristics that relate to the associational ecology of solidarity in six different categories of Danish civil society.

[13] Being a trade union member is generally costly compared to the membership fees raised by other organisations in our sample. Typically, it costs around €600 annually. To be a member of a patient organisation, in comparison, costs around €30 annually.
[14] Interviews 17, 18, 19, 20.

Table 5. Categories of TSOs and their main characteristics.

Category	Operating budget	Employees	Issue field	Type of solidarity	Degree of solidarity
1.Patient organisations	Various	0-50	Disability	Mutual	Low
2.Disability umbrellas	> €200,000	4-40	Disability	Mutual	Medium
3.Human and political rights organisations	€200,000 - 500,000	0-4	Immigr./Unemploy.	Convivial	High
4. Homelessness organisations	>€500,000	>5	Unemployment	Altrustic/help-to-selfhelp	Low
5.Trade unions	>€500,000	>10	Immigr./Unemploy.	Mutual and altruistic	Medium
6.Humanita-rian NGOs	>€500,000	>10	Immigration	Altrustic	High

Solidarity as an interactive process: political and social embeddedness

The third dimension of the report addresses the political and social embeddedness of the TSOs through an analysis of their participation in policy and legislative processes and their civil society and public networking within the last two years. Here we see a significant gap when comparing political participation with a national and transnational scope: maybe not surprisingly political participation is much more diffused at national than at transnational level. It further appears that the issue field of immigration is the most politicised, whereas solidarity action organised by patient and homelessness organisations is rather consensual. We will approach the field of interaction and networking of TSOs from two angles. First, we investigate how the different categories of TSOs engage with the public, and how they are involved in political lobbying activities and policy processes both in a transnational (and more specifically EU) and domestic (including regional and local) context. As table 6 shows, Danish civil society is mostly nationally embedded and engaged in lobbying activities domestically. Secondly, we will summarise key findings of how the different issue fields are networked both within civil society and with public institutions.

Table 6. Participation in policy-making processes on an EU, national and sub-national level (N=30).

Type of participation	Participation (%)	
	No	Yes
1. As a permanent member of an EU body (e.g. Economic and Social Affairs committee; Social Business Europe; etc.)	93	7
2. As an organisation consulted during specific policy procedures (EP and EC consultations, etc.)	83	17
3. As a permanent member of national policy-making procedures	50	50
4. As an organisation consulted during specific policy-making procedures at national level	20	80
5. As a permanent member of sub-national policy-making procedures	67	33
6. As an organisation consulted during specific policy-making procedures at sub-national level	60	40

TSOs consulted by the European Union

We will begin with an examination of the TSOs who are either permanent members of EU-bodies, or consulted in more specific policy processes related to the European Parliament or Commission. First of all, only one TSO interviewed is engaged at an institutional EU level on a permanent basis. The chairman in this TSO is indeed very prolific in both national and international debates about the rights of disabled people, and this serves as an explanation for the exception to the general rule that Danish civil society are close to non-existent as permanent actors with key functions in the EU or transnational policy processes. Around 17% of the Danish TSOs included in our sample have, nonetheless, participated at least once in more specific and typically isolated events, or contributed occasionally to policy processes (see table 6). Apart from this, we are not able to discern any sector- or organisation-specific-pattern.

National policy-making processes

As mentioned above, Danish civil society focuses their activities on participation in national policy-making processes. We will use this section to discuss the key differences between the issue fields and categories of TSOs. As table 6 shows, 80% of the TSOs have been involved in policy-making processes on a national level, this being either as permanent members of bodies, councils, and committees, or as consultants in policy making.

TSOs within the issue field of immigration are clearly the most politically active. All TSOs within this field have participated in policy-making processes within the last three years. Political activism is also widely diffused among TSOs in the other sectors, yet patient organisations and homelessness organisations would typically give lower priority to this type of political engagement. The very small,

voluntary associations and 'rare-diagnosis'-groups are mostly focused on concrete, direct actions and services to members or beneficiaries. In the case of patient organisations within the disability area, this corresponds to a clear-cut division of labour between local groups and the larger umbrellas. The patient organisations deal with direct actions, whereas the umbrella organisations deal with the political lobbying activities.

Social embeddedness

As part of our TSO survey, we mapped the organisational network in the three issue fields analysed. For this purpose, we asked our respondents for their self-placement within the organisational field and their collaboration with others.

First of all, the TSOs were asked to identify collaborators working within the same issue field.[15] Secondly, they were asked to mention other civil society collaborators outside their issue field and collaboration with public institutions. The analysis will refer to three binary (1,0) matrices, one for each field. These have been 'translated' into graphs where the TSOs are represented as squares with numbers (nodes). The lines connecting the nodes are the undirected links (ties), which are used as an indicator for a reciprocal collaboration between two associations. This might have resulted in a slight overrepresentation of network links, as we cannot accurately verify the reciprocal links (since we lack confirmation of the interview with collaborating partners). In the Danish case, the analysis of collaboration between TSOs is compromised by three other sources of error. Firstly, we are not able to provide information about the whole issue field. In unemployment, for example, we have interviewed fewer than 10% of the full sample of 150 associations and public institutions working in the field. Secondly, and this returns to a recurring source of error in our report, the answers are limited to a subjective judgement of one single respondent. As mentioned before, this is most problematic in cases of major organisations, where the knowledge of this respondent is often limited to a particular sector or department represented and cannot account for the variety of collaborations in which this organisation engages. Lastly, we are not able to provide information about the 'strength' of these different collaborations as they have not ranked been or further evaluated.

[15] Q.32: Which of these [TSOs] have you collaborated with on projects or events in the last two years? Here, the respondents were presented with a list of TSOs corresponding to their issue field. A disability organisation was, for example, handed a list of other disability associations.

Table 7.1. Unemployment.

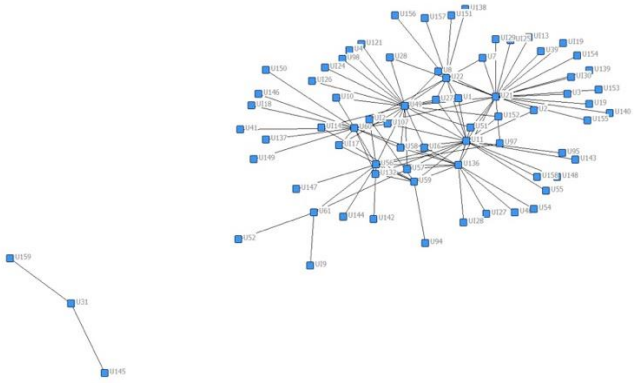


Table 7.2. Disability.

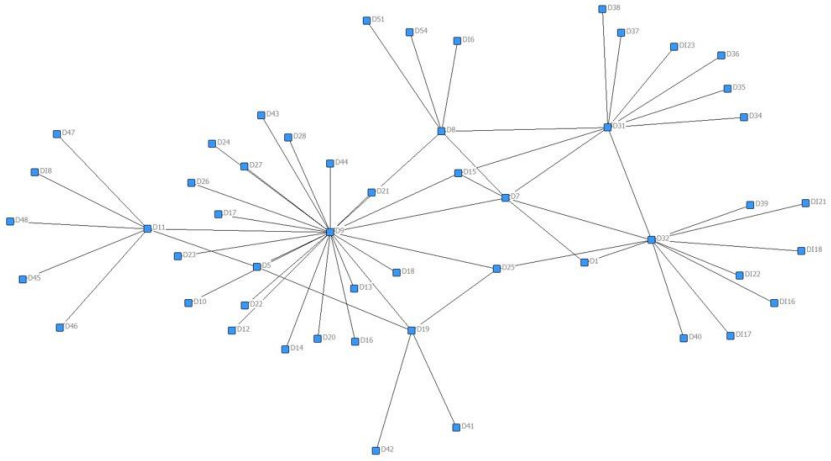
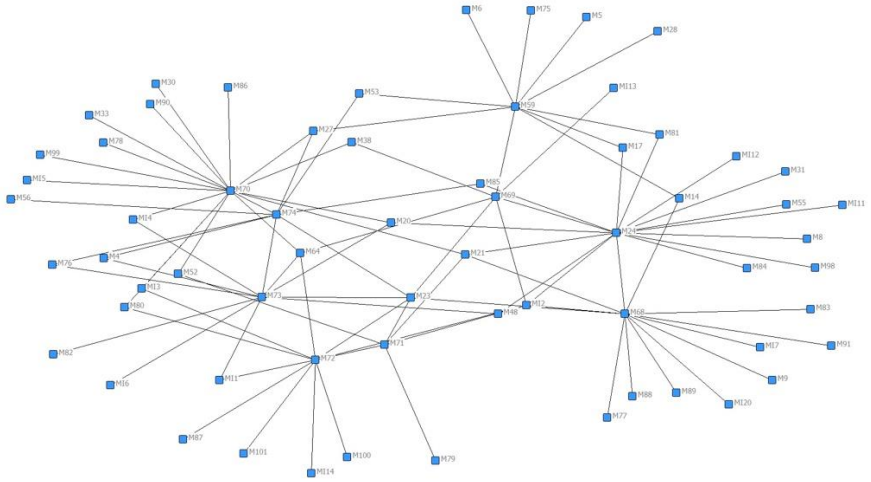


Table 7.3. Migration.



As shown in the graphs in table 7, 1-3 above, the three-issue fields differ notably from each other. First of all, the average number of collaborations (ties) varies. Collaboration is highest within the field of unemployment (222), which is almost twice the number of collaborations in the disability field (120). In the field of migration, the number of ties verified by our respondents lies somewhere in the middle (192). The fact that TSOs working within the unemployment field are more 'networked' than TSOs in the other sectors does not, however, really surprise given their resources, their high degree of institutionalisation and considering the variety of their activities. In contrast to the two other issue fields, we further find the unemployment field to be more amplified and diversified. Graph 7.1 also depicts one outlier being completely isolated from the main network (U31, Interview 30), but this is due to the fact that the single respondent of that organisation in our interview was not familiar with the inter-organisational activities of her association and could not identify collaborators.

Within the field of disability, we find – as expected – that the disability umbrellas become clearly visibly as central nodes in the network. They are those who orchestrate collaboration with their surroundings. These umbrellas have a higher degree of centrality, which is measured by the number of ties departing from or leading to them. The field of migration is, as expected, the least centralised. This can be explained by two factors: first of all, the migration sector is not organised around big umbrella organisations (as in the disability field) or head organisations (as in the unemployment field). Secondly, their scope of solidarity is geographically far more fragmented, spreading their activities all over the world rather than operating within one territory.

Conclusion

The involvement of Danish civil society organisations in national and transnational solidarity action is defined by complexity. First of all, solidarity comes in different types – mutual, convivial, altruistic – and many organisations engage in several of these types and creatively interpret them for their purposes (such as the 'help to self-help'-variant of the altruistic type of solidarity applied by homelessness organisations). Second, solidarity is practised to different degrees: from vocalisations of feelings of solidarity embedded in the value system of the TSOs (a low degree) to testimonies of

concrete and direct actions of solidarity (a high degree). Thirdly, the scope of engagement can be national, transnational and European, but with a special focus cooperation in the geographical areas of western and northern Europe, especially within Scandinavia and the Nordic region.

In general, we find that this complexity and cross-issue engagement are most distinctive within the issue fields of immigration and unemployment. Here, we find a combination of different types of solidarity (mainly convivial and altruistic), but also a large variety (in degree and scope) of solidarity between the TSOs, which differ widely in terms of size of budgets and ecology. The main conclusion here is that the size of the TSO correlates with the degree of solidarity engagement. The issue field of immigration is further found to be the most transnational in its scope of solidarity action and the disability field the least. Within the issue field of disability, we see a more self-contained structure with a clear division of work between patient organisations (mainly direct actions and specific-member services) and the politically engaged umbrella organisations. Within this issue field, the type of solidarity is mainly mutual, and the degree and scope of transnational solidarity is relatively low.

All TSOs engage to some degree in campaigns and events, which are used to propagate solidarity with their target groups. In a national context, their engagement varies mainly according to financial and ecological conditions, rather than between issue fields. We find two main types of engagement: Social and educative events organised on a voluntary basis by the smallest TSOs with a focus on the promotion of mutual solidarity, and secondly the large professional media campaigns (e.g. Børn i fattigdom? NEJ TAK) organised mainly by the medium-sized and larger TSOs. These latter serve the purpose of promoting convivial solidarity by raising public awareness for human rights' concerns, or setting the political agenda for general reforms of the welfare state or global justice, e.g. children living in poverty. Domestically, we find that especially the medium-sized and larger TSOs are engaging in campaigns with a strong focus on direct solidarity action. This is nurtured by a high degree of professionalism among the activists representing the major TSOs and the fact that Denmark is a relatively small and homogenous country.

In a transnational context, the degree of solidarity is significantly lower, and the three issue fields under investigation cooperate to a much lower degree. Within the field of disability, we find that the TSOs almost exclusively restrict their cooperation to the trans-Scandinavian or trans-Nordic area with a strong focus on social events or education projects. Most of these activities involve an element of sharing knowledge and experience specific to the Scandinavian/Nordic countries. Homelessness and unemployment TSOs as well tend to share geographically-specific experiences within the Scandinavian/Nordic area. The transnational engagement of trade Unions and immigration TSOs instead has a broader reach with a strong focus on humanitarian aid campaigns addressing the needs of people outside the geographical area of Scandinavia and Europe. These cases exemplify how Danish civil society engages in direct, altruistic solidarity abroad.

Table 6 summarizes the key differences between the six specific categories (patient organisations, disability umbrellas, human and political rights organisations, homelessness organisations, trade unions and humanitarian NGOs), the three issue fields and the general sample. First of all, the six categories of TSOs rely on fundamentally different financial and ecological conditions ranging from volunteer organisations to major global NGOs. Again, we also see that the issue fields of immigration and unemployment overlap to a high degree, whereas the issue field of disability is more self-contained.

Secondly, we observe a clear-cut distinction between TSOs that work mainly on the basis of direct actions and providing services (patient organisations, homelessness organisations), those who engage mainly in "behind-the-scenes"-related lobbying activities (disability umbrellas, and human and political rights organisations), and those who combine service orientation with lobbying (trade unions and humanitarian NGOs). Another key difference between the smaller and larger TSOs in all issue fields is their definition of target groups or beneficiaries. Smaller TSOs (e.g. within the field of disability) would typically define their beneficiaries more narrowly and, as an element of the ethic of mutual help, would not distinguish between providers of services and beneficiaries. Medium-sized and larger TSOs would define their beneficiaries more universally and see themselves as spokespersons and advocates who speak for (or represent) the needs of larger groups within society, or globally. Their target group is thus external and not internal. When it comes to political embeddedness, we find that approximately 80% of the TSOs have participated in national policy-making processes, whereas only 17% are involved at a European level. Also, the issue field of immigration is the most politicised, whereas within the sector of health and social care (patient and homelessness organisations), the level of political contestation is generally low.

Funding creates some dependencies of Danish civil society on government and public funding authorities. The smaller and medium-sized TSOs are especially dependent on public funding, which for many is the only or principle source of income. This applies, in particular, to the disability field, the human and political rights organisations, and the homelessness organisations, which represent close to 75 % of our sample. This, in turn, reflects the close and generally trust-based relationship between public institutions and civil society, highly characteristic for the case of Denmark.

References

Baglioni, S., Denters, B., Morales, L. and Vetter, A. (2007). City Size and the Nature of Associational Ecologies. In: W. Maloney and S. Rossteutcher, ed. Social Capital and Associations in European Democracies, London: Routledge, pp. 224-243

Bendixsen, S., Bringslid, M.B. and Vike, H. (2017). Egalitarianism in Scandinavia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. New York: Springer International Publishing.

Bernhard, S. (2015). Informational Capital: How It is developed and Used by CSOs and EU Institutions. In: H. Johansson and S. Kalm, ed. EU Civil Society. Patterns of Cooperation, Competition and Conflict, Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 43-60.

Duru, D.N.; Sejersen, T.S.; Trenz, H.J. (2017 - Upcoming). The Best Welfare System in the World? The Danish Welfare State, Transnational Solidarity, and Civil Society in Times of Crisis. In: WP2 edited volume.

Font, J., Geurts, P., Maloney, W. and Berton, M. (2007). Organizations in context. Politics and culture shaping associational life. In: W. Maloney and S. Rossteutscher, ed. Social Capital and Associations in European Democracies. London: Routledge, pp. 19-38.

Giugni, M. and Passy, F. (2001). Political Altruism?: Solidarity Movements in International Perspective. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Gray, V. and Lowery, D. (1996). The Population Ecology of Interest Representation: Lobbying in the American States. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press.

Jeffries, V. (2014). Altriusm, Morality and Social Soldiarity as a Field of Study. In: V. Jeffries ed. The Palgrave Handbook of Altriusm, Morality and Social Solidarity. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 3-20.

Kaspersen, L.B and Ottesen, L. (2001). Associationalism for 150 years and still alive and kicking: Some reflections on Danish civil society. In: Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, 4 (1): pp. 105-130.

Kriesi, H. (2007). Organisational Resources: Personnel and Finances. In: W. Maloney and S. Rossteutcher, ed. Social Capital and Associations in European Democracies, London: Routledge, pp. 118-152.

Kymlicka, W. (2015). Solidarity in diverse societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism. In: Comparative Migration Studies, 3 (1).

Maloney, W and Rossteutcher, S. ed. (2007). Social capital and associations in European democracies. London: Routledge.

Roßteutscher, S. (2002). Advocate or Reflection? Associations and Political Culture. In: Political Studies, 50 (3): pp. 514-528.

Ruzza, C. and Sala V.D. (2007). Governance and Civil Society in the European Union, Vol. 1: Normative Perspectives. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Sanchez Salgado, R. (2014). Europeanizing Civil Society. How the EU Shapes Civil Society Organizations. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Transnational solidarity in French civil society

Manlio Cinalli, Carlo De Nuzzo, Rosa M. Lechuga, Maria Sanhueza (Sciences Po)

Introduction

This report draws on 33 in-depth interviews with main French civil society organisations (henceforth, CSOs) that are active in the fields of migration, unemployment, and disability. By surveying the variety of organisations that are present in these three vulnerable fields, especially in terms of their engagement, resources and interactions, this report will reflect the experience of both larger and smaller organisations, those that are highly visible and those that are less visible in the public sphere, those that can rely on a rich array of alliances and those that rather commit as stand-alone organisations in the field. This systematic research allows for dealing with agency, structures, and networks of solidarity, thus implying a systematic examination of a large number of variables and their variations across different fields of vulnerability. Overall, we believe our work has come at a critical time, and in particular when CSOs in France are completing a long-term process that has increased their responsibilities, largely as a result of the population growth, the worsening of issues such as unemployment, migration, and disability, and the increase in public attention paid to them. Now, CSOs in France play a much bigger part in shaping French politics than they did just a decade ago, raising public awareness and standing out among the best opponents of vulnerability.

The specific interest of this report in cross-field variations (and their determinants) fits the worsening of conditions for vulnerable groups such as the unemployed, migrants, and people with disability in contemporary France. Starting with unemployment, emphasis should be put on its consistently high rates over the last years. Although France's unemployment rate fell below 10% for the first time in 2012, this decline has been slower than in other leading European economies, as a gradual recovery in economic growth and job creation has been offset by the high number of young people entering the labour force every year. Thus, although unemployment has been decreasing in all age categories, particularly among younger people, rates of youth unemployment are still significant today, with approximately a quarter of young people unemployed, and hence, some strong encompassing grievances offering a fertile ground for the mobilisation of CSOs. As regards migration, there has been a similar increase in vulnerability. New 'reforms' have limited migrants from settling in France, by making it more difficult for them to attain citizenship. At the same time, anti-migrant discourse has stated that migrants are a burden on society. The ground has been fertile for the mobilisation of a large number of migrant organisations, or others mobilising on their behalf. Perhaps the strongest symbol of this key field of vulnerability has been the 'Calais Jungle', a camp near the Northern city of Calais, which gained global attention during the most recent migration crisis, particularly with respect to bottom-up challenges against mass evictions carried out by French authorities. By contrast, this type of oppositional challenges is absent in the field of unemployment.

Lastly, there has also been a worsening of policy protection for sick people and the disabled, particularly when considering decreasing public expenditure. Disability aid has met with regular cuts amidst outcries from French disability groups; in the voice of an interviewee: "…choosing the most fragile and excluded people in society for budget cuts is unacceptable".

Theoretical background

The large variety of variables at the centre of this report are treated within a larger framework whereby they are expected to be in relation to each other. Our main point of interest —the bottom-up engagement of CSOs— stands out at the base of this framework. In particular, this report shows that there are many crucial differences across fields in terms of bottom-up engagement. By bottom-up engagement we mean a large array of characteristics of CSOs agency, including for example their preferred level of action (distinguishing between national, sub-national, and transnational), their degree of 'transversality' (assessing the extent to which they cut across different fields of vulnerability), their degree of 'proximity' (appraising whether CSOs mobilize in tight symbiosis with the vulnerable beneficiaries themselves), as well as the *repertoire* of forms of action that they use. Various reference to this type of treatment of bottom-up engagement can be found across many scholarly works that have looked at pro-beneficiary movements and their type of prevailing activities (Giugni and Passy, 2001, Lelieveldt et al., 2007, Torpe and Ferrer-Fons, 2007). The evaluation of cross-field variations of bottom-up engagement, however, is only complete when matched with some systematic investigation around its most likely determinants. So where should we look exactly, if we want to explain potential cross-field variations of bottom-up engagement? In particular, beyond the CSOs themselves, we consider that many other actors have put migration, unemployment, and disability at the core of their own concerns. These actors include unions, parties, NGOs, and charities of different kinds, but also institutions and policy makers, thus contributing to the transformation of vulnerability into large multi-organisational fields of actors and their interactions. Hence, this report focuses on the whole fields within which the engagement of CSOs take place. The scholarly literature has provided plenty of arguments and data to show that grievances in general are not sufficient to explain the various aspects of bottom-up engagement, neither when focusing on mobilisation of larger social movements (Tilly 1978, Kriesi et al., 1995, Tarrow, 1998), nor when focusing more specifically on vulnerable groups (Cinalli, 2004, Baglioni et al., 2008, Baxandall, 2001 and 2002). Yet this literature has mostly focused on distant characteristics of the political context, predominantly as a result of their specific interest in cross-national comparative politics.

Given that this report only focuses on France, when considering context in this report, we mostly think about it in relational terms. We can thus rely on network analysis in order to use key conceptual and methodological tools to examine variations of 'relational contexts' between different fields of vulnerability. In so doing, we shed light on ties that link actors to each other within whole multi-organisational fields (Curtis and Zucher, 1973). The study of these networks is considered to be especially important to appraise the construction of relational patterns across the public and policy domains. Network analysis (Knoke and Kuklinsky, 1982, Scott, 2000, Wasserman and Faust, 1994) provides us with the key conceptual and methodological tools for examining our fields of migration, unemployment, and disability. These multi-organisational fields are operationalised in terms of networks of ties amongst units, that is, a set of nodes which are entrusted to actors who, through their reciprocal interactions, contribute to shape the overall relational context in that field (Cinalli

2007: 6). More precisely, we define our networks as sets of ties of collaboration. Each organisation in each field is thus seen as a focus from which lines radiate to other nodes of the multi-organisational field, that is, the other organisation with which adjacent ties of collaboration are shared.

At the same time, this report deals with other potential determinants of CSOs bottom-up engagement in particular with the analysis of endogenous resources of these same CSOs. In particular, this report distinguishes between material resources and immaterial resources. In our framework, we expect that both types of resources can be taken among the main variables that explain cross-field variations of bottom-up engagement. Following the long-standing tradition of 'resource mobilisation n theory', many studies have shown the importance of budgets, organisational assets, and internal structuring of organisations (Obershall 1973, McCarthy and Zald, 1977). So this report deals with a number of endogenous characteristics that may have an impact on CSOs' engagement, such as financial resources, the degree of formalisation (employees, volunteers, etc.), and the duration of the CSOs' establishment in the field. In line with the literature on vulnerability and 'altruism' (Giugni and Passy, 2001), the report also considers the role of pro-beneficiary mobilisation on behalf of the vulnerable groups (Cinalli, 2007, Simeant , 1998a and 1998b), inquiring into the role of group-level resources (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008). As regards immaterial resources, the report considers the broader role of culture through the treatment of beliefs, identities, and emotions (Benford and Snow, 2000, Goodwin et al., 2001, Jasper, 1988, Offe, 1985, Snow et al., 1986, Tourain, 1981). In this case, attention is focused on the way that CSOs cognitively and emotionally construct their solidary interventions, as this is expected to change across the three field fields.

Therefore, in the scope of this French-wide report (in the absence of cross-national variations of political opportunities), the shape of the relational contexts is especially useful when matched against the more usual explanatory variables such endogenous resources. The main theoretical aim, beyond the production of empirical knowledge, is to appraise the importance of relational effects as grounded in the way that fields are relationally structured. By dealing with inter-organisational relationships within the three different fields, the goal is to assess the extent to which fields are relationally differently, which may impact differently on choices that CSOs make in terms of bottom-up engagement. In particular, the report establishes a crucial distinction between networks that CSOs forge among themselves on the one hand, and networks that the same CSOs have with institutions and policy-makers on the other. This distinction between a 'horizontal' dimension of CSO networks with other civil society actors, and a 'vertical' dimension of CSO networks with institutions and policy makers is indeed essential to gain good insight into embeddedness in general across the three fields. This distinction between horizontal and vertical networks can also refer to the distinction that we find in the literature that deals with the different nature of the public and the policy domain, respectively. While the scholarly discussion of the policy domain has included institutions and the policy elite, the public domain, in the context of our argument, refers to the 'organised public', the target of policy-making (Bassoli and Cinalli, 2014; Cinalli, 2004; Statham and Gray, 2011), and of which CSOs themselves are an important part.

Having tackled the theoretical basis of our work in the first part, we can now move on to engage in a systematic cross-field assessment of bottom-up engagement, resources, and relational contexts of CSOs in the three fields of migration, unemployment, and disability. To do so, this report systematically treats each field one at a time so as to examine its unique characteristics, but it also

deals with systematic cross-field comparisons in such a way as to analyse and explain similarities and differences between different fields of vulnerability.

The bottom-up engagement of CSOs in the three fields of migration, unemployment, and disability

Starting with the analysis of bottom-up engagement of CSOs in the field of migration, findings show some extensive activities at the national level. All thirteen CSOs carry out their activities with and on behalf of migrants. Ten CSOs out of thirteen mobilise at the transnational level. A number of projects are currently being delivered on this continent, including shared experiences with, for example, Britain, Denmark, and Germany, all of which are taken as instances of good practice. At the subnational level, the engagement is also high. Eleven CSOs out of thirteen have an important representative focus in large cities. Looking more specifically at the proximity that CSOs nurture with their main activists and beneficiaries, we observe that the actions and services are obviously directed more at migrants and asylum seekers (a priority for all our CSOs). However, other vulnerable groups were identified during talks with interviewees in the field of migration. In particular, eleven out of thirteen CSOs offer their services to the unemployed. CSOs also address the young and the disabled.

The main issues addressed in events and campaigns at the national and subnational level are democratic values such as freedom, justice, voting equality rights, and the subsequent defence thereof. CSOs conduct events with the objective to denounce discrimination, xenophobia, racism, sexism, inequality, or the state of emergency. Campaigns are organised to raise awareness of the notion of "citizen" and basic human rights, such as voting, asylum and the protection of refugees. In transnational campaigns and events, CSOs focus on issues of solidarity, cooperation for economic and social development, cultural diversity, identity and European migration policy, calling for a new vision in long-term asylum and migration policies. In addition, CSOs denounce the impediment of activities by the government, as well as restrictions to meet and to react at international level. They promote the diversity of the demographic composition that exists in Europe, with the aim of seeking to unite all Mediterranean cultures with Europe. In fact, Europe is generally seen as the place with the strongest representation of associations and NGOs.

When focusing on forms of action, findings show that at the national level, CSOs engage mostly in mobilising members through protest and demonstrations, political education of citizens, awareness raising, and service to members (including advisory- counselling and material support). At international level, two actions occur most frequently in the associations: mobilising members through protest and demonstrations, on the one hand, and participation in legal consultations and policy making processes on the other. In particular, it is interesting to note that twelve CSOs out of thirteen mobilise members through protest and demonstration at the national level, compared to six out of thirteen at the transnational level. National- and international-level engagements in actions of influence and pressure differ significantly: ten out of thirteen CSOs and three out of thirteen CSOs, respectively. At the national level, eleven CSOs out of thirteen participate in legal consultations and policy-making processes, while at the international level, five out of thirteen engage in the same type of participation.

Moving on to the analysis of the unemployment field, findings show that CSOs' work is mainly embedded at the subnational level. The totality of CSOs have established regional and local branches, which engage in various activities in the field. CSOs assisting a larger public are identified by the heterogeneous and varied activities they operate: From material aid to moral support, including law assistance and housing. An interviewee describes the phenomena as "extreme engagement" defined by the diversity and variability of actions undertaken. National targeted actions show a broad scope. The broad goal is twofold; to fight precariousness in several ways, and provide means to social inclusion of the unemployed and/or poor population. An equally relevant issue is to fight discrimination against unemployed people. Indeed, one CSO has created a group to "stop stigmatisation" since very often unemployed people are the target of hostility and preconceived negative ideas.

The number of actions and 'collectives' has also multiplied in the framework of national elections so as to raise the voice of the unemployed and be a part of the political agenda. Four CSOs out of ten operate on issues that are not judged to be insufficiently treated by politicians or the civil society. The latter includes social inclusion through: Urbanisation, pedagogic activities, protection of the environment, promotion of citizenship, responsible consumption and the organisation of intellectual events. All CSOs follow these goals through different means: Social tourism, young people's inclusion and empowerment, intervention in political decision-making or assisting political institutions to create efficient policies. This translates into some common ground between the CSOs and their beneficiaries. Thus, eight CSOs provide services to members and non-members. An in-depth evaluation of provided services demonstrates that education services, access to welfare, and employment seeking are at the top, followed by legal assistance, financial aid, and non-material assistance.

Lastly, when focusing more closely on forms of action, six CSOs out of ten deal with these issues at the international and European level, including direct mobilisation and pressure targeting European institutions and Member States. We observe a smaller number of CSOs organising protests or demonstrations, at least compared to what we found in the field of migration. In particular, seven CSOs out of ten engage in protests or demonstrations at the national level, while only three do so at the transnational level. Overall, however, the use of direct actions shows a pattern that is similar to the field of migration. Accordingly, seven CSOs mobilise members through direct actions nationally, while three CSOs do so transnationally. In addition, nine CSOs lobby the national state, whereas four do so at the transnational level. At the same time, nine CSOs participate in legal consultations or policy-making processes in order to influence the national government. The difference between national and transnational activities is not as remarkable as it is for lobbying: seven CSOs undertake these actions, while only three CSOs that do not participate in policy making.

Regarding the field of disability, many CSOs work at the national level. Two types of actions especially characterise the national and regional campaigns. On the one hand, CSOs aim to be a source of information. They organise mass demonstrations to promote the association and its work; they also have an active presence in social media where they post information about various illnesses, and they set up telephone helplines. On the other hand, CSOs organise specialised conferences that bring together families of disabled children and medical practitioners, including specialists like surgeons and researchers. For rare diseases, part of the challenge is to raise awareness among doctors. Even if only four CSOs out of ten are active at the transnational level,

their work (both in and outside the EU) is very relevant. At the European level, the goal of disability campaigns is to open up a space to share information and organise campaigns.

Accordingly, CSOs and political institutions have cooperated closely during specific campaigns like vaccination and prevention projects, fundraising to build accommodation and awareness campaigns. Five CSOs take part in legal consultations and seek opportunities to influence policy at the national level. CSOs in the field of disability are also very close to their beneficiaries. The beneficiaries are often people suffering from different pathologies that affect their life quality and their human rights. In order to raise awareness and produce more research, CSOs organise events designed to sensitise the public to specific diseases, and to provide the disabled and their families with exhaustive information. Many CSOs claim that the main objective of their association is to encourage solidarity, even if, as far as their members are concerned, solidarity is not always the only mobilising input. In fact, CSOs seem to be aware of the need to develop concrete solutions to social problems in order to mobilise membership. Suffice it to say that a vast majority of the interviewed people see themselves as ambassadors, and they consider themselves responsible for raising awareness and 'representing' each particular disease.

When focusing more closely on the forms of their engagement, results show that CSOs make large recourse to the mobilisation of members through protest, service to members and demonstrations, as well as mobilising members through direct actions. In particular, all ten CSOs have made recourse to mobilisation of members through protest and demonstration, at least at the national level (only four CSOs have engaged in protest and demonstration at the transnational level). These figures are consistent with figures for direct action, with nine CSOs mobilising at the national level set against three at transnational level. Six CSOs out of ten have handled actions of influence and pressure at the national level. Six CSOs have used interest representation and lobbying, while four have done so at the transnational level. At the national level, five CSOs have participated in legal consultations and policy-making processes at the national level, while three CSOs have done the same at the transnational level.

Having dealt with the main characteristics of CSOs, we can sum up the main results more specifically in comparative terms across the three fields. First, we have found that CSOs are especially active at the national level, then at the subnational level, and finally at the transnational level. However, in the two fields of migration and disability, these differences are only minor when compared to the field of unemployment. In this latter field, the transnational level remains quite marginal.

Table 1. Level Action (figures are numbers)

Level Action	Transnational	National	Subnational
Migration	10	13	11
Unemployment	6	9	10
Disability	6	7	7

Second, we have found that, in relation to beneficiaries, the two fields of migration and unemployment are much more transversal. In this case, CSOs engage with a more varied number of different people, with some key evidence of criss-crossing dynamics between the two fields (for

example, when organisations in the field of migration also tackle issues of vulnerability and unemployment). By contrast, the CSOs in the field of disability are exclusively active within their own field, with little cross-field interaction (see table 2).

Table 2. Target group CSOs (numbers)

Target group CSOs	Migration	Unemployment	Disability
Immigrants / asylum seekers	13	4	0
The unemployed	11	9	1
Disabled people	9	6	10
Other	8	6	5

Third, we have found that, in terms of actions, the three fields share a strong focus on political education of citizens and the need to raise awareness. In particular, CSOs in the migration and disability fields privilege two forms of action in particular, namely the mobilisation of members through protest, and the provision of services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc.). By contrast, in the unemployment field, data indicate a key presence of interest representation and lobbying activities, particularly when compared to the field of migration.

Table 3. Main actions by field (figures are numbers)

Main actions by field	Migration			Unemployment			Disability		
	No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes	
		Nat	*Trans*		*Nat*	*Trans*		*Nat*	*Trans*
Mobilising members through protest, demonstrations	1	12	6	3	7	3	0	10	4
Mobilising members through direct actions	1	11	2	3	7	3	1	9	3
Political education of citizens / awareness raising	0	12	2	1	9	4	0	10	4
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions	3	10	3	1	9	4	4	6	4
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc.)	0	12	1	2	7	2	0	10	4
Services to others (e.g. clients)	1	12	2	2	8	2	3	7	4
Fundraising	2	10	1	2	5	2	3	7	2
Participation in legal consultations / policy-making processes	0	11	5	1	8	6	4	5	3
Other	0	4	0	0	2	1	8	2	0

In a nutshell, the field of migration stands out for its highly participative trends, especially when considering more direct forms of mobilisation that tend to challenge policy-makers. By contrast, the field of unemployment fits the dynamics of 'client politics' (Freeman, 2002), with some extensive competition among challengers. Division between challengers and policy insiders is criss-crossed through activities of lobbying; this also results in a much stronger focus at the national level. As regards the field of disability, this stands out for its strong field-specific focus and the high proximity that it allows for between CSOs and the disabled themselves. Yet, there are also some other noticeable cross-field differences. While the political education of citizens and the awareness raising are mostly realised at the national level, at the transnational level the unemployment field stands out for its higher recourse to participation in legal consultations and policy-making processes.

Table 4. Main actions in the three fields (figures are numbers)

Main actions in the three fields (DISABILITY, MIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT)	**No**	**Yes**	
		Nationally	*Transnationally*
Mobilising members through protest, demonstrations	4	29	13
Mobilising members through direct actions	5	27	8
Political education of citizens / awareness raising	1	31	10
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions	8	25	11
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc.)	2	29	7
Services to others (e.g. clients)	6	27	8
Fundraising	7	22	5
Participation in legal consultations / policy-making processes	5	24	14
Other : conferences (3) debates (5) work with institutions (5)	8	8	1
TOTAL	46	222	77
N=33 M=13 U=10 D=10			

Our results also suggest that the two fields of migration and disability, compared to unemployment, are characterised by a higher degree of mobilisation of members through direct actions, including demonstrations and protests. However, at transnational level, this trend is less pronounced, since at this level the two fields of unemployment and disability are closer to each other in terms of mobilisation through direct actions (cf. Table 3: Main actions by field).

Material and immaterial resources: The endogenous outlook of the three fields

Starting with the analysis of immaterial resources, and in particular the way that CSOs chose to frame their intervention and appeal to specific understandings of solidarity, our findings show that

CSOs in the field of migration —in addition to helping migrants, refugees and asylum seekers— think of solidarity in very comprehensive terms of inclusion. That is to say, solidarity is not only about hosting people who have left their country for various reasons, but rather, it consists of giving them a sense of being equal recipients of rights, full citizens, thereby promoting a better image, dignifying their life stories, and underscoring their valuable stand as 'world citizens' who have much to offer through their cultures, language, and diversity. Overall, CSOs subscribe to a comprehensive sense of well-being, and engage in a broad vision that pays full attention to long-term effects and consequences. Thus, beyond the importance of economic and labour market integration, CSOs in the migration field put emphasis on fundamental values such as social integration, family, and individual personhood. This interest in the 'individual' translates into a close presence of CSOs, side by side with migrants so they rarely feel alone; this, in turn, is reinforced by the close relationship of mutual aid and support that CSOs share among themselves, especially to the advantage of smaller organisations that would not otherwise have the capacity to intervene in the field because of their lower resources.

Our findings show a similar capacity of CSOs in the field of unemployment to frame their intervention in broad terms; for example, to fight against precariousness and all forms of poverty. We also find a similar reference to the idea of unresponsiveness of institutions —whether national, trans-national, or sub-national— which requires the unity of CSOs to formulate reliable answers. By considering that 'there is a need', and that social, economic and environmental challenges 'must' be tackled, CSOs pledge for a broader understanding of inclusion. This latter is framed in its multi-dimensionality, just as in the field of migration, including references to well-being and the fight against discrimination and global inequalities. This broad and multi-dimensional understanding of solidarity includes a predominant philanthropic aspect such as reaching out to and helping the excluded, an economic aspect such as developing creative and innovative tools to reduce unemployment, as well as a political aspect, since CSOs see solidarity as a channel for the empowerment of vulnerable groups and for public opinion transformation. Put simply, through solidarity, the unemployed can regain independence, autonomy, and control over their own lives. And most crucially, they can regain the power to voice their claims and have some influence on institutional decision making.

As regards the field of disability, solidarity is especially understood as an experience of intense empathy with the beneficiaries (including the disabled and their families). This is clear when considering that CSOs appeal to members' and potential supporters' deep emotions, stressing the difficulties of everyday life for the beneficiaries. Solidarity as intense emotion and empathy come together with a strong closeness between CSOs and the beneficiaries, often resulting in the idea that an activist is an ambassador of each particular disease. With this perspective in mind, solidarity is about committing to the rights of disabled people, engaging in the public debate in such a way as to improve information on disabilities and improve the lifestyle compromised by the disease. Therefore, CSOs not only pledge of social and economic insertion, but understanding that their mission is about increasing awareness about disability, as well as reinforcing the link between practitioners, scholars, and the disabled people. Of course, solidarity can also imply a more programmatic stand, for example with a view to transforming national health protocols, and taking a more active lead so as to foster proximity with the disabled, while being mindful of their dignity.

Moving on to discuss the material resources in the migration field, findings indicate the key importance of funding and grants that come from both the EU and the national state. While only some minor financial role is played by private companies, traditional resources of CSOs such as membership fees and fundraising are also important. As regards the unemployment field, a strong competitive dynamic can be identified on the basis of the few financial resources that are available. Findings show that competition rises as numerous collective actors work on the same topics; accordingly, the display of differences serves the purpose to attract funders who would otherwise have the impression that all CSOs do similar work. This highly competitive dynamic, however, does not apply to the social economy sector. In this case, findings indicate that there is instead a real collective "exchange" among organisations. Lastly, things are yet again different in the field of disability. In this case, in contrast with the migration and the unemployment fields, funds that are granted by private companies and individual donations represent the most important financial resource for CSOs. Furthermore, financial support by the European Union and the national state is not considered to be highly relevant. Traditional resources, such as membership fees and fundraising, have some importance. Findings show that these resources are essential for campaigning and informing the general public about issues of disease and disability. Of course, financial resources are fundamental to helping people with syndromes and their families in their daily struggle to ensure service provision.

Table 5. Funding sources in the migration field (figures are numbers)

Funding sources	Irrelevant	Fairly relevant	Very relevant
Returns from fundraising	4	4	5
Membership fees	4	6	3
Donations from individuals	4	4	5
Sponsoring by companies/firms	8	4	1
Finance from federations or umbrella organisations	9	3	0
Grants from national government	3	1	9
EU grants	5	2	6
Other sources	0	1	3

Table 6. Funding sources in the unemployment field (figures are numbers)

Funding sources	Irrelevant	Fairly relevant	Very relevant
Returns from fundraising	7	0	3
Membership fees	3	3	5
Donations from individuals	8	1	1
Sponsoring by companies/firms	6	2	3
Finance from federations or umbrella organisations	4	2	3
Grants from national government	1	2	7
EU grants	5	0	6
Other sources	0	0	5

Table 7: Funding sources in the disability field (figures are numbers)

Funding sources	Irrelevant	Fairly relevant	Very relevant
Returns from fundraising	2	2	5
Membership fees	1	5	4
Donations from individuals	0	3	7
Sponsoring by companies/firms	2	1	7
Finance from federations or umbrella organisations	6	0	2
Grants from national government	6	1	1
EU grants	7	0	1
Other sources	2	1	2

Dealing with findings about internal organisational resources and development, our data show that many CSOs working in the field of migration were created between 1941 and 2005. Two CSSOs were created between 1940 and 1962, six were created between 1963 and 1985, while between 1986 and 2005 five CSOs were set up. All of them have legal status and hierarchical internal organisation with committees. CSOs in the field of unemployment were created between 1940 and 2012. In particular, six CSOs were created before the 1980s, two CSOs were created in the 1990s, while two others were created after 2000. Nine CSOs out of ten have a legal status and a hierarchical internal organisation with committees where decisions are taken. As regards the field of disability, six CSOs were created between 1984 and 1999, three between 2008 and 2015, and another CSO can be traced back to pre-WWII time.

Table 8. CSOs Foundation (numbers per sector)

Foundation	M	U	D
1927- 1957	1	0	1
1958-1988	7	6	2
1989-2015	5	4	7

All of them have legal status and hierarchical internal organisation with committees. It is also interesting to consider the number of full-time and part-time workers. When focusing on all fields together, data show that eighteen CSOs out of thirty-three have full-time workers, while thirteen CSOs out of thirty-three have part-time workers. In general, we can say that the organisations in the field of migration have a more developed structure, both in terms of economic resources and human resources. Suffice it to say that nine CSOs out of thirteen have full-time workers. This is higher than in the field of unemployment. In this case, seven CSOs have full-time and five CSOs have part-time workers. As regards disability, it stands out as the poorest field in term of human resources, given that only three CSOs operate with employees; all the others rely exclusively on voluntary work.

Table 9. CSOs' Internal organisation, Human Capital

MIGRATION				UNEMPLOYMENT				DISABILITY			
No. CSO	FULL TIME*	PART TIME*	VOL. WORK (%)	No. CSO	FULL TIME*	PART TIME*	VOL. WORK (%)	No. CSO	FULL TIME*	PART TIME*	VOl. WORK (%)
1	3	0	70	1	0	0	30	1	0	0	100
2	0	0	100	2	20	0	0	2	0	3	70
3	1	0	80	3	0	1	75	3	0	0	70
4	84	23	80	4	?	?	90	4	0	0	100
5	0	0	90	5	17	3	30	5	1	0	100
6	500	200	80	6	8	1	0	6	0	0	100
7	0	2	70	7	4	1115	99	7	0	0	100
8	0	0	100	8	960	40	90	8	3000	0	0
9	2	3	25	9	10	0	96	9	0	0	100
10	2	0	0	10	14	0	10	10	0	0	100
11	250	50	5								
12	3	4	70								
13	12	4	80								

However, being a well-established organisation in the field, possibly with a high budget and a large number of employees, does not translate necessarily into higher levels of political engagement. In fact, our data show that CSOs with low levels of material resources often need to engage further on the ground so to compensate for a lack of resources. Simply put, there is one main option that is available when material resources are not sufficient to nurture political engagement. In particular, we refer to the systematic involvement of a large number of volunteers, which stands out as an alternative way to further engagement and get closer to the beneficiaries. Volunteers can be considered to be the basic support of the actions of large and small organisations because they do close work with beneficiaries. In the field of migration, for example, volunteers live the everyday life and its challenges alongside migrants; they are the closest support in terms of coaching and the delivery of administrative procedures, medical revisions, housing installation, verbal communication, school attendance, and so forth. In particular, five migration CSOs out of ten work with volunteers and their contribution is very important when developing activities that are not covered by a handful of employees, since six out of thirteen associations work with fewer than ten employees; one out of

thirteen works with fewer than twenty employees, while four large associations work with just over fifty workers, Only CSOs do not have volunteers.

Concerning voluntary work in unemployment CSOs, findings show a balanced portion — five CSOs out of ten— with some significant representation of voluntary work. Out of the remaining five CSOs, three of them rely on a lower level of voluntary work, while other two do not have volunteers. There are very specific measures that leave out the possibility of voluntary work, that is to say, seven out of ten associations use criteria to obtain their services, such as having an income, being part of a social programme, paying contributions, being long-term unemployed, etc. As regards the field of disability, CSOs also rely on a high number of volunteers (in some cases, several hundreds of them). For organisations with a limited budget, volunteer work is crucial, since it allows their various services to operate. Indeed, seven CSOs out of ten are integrated only by volunteer members. In this way, it is possible for smaller disability CSOs to overcome their lack of funding. This aspect, linked to the high professionalization of members (many are doctors or work in the medical field) is possibly a critical characteristic of the disability field. Volunteers assisted by these professionals in their daily work play a fundamental role in the survival of CSOs with limited budgets, since the absence of financial resources would otherwise restrict their actions.

Put simply, any research that looks at the cross-field variation of endogenous characteristics needs to deal with a number of indicators that refer to immaterial and material resources, respectively. On the one hand, we have argued that solidarity is seen as a channel to transform public opinion and change the situation of the beneficiaries in the fields of migration and disability. We have also argued that in the fields of migration and unemployment, the understanding of solidarity refers to notions of autonomy and empowerment, whereas deep emotions and empathy are the main ingredients in the field of disability for mobilising internal membership and increasing closeness to the beneficiaries. On the other hand, we have found that the size of budget is fundamental for CSOs operations in all fields, albeit less true for disability. In fact, we have also argued that CSOs in the field of disability have fewer resources and weaker internal structuring compared to CSOs in the two fields of migration and unemployment structure. However, they compensate with their ties to voluntary work: in particular, volunteers often offer specific expertise (for example, for different kind of syndromes) which is crucial in advancing public debate and policy reforms.

These cross-field variations in terms of immaterial and material resources are obviously a first fundamental step to account for cross-field variations in terms of political engagement, as noted in Section Three. The transnational level remaining especially marginal in the field of unemployment goes hand in hand, for example, with the fact that CSOs in the unemployment field see their activities as a way to empower the unemployed, despite operating through national funding and resources. The fact that CSOs in the two fields of migration and unemployment are much more transversal than they are in the field of disability goes hand in hand with the fact that CSOs in the field of disability not only see solidarity as an act of communion and proximity with the disabled people themselves, but are also restricted in their organisational structuring and scope in comparison with CSOs from the other two fields. The fact that CSOs in the field of disability mobilise in spite of their poor material resources goes hand in hand with the key role that is played by volunteer support. This nexus is reinforced by the fact that direct mobilisation in the field of disability drops when transnational- level links are taken into account.

However, other cross-field variations in terms of political engagement are more difficult to understand. Take in particular the fact that CSOs in the migration field make pointed recourse to mobilisation, whereas CSOs in the unemployment field predominantly engage in interest representation and lobbying activities. This variation of bottom-up engagement in terms of *repertoire* can find only a partial answer through the study of cross-field variations of immaterial and material resources. For example, the strong emphasis on empowerment and the sizable financial resources, which we found in the field of unemployment, would lead one to expect a much stronger capacity, making recourse to demonstrations and protests. This leads us to the last set of analyses of this report that look more specifically at the relational contexts of the three fields of vulnerability.

Relational fields of vulnerability: networks across the public and the policy domain

As mentioned in Section Two, our theoretical framework emphasises that cross-field variations of CSOs' bottom-up engagement can be linked to the relational context. Many CSOs in the three fields have stated that their priority is to fight to increase rights; they have also pointed out that this is, on the one hand, a daily struggle side by side with the other actors that intervene for improving the situation of beneficiaries, and, on the other, with the hard-of-hearing government and policy makers. It is with this finding in mind that we have to consider variations in the relational context, looking especially at the intersection where CSOs meet with civil society actors and with policy-makers, respectively. Accordingly, this last analytical section aims to put CSOs in the context of their broader relational context so as to learn additional crucial information in terms of degree of pivotal actors, and the overall network patterns within which CSOs are embedded. Afterwards, an additional step is taken to see whether the opposition between CSOs' challenges on the one hand, and hard-of-hearing policy insiders on the other, is ubiquitous across migration, unemployment, and disability. In so doing, this report can provide an answer that explains variations of cross-field bottom-up engagement in terms of action *repertoire*.

Starting with an analysis of degree of pivotal actors in the three fields, findings in Table 10 show some very interesting cross-field differences. In this case, figures indicate the number of ties of collaboration that link each actor to the other actors in the overall field. In particular, the field of disability is characterised by the presence of a few actors that have some relatively sizable connection to other actors through collaborations of a different kind. By comparison, the two fields of migration and unemployment are characterised by the presence of actors with very extensive connections, though with a crucial distinction. In particular, in the unemployment field we can distinguish the precise actors with extensive connections much more easily than for the migration field, thus characterising the unemployment field by a more hierarchical structure of collaboration through networks (less organisation control collaboration in the whole field). In the field of migration, by contrast, collaboration appears more equally distributed across a larger number of actors. This relational difference between the three fields of migration, unemployment, and disability is confirmed when providing a full graphical representation of actors and their ties of collaboration (cf. Figures 2, 3, and 4).

Figure 2. Relational context in the field of migration

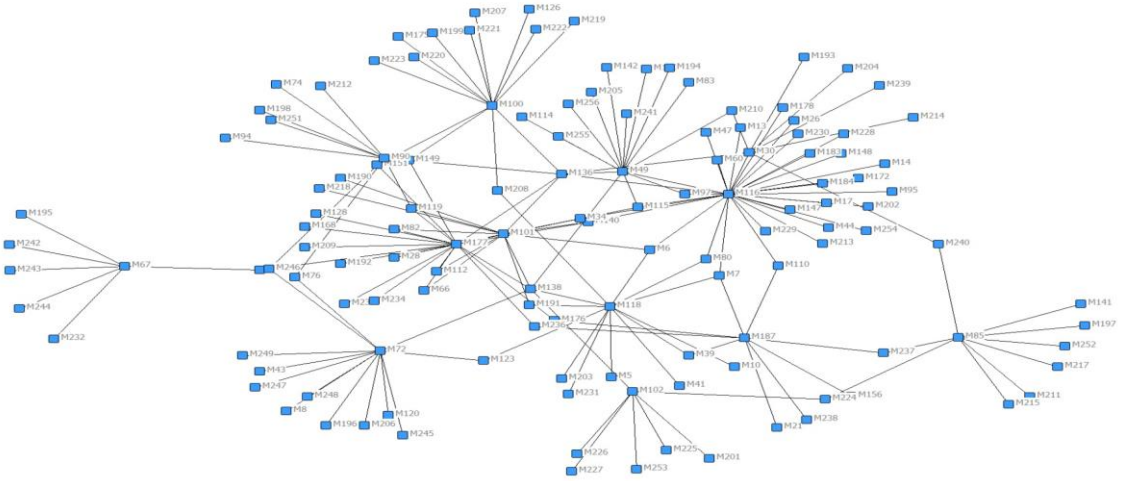


Figure 3. Relational context in the field of unemployment

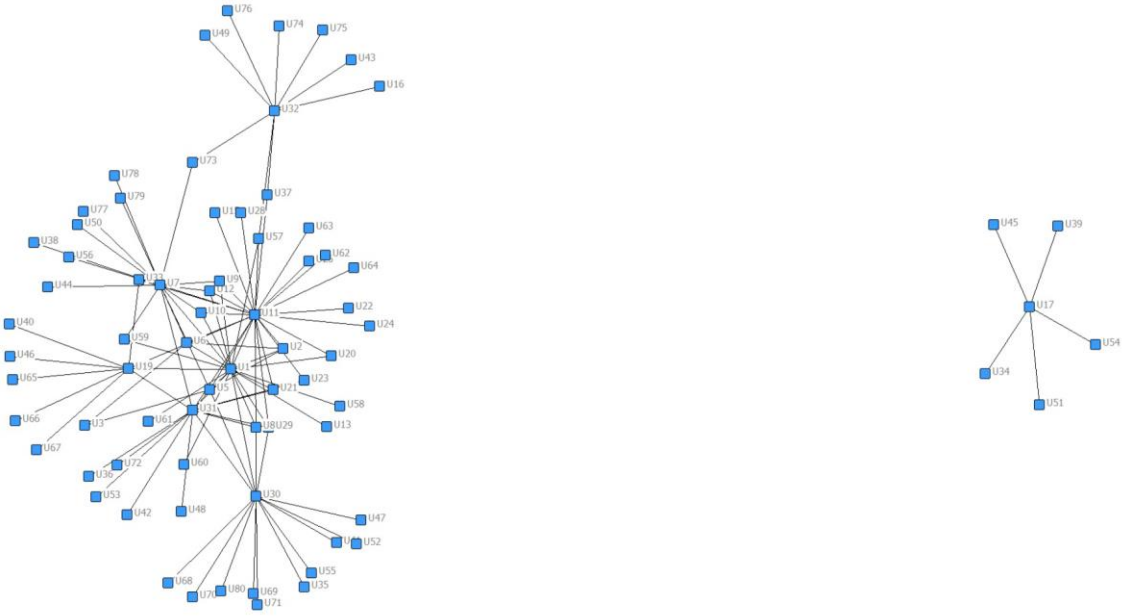
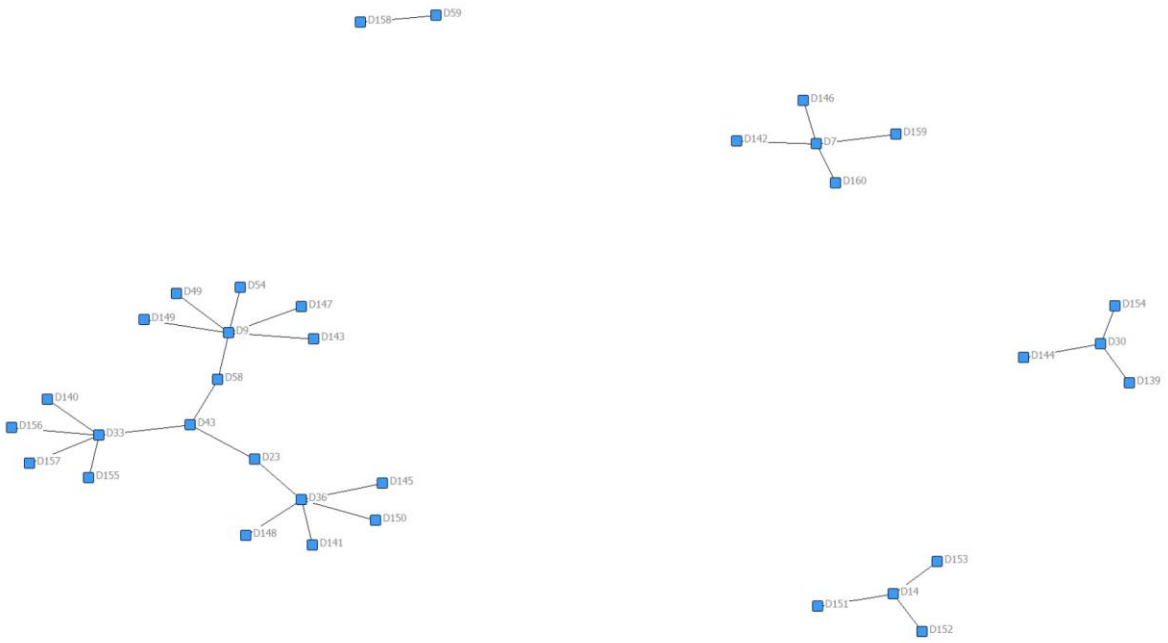


Figure 4. Relational context in the field of disability



Of course, graphical representation shows that networks play an important role to lead projects in a collaborative manner. And overall, we can say that many CSOs come together to undertake common projects and to intervene actively regarding their own issues. Material and immaterial resources can flow through these networks, thereby encouraging also small CSOs to participate. However, the field of migration stands out for its large extension in terms of networks, linking the greatest number of actors; the field of migration is also characterised by extensive networks, yet shaped by fewer (powerful) actors; in contrast, the field of disability stands out for its small extension in terms of networks, linking the smallest number of actors, who also appear distant from each other.

Looking more qualitatively behind these graphical pictures, we have found that extensive ties within the field of migration go together with important challenges that CSOs decide to tackle cooperatively. They thus succeed in liaising with each other especially through common participation in events, collection of funding, and dissemination of activities. Other valuable interactions include sharing experiences, sharing of information, and organising common events. In addition to requiring a high level of collaboration between different entities, inter-organisational networks entail extensive exchange of human resources, for example, to allow volunteers to help and train each other. These widespread interactions also characterise the field of unemployment, similarly spanning a large set of different types of collaboration (common participation in events, collection of funding, and dissemination of activities). Yet, as said, interactions in the field of unemployment are controlled by a smaller group of leading CSOs. As regards the much sparser

network of disability, this seems to go together with some specialisation in the shaping of network patterns. Thus, seven out of ten CSOs attempt to establish closer links with academia, since this is seen as an indirect way to influence not only politics but also the medical community. In addition, CSOs in the disability field appear to have close ties especially with sub-national actors, which are more difficult to retrace through our grids of network analysis (conceived especially on the basis of all national CSOs that are active in the field). Furthermore, one additional consideration must specifically refer to Europe and the transnational level. In general, the creation of specific bureaux and projects that deal with vulnerability (e.g. the *Fond Européen d'aide aux plus démunis*) has made it possible to reinforce cooperation beyond the national borders. In fact, CSOs have referred explicitly to specific transnational projects, showing their willingness to open debate and work in collaboration with European and transnational actors in order to move beyond national boundaries. Yet, emphasis can be put on some crucial cross-field distinctions. Accordingly, it must be said that the field of migration is the most transnational. For example, migration organisations could hardly avoid interacting with European actors in the last few years due to the refugee crisis and its pan-European dimension. By contrast, in line with what has already been said, unemployment is much less transnational, with large and wealthy national CSOs controlling large numbers of cooperative projects in the field. As regards CSOs in the field of disability, they manifest a high degree of interest in the issues that transnational CSOs work on (and vice versa), but they struggle to shape their networks of cooperation beyond the national level.

The final step consists of considering whether the study of networks can also shed light on variations of cross-field bottom-up engagement in terms of action *repertoire*. In fact, one of the main conundrum left unanswered in Section Four is why the migration and the unemployment fields, which would otherwise not be so different in terms of endogenous resources, are quite different when looking at bottom-up engagement (fitting the classic opposition of contentious politics between challengers and insiders in the case of migration, but not in the case of unemployment). Our findings in this case show that networks can indeed be helpful to fill in explanatory gaps left out of the study of material and immaterial resources. Accordingly, our analysis can match each field of vulnerability against the two opposite ideal-typical poles of a horizontally-stretched field (whereby associations and NGOs are more highly related among themselves than they are with policy actors) and a vertically-stretched field (whereby associations and NGOs are more related with policy actors than they are among themselves). In so doing, we can emphasise e that CSOs especially have a very different way of interacting vertically with policy-makers and institutions. Of course, policy-makers and state institutions are crucial interlocutors in all three fields, yet in some fields CSOs show some greater distance than in others. This is the case in the migration field, where CSOs consider that their relationship with institutions is not satisfactory and/or sufficiently developed, even if some vertical networks have been forged through dialogue over policies protecting the human rights of migrants. CSOs in the migration field also claim to lack reliable relationships with institutions and policy-makers at the sub-national level.

The opposite is true in the fields of unemployment and disability where CSOs have forged enduring and diverse vertical exchanges. In the unemployment field, CSOs work closely with the state through a twofold relationship that involves both confrontation and collaboration. Many organisations collaborate with public institutions on specific projects in order to 'guide' institutions through policy decisions. This coexistence is a natural part of their work, all the more so since government funding remains one of the most important resources for any actor in the field. CSOs in the unemployment

field generally cooperate with multiple national institutions such as the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of the Environment in poverty-related projects, and various initiatives designed to provide support for their beneficiaries. At the same time, nearly all CSOs receive funding from the government, and the same proportion declare that they participate in policy-making and are members of institutions that help to elaborate on public policies. CSOs have also forged extensive vertical networks at the sub-national level, establishing ties of exchange with sub-national institutional partners. When asked about their cooperation with other actors, four CSOs out of ten have said that the most important institutions to cooperate with were sub-national institutions such as regional assemblies and municipalities. In fact, all unemployment CSOs are members of decision-making structures or have helped to shape policies at the subnational level.

Vertical networks have also been forged in the field of disability, though in this case especially at the sub-national level. CSOs are usually consulted ahead of major policy decisions and asked for their feedback on legislative projects that affect the disabled. They routinely collaborate with several public institutions at the sub-national and at the national level, such as Departmental Councils, Regional Health Agencies, Departmental House for People with Disabilities, and various hospitals. Networks can also become highly formalised, as in the case of the *Agence régionale de santé* (ARS) or the DESC project (Disabilities, Equality, Security, Careers), whereby horizontal networks among CSOs themselves are reinforced through the nurturing of vertical networks. Emphasis can also be placed on the fact that these networks have been pragmatic in combining relationships of cooperation (for example, in terms of common participation in vaccination campaigns, prevention projects, and fundraising awareness campaigns) and relationships of opposition (on the occasion of disagreements over the scarcity of funding).

Put simply, the distinction between horizontal exchanges among CSOs on the one hand, and vertical exchanges that the same CSOs have with institutions and policy-makers on the other, stands out as a promising path to follow in order to understand cross-field variations of bottom-up engagement. This distinction between a 'horizontal' dimension and a 'vertical' dimension of CSOs' networks is essential to gain some valuable insights into political embeddedness across the three fields. By matching each field of vulnerability against the two opposite ideal-typical poles of a horizontally-stretched field (whereby associations and NGOs relate more among themselves than they do with policy actors), and a vertically-stretched field (whereby associations and NGOs relate more with policy actors than they do among themselves), our analysis provides some valuable answers as to why —compared to the fields of migration and disability— a dominant style of post-contentious client politics is dominant in the unemployment field and is, for this reason, an enduring model that is unlikely to change in the future.

Conclusions

In this report, we have entered the broader scholarly discussion over the impact of both endogenous resources and relational contexts on CSOs bottom-up engagement in three fields of vulnerability. The study of bottom-up engagement refers not only to forms of mobilisation such as campaigns, but also to preferences of CSOs in terms of main level at which they engage, their field-specific focus, and their proximity to vulnerable beneficiaries themselves. The study of endogenous resources

refers both to material immaterial resources. While material resources include concrete assets such as budget or membership, the consideration of immaterial resources has factored in the impact of less tangible, yet influential, variables such as frames, beliefs, and emotions. Lastly, the final step of network analysis for assessing the relational context has been grounded on the argument that networks are indeed crucial because they make it possible for CSOs to access crucial resources even when they do not own them, making them as if they were endogenous (Coleman, 1986, Lin 2001, Putnam 2000). Accordingly, we have checked whether CSOs with higher budgets and wealthier internal structures are also those that are more active, both in their own field close to their own beneficiaries (proximity) or across other fields (transversality); we have checked whether immaterial resources can compensate for a lack of material resources; we have also checked whether relational contexts offer an additional explanatory key for main conundrums that are left unanswered by a simple analysis of endogenous resources.

Findings seem to corroborate our theoretical framework. We have thus found that richer availability of resources often goes side by side with stronger bottom-up engagement among CSOs. Yet, we have also found that the specific way to understand solidarity across different fields and how the role of emotions can exert great influence when considering the impact of resources (especially in the field of disability). Most crucially, the study of variations of relational contexts have shown that bottom-up engagement of CSOs can hardly be understood without examining network patterns that CSOs themselves forge in their own field. Thus, fields where these network patterns are highly extensive and not highly centralised around few actors are also fields where bottom-up engagement is more likely (as we have found in the field of migration). Moreover, the specific combination of horizontal and vertical networks in each field has proved to be relevant to understand why bottom-up engagement of CSOs can follow a more traditional style of contentious politics, or rather a newer post-contentious style of client politics.

References

Bassoli, M. and Cinalli, M. (2014). Networks within the Multi-Organizational Field of Unemployment and Precarity: A Tale of Seven Cities in Europe. In: Baglioni, S. and Giugni, M. G. (eds). *Civil Society Organizations, Unemployment, and Precarity in Europe: Between Service and Policy.* Palgrave: Basingstoke.

Benford, R. D. and Snow, D. A. (2000). 'Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment'. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611-39.

Benford, R. D., Snow, D. A., Rochford, B.E. and Worden, S. K. (1986). 'Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation'. *American Sociological Review*, 51, 464-81.

Cinalli, M. (2004). 'Horizontal Networks vs. Vertical Networks in Multi-Organisational Alliances: A Comparative Study of the Unemployment and Asylum Issue-Fields in Britain'. *EurPolCom,* 8 (4): 1-31.

Cinalli, M. (2007). Between Horizontal Bridging and Vertical Governance: Pro-Beneficiary Movements in New Labour Britain. In: Purdue D. (ed.). *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and Problems.* Routledge: Houndmills.

Curtis, R.L. and Zurcher, L.A. (1973). Stable resources of protest movements: The multi-organizational field. *Social Forces*, vol. 52, pp. 53-61.

Duvin, P. and Simeant, J. (1998). *Le travail humanitaire*. *Les acteurs des ONG, du siège au terrain.* Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Goodwin, J., Jasper, J.M. and Polletta, F. (2001). eds, *Passionate Politics.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Giugni, M. G. and Passy, F. (2001). *Political Altruism? Solidarity Movements in International Perspective.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Jasper, J.M. (1998). 'The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions In and Around Social Movements'. *Sociological Forum*, 13, 397-424.

Knoke, D. and Kuklinsky, J. H. (1982). *Network Analysis*. London: Sage.

Kriesi, H., Koopmans, R., Duyvendak, J.W. and Giugni, M. G. (1995). *New Social Movements in Western Europe*. *A Comparative Analysis*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Lelieveldt, H., Astudillo, J. and Stevenson, L. (2007). The Spectrum of associational activities: from self-help to lobbying. In: Maloney, W.A. and Roßteutscher, S. (eds.). *Social Capital and Associations in European Democracies*. London: Routledge, pp. 81-95.

Lin, N.. (2001). *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCarthy, J. D. and Zald, M. N. (1977). 'Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory'. American Journal of Sociology, 82: 1212-41.

Obershall, A. (1973). *Social Conflict and Social Movements*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Offe, C., (1985). 'New Social Movements: Changing Boundaries of the Political'. *Social Research*, 52(4), 817-68.

Ramakrishnan, S. K. and Bloemraad, I. (2008). Introduction: Civic and political inequalities. In: Ramakrishnan, S. K. and Bloemraad, I. (eds.). *Civic Hopes and Political Realities:* Immigrants, Community Organizations and Political Engagement. New-York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Siméant, J. (1998a). *La cause des sans-papiers*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Scott, J. (2000). *Social Network Analysis*. London: Sage.

Tarrow, S. (1998). *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, C. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

Torpe, L. and Ferrer-Fons, M. (2007). The internal structure of associations. In: Maloney, W.A. and Roßteutscher, S. (eds.). *Social Capital and Associations in European Democracies.* London: Routledge, pp. 96-117.

Touraine, A. (1981). *The Voice and the Eye. Analysis of Social Movements.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wasserman, S. and Faust, K. (1994). *Social Network Analysis: Method and Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Organised Transnational Solidarity in Germany – Exploring Similarities and Differences across Three Different Sectors

Olga Eisele, Lía Durán Mogollón, Jana Bernhard (University of Siegen)

Introduction

This report elaborates on the findings of thirty semi- structured interviews conducted with representatives of solidarity organisations in Germany between February and July 2017. The interviewees represent organisations active in the three core areas of this project: migration (MIG), disability (DIS) and unemployment (UNM). Moreover, our aim was to look at organisations involved at the European level. Consequently, we extracted a sample of organisations that maintain connections with European umbrella organisations active in these three fields. We therefore treat the interviewed organisations in our sample as transnational solidarity organisations (TSOs).

We conducted ten interviews with representatives from each of the fields, following the interview guidelines implemented in all TransSOL project countries. The interviews aimed to provide information on three central issues: (1) campaigning and understanding solidarity, (2) organisational profiles, and (3) networks of cooperation. Therefore, the first questions and the very last one included in the survey are open questions about recent campaigns and cooperation and solidarity, while the second section includes questions about the organisations´ size, finances, year of foundation and main activities. Lastly, the third part of the questionnaire focuses on the organisations´ political embeddedness and their networks of cooperation.

With regard to differences between sectors, the sample selection entails some caveats when interpreting results. Several of the German TSOs have a multi-issue agenda and a few of them (M1, M4, M10, U6) are important players in more than one field. This overlap is observed among the organisations working in the fields of unemployment and migration; the majority of the participant organisations working in the field of disabilities are single issue organisations. Only two of them have a broader scope that targets 'people with disability' instead of people affected by a specific illness or disability. More precisely, seven of the thirty surveyed organisations in Germany (approx. 23 %) define their target group as 'disadvantaged people/ people on the fringe of society', which denotes a broader understanding of integration and the purpose of solidarity as facilitating this integration. In addition, regarding the activities of organisations, the majority of the larger organisations surveyed have a central office and smaller dependencies. Interviews were conducted with representatives from the central offices who explained that while they focus on lobbying and the upgrading of the qualifications of personnel, the local dependencies do (in some cases) offer direct services to users. Therefore, intersectorial differences are not as salient as differences between organisations, depending on their resources and history. We should therefore see disparities as tendencies rather than manifest differences between sectors.

The spectrum of campaigns described by the interviewees is as diverse as the organisations themselves. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify some common traits. The idea of 'integration and participation' ('Integration und Teilhabe') is present across the three fields. The campaigns which targeted public opinion are essentially set on raising awareness about problems/ illnesses/ disabilities which, according to the interviewees, lack visibility in the public sphere. A second type of campaign targets legislators (generally at the national level) and demands changes to specific

policies: Improving public support for people with disabilities; reconsidering the status of certain 'safe countries of origin' in the case of migration; protesting against trade agreements. In sum, while the former tend to call for awareness and solidarity, the latter are centred on ideas of fairness, integration, rights and duties.

The **German** sample expressed a number of traits about German civil society and public debates. The presence and size of trade unions and Christian organisations as strong players in solidarity organisations (particularly in the fields of migration and unemployment) reflects a salient trait of German civil society (Zimmer et al., 2009). The importance of trade unions (and the labour movement) and the Christian organisations lie especially in their striving to push for redistributive and inclusive measures and their legitimacy and credibility. The trade unions surveyed for this study (U6, M4) were founded in the mid-XIXth century and now affiliate over six million people. The thematic spectrum of trade unions has not been solely reduced to the defence of workers´ rights; they have a broad encompassing agenda which includes migration, anti-racism, integration, position taking against free trade agreements, etc. In this sense, the strong presence of the church and the labour movements in solidarity organisations resemble Stjerno´s (2011) argument about Christian and Labour parties being determinant forces in the definition and application of solidarity policies in European politics. Moreover, the advocacy for inclusion and integration are important tropes in German society and public debates. There is a generous welfare state aiming to grant social rights and entitlements, primarily by means of contribution-based income distribution and the principle of subsidiarity, which promotes the involvement of non-state welfare associations and non-profit organisations with social services' delivery and political advocacy (Kaufmann 2013).

Sociological approaches to solidarity tend to set Durkheim´s seminal work 'The division of labour in society' (2014) as a starting point (Hartwig, 2014; Stjerno, 2011; Tranow, 2012). Most of the literature focuses on organic solidarity, its relevance for social cohesion and the balance between self-interest and self- sacrifice involved in solidary action. While there appears to be relatively little theorising on the subject of solidarity (Hartwig, 2014; Tranow, 2012), social scientists agree on a number of properties: Solidarity is a key element for maintaining social cohesion. Actions and initiatives of solidarity usually require the existence and/or acknowledgement of a group, the acceptance of a social order and some degree of consensus regarding who is deserving of solidarity (Van Oorshot, 2008, Tranow, 2012; Hartwig, 2014). Moreover, the existence of a legitimate group with a 'symbolic dimension' (Hartwig, 2014) is vital to justify the degree of self-sacrifice involved in solidary action. The literature available has posed some relevant questions in this respect: Who deserves the group´s solidarity? What motivates solidary actions? Is reciprocity expected, i.e. is the 'favour' expected to be returned?

Against this broader background, there are some expectations regarding the results of our survey. (1) Hartwig (2014) suggests that solidarity at the transnational level would be difficult, –partly because people still think of the nation state as the provider of welfare policies, and partly due to the lack of a strong European symbolic dimension. Our prediction is that solidarity actions by German civil society organisations will be primarily tied to the nation state. Reasons for this may be mostly logistic (difficulties in working on a transnational level involving language and cultural barriers, as well as financial limitations) and/or operative (finding common priorities and approaches) (see also Von Bülow, 2010). (2) In addition, we expect larger and better-funded organisations to be more involved in transnational campaigns and solidarity. (3) Furthermore, we assume that there will be different perceptions amongst interviewees regarding who deserves

solidarity. We expect that vulnerable groups, e.g., disabled people, will be evaluated differently from members of other organisations and that, with regard to the latter, providers of solidarity actions will demand reciprocity, i.e., something in return. (4) Given the relevance and historical importance of trade unions in Germany, we assume that unemployment organisations will be among the oldest and best funded. (5) Lastly, some of the literature suggests that more culturally-diverse societies will tend to be more supportive of solidarity towards migrants (Van Oorschot, 2008). Given the high number of people with migration backgrounds in Germany, we predict migration organisations will have a strong ability to mobilise people and resources.

Events and Campaigns as opportunities of organised solidarity

More generally speaking, interviewees see their involvement in (transnational) solidarity cooperation as a form of solidarity. More specifically, they differentiate between solidarity with the target group as an outcome of cooperation and solidarity amongst organisations. However, their statements reflect the problem of defining solidarity, particularly in regard to the question of which actions may be called an expression of solidarity. Consequently, the concept of solidarity reflected in interviews remains somewhat fuzzy. In some cases, the impression is that it occurred to interviewees only when asked if cooperation amongst organisations may constitute a form of solidarity.

Implicitly, our interviewees' use of the term 'solidarity' reflects two different contexts of reasoning. On the one hand, cooperation is described as a form of 'applied' solidarity which implies promoting and working towards the realisation of common goals, exchanging information and, more generally, enabling a mutual profiting of each other's strengths, i.e., strengthening each other. Cooperation is experienced as enriching where the exchange of experiences and the possibilities for learning are concerned. On the other hand, there is a more rational undertone stressing that cooperation is also a strategic option, e.g., common lobbying, based on considerations concerning resources in particular. Here, the greater financial clout and possibilities to reach out to the public are pointed out. This latter point seems important especially against the background of the usually scarce resources in the non-profit sector which often relies on the large-scale involvement of volunteers. Moreover, interviews also express two different perceptions of how solidarity is supposed to be achieved. Responses often reflect the difference between solidarity as direct help, e.g., development aid or 'meeting urgent needs', and solidarity as a political issue which, in the eyes of interviewees, is more encompassing and implies overarching, more organised political activism or lobbying, e.g., for achieving legislation that is an expression of solidarity with a target group.

The idea to generally call cooperation a form of solidarity seems natural to the overwhelming majority of interview partners. Cooperation is a form of solidarity since it motivates, increases expertise, is an advantage in general because people get together and become allies in their common goals to help other people, and share burdens, formulate common messages. Cooperation is solidarity by campaign makers regarding those in need. Solidarity is seen as (mutual) support, and therefore implies an expression of solidarity with someone in need – normally the actual target group, e.g., people affected by unemployment. Interviewees also explicitly reported that cooperation may be seen as solidarity with organisations with similar goals that, for example, depend on financial support to realise. Often, however, interviewees do not qualify their answers much further and it remains unclear if they relate to the target group or other organisations when

talking about cooperation as solidarity. Some of those that give a more elaborate view on the matter express a more critical point of view stating, for example, that it does not qualify as solidarity just because you do some parts of a campaign; or that if participating in campaigns only serves their own interests, it should not be called solidarity. One interesting aspect is taken up by an interviewee from the disabilities sector who points out possible discrimination amongst those in need regarding solidarity actions, which eventually points to the fact that what is perceived as solidarity and what is not may also a matter of perspective:

> *'Then there is, for example, the question of allowances for the blind which is actually only relevant for a group of handicapped people. Other handicapped would maybe like to have something similar. So the question always is: Where do we strive for solidarity with each other, and where not?'*

Regarding challenges encountered in cooperation, interview partners highlight three categories which concern backgrounds, organisational or governance aspects, and the remoteness of campaign topics more generally. The challenges seem to be similar at the national and transnational level since interviewees do not point out greater differences.

As regards backgrounds, a number of organisations operate based on the principle of political neutrality that does not allow for the expression of political statements. In our sample, these are organisations that aim at meeting urgent needs in the sense of charity, while their neutrality does not allow for engaging in political activism as an expression of solidarity. Examples would include organisations that have a religious tradition and describe their work as defined by Christian values. Regarding transnational cooperation,, more politically-oriented organisations, in particular may represent different, and sometimes vital, national interests that may not be directly related to solidarity actions in one of the three sectors investigated here, but may still represent fundamental differences in general values. As one interviewee put it:

> *" …Different interests are problematic. French organisations may stand firmly behind their power of nuclear deterrence, while German peace organisations would frown upon the thought, right? So there are opposite national interests that simply have to take a backseat on such occasions".*

Another example for transnational challenges would be differences in legislation or the general political climate. To illustrate this, one interview partner elaborated that:

> *I It is difficult to find a common position since the political situation, partly also the economic situation, and also needs assessments [regarding refugees] and needs as such, are very different. In Germany, especially regarding the immigration of refugees, there may be very different legal and political context conditions than in Poland, Hungary, or other Eastern European neighbours.*

Such differences complicate cooperation and, in some cases, make it impossible. This leads to frustration when efforts outweigh the gains of the outcome or if individual interests are not mirrored in common standpoints anymore. In some instances, organisations have pulled out, or have reduced their engagement in cooperative actions for such reasons. As one interviewee

representing a large German charity organisation sums up, (transnational) cooperation in some cases:

> *…is no more than contact maintenance, when interests do not overlap and it is difficult to arrive at common positions or aims ... So it is cumbersome, tedious, and involves many people which is very time-consuming. This has led to our pulling out of European contexts because we did not want to invest these time resources any more – given the amount of input and the little output that is possible in the end because one can only agree on a very abstract, general, common denominator – which, of course, in the end is very unsatisfying. .*

Related to this, interviewees also pointed out that cooperation only works if all parties gain from it in one way or another. Thus, ultimately, the willingness to cooperate, influenced by the anticipation of any sort of gain, is the main precondition on which any form of common engagement can be built.

As regards organisational and governance aspects, one challenge is that organisations work based on the different modes of decision-making requiring, for example, agreement from everyone or at least the majority of members. Having all members on board for a campaign, then, requires lengthy and time-consuming consultation processes and a steady dissemination of information to everyone to ensure that campaigns run smoothly. In that respect, interviewees describe how they have learnt from their earlier mistakes, and now take informing group members more seriously.

Moreover, cooperation in solidarity engagement can be initiated from 'above', e.g., from umbrella organisations. It may, however, also happen in a more bottom-up way:

> *Our campaign information material can – with a little adaptation – also be disseminated in other countries. Our motto is 'sharing is caring' and therefore we handed out our material for free to other countries so that it can be used in the way they wish, as long as they pursue the same aim as we do*.

The initiation of cooperation sometimes takes random forms. One interviewee reported that:

> *'…by chance, I got to know someone from the Austrian occupational union who was looking for a similar alliance as we have one in Germany. Time will tell if this will result in cooperation'.*

In this respect, an established infrastructure for (regular) face-to-face communication, like conferences of actors in the field, opens up doors and increases connectivity. But online channels or platforms are also highlighted as useful tools for building up networks.

A specific challenge in transnational cooperation concerns different languages, a problem for bureaucratic reasons rather than interpersonal communication. Administrative forms would always need to be available in English, for example, which is why better-off organisations often employ translators. Moreover, German bureaucracy in particular seems very demanding and complex from the view-point of some interviewees, making the application for funding with transnational partners in Germany difficult. Furthermore, interviewees report the limited resources and dependence on honorary engagement and volunteerism as a difficulty – something we will come back to in the next section, as well.

At a more abstract level, the remoteness of EU politics is a problem for mobilisation in campaigning. As one interviewee elaborated , the more remote the political level, the more difficult it is to reach 'campaign mode' since mobilisation always needs to happen at the local level – at the roots. Accordingly, difficulties resulting from the remoteness of politics are encountered at the national level, as well, but are even graver in remoter transnational cooperation. Therefore, campaigns are, for example, 'decentralised' and organised at several places simultaneously to keep them 'down to earth'. Interestingly, it is also a result of earlier research in our project that civil society organisations mainly stay at the local level when it comes to activities, while transnational level engagement is important for only a minority of the included organisations. In line with what was discussed above, the results of this earlier analysis also showed that such organisations follow a similar organisational and motivational logic, which reduces the aforementioned difficulties to a great extent: Similar operating structures and similar goals, thus, facilitate cooperation immensely.

Overall, cooperation between organisations in Germany seems to be widely perceived as a form of solidarity, especially with the target group with regard to its outcome, but also amongst organisations. Interviewees discussed solidarity as an issue of cooperation for the greater good. Solidarity with refugees, disabled persons or the unemployed as a goal or a desirable achievement is not questioned in any interview. The impression, however, is that this may be connected to the fact that interviewees represent non-profit organisations dedicated to working towards solidarity. It may also be conditioned by a social desirability of solidarity, and as such, the resulting difficulty to speak against it. Also cooperation in itself, as a means of achieving solidarity as a greater good, albeit in a less pronounced way, is seen as solidarity among cooperating partners. Here, the potential gains play a much greater role and cooperation always needs to bring an added value – financially, or in terms of increased expertise, for example. Eventually, the challenges encountered in cooperation relate not only to the means, but also to the aims that should be attained through those means. Perspectives on how solidarity may be achieved can differ considerably, and aims are more difficult to formulate the more heterogeneous the backgrounds and organisational traits of partners become. Also, the available means vary substantially across organisations. This may entails that if the aims formulated do not promise a rewarding outcome, (scarce) resources may better be spared.

The general impression is that the difficulties reported relate to cooperation in a more generic fashion, thus to problems that individuals and organisations encounter in cooperation in general. Getting engaged in the non-profit sector, then, presupposes a certain intrinsic motivation with regard to the fact that efforts may, literally, not pay off. This may partly explain why the problems reported do not deter cooperation completely. While interviewees do indeed report problems and challenges as described above, it seems rare that cooperation fails completely because, for example, partners could not find common ground. After all, cooperation increases the impact and coverage of campaigns, which is in the organisers' interest. Cooperation partners profit from each other and in successful cooperation, networks may emerge that build up temporary structures with employees, not just volunteers – i.e., professional campaigners or co-ordinators that manage and organise demonstrations and other actions. However, cooperation for the sake of achieving solidarity may be conditioned by a willingness to cooperate, and the prospect of thriving off it.

Concluding, differences between the sectors regarding their experiences, challenges, or problems in cooperation do not seem pronounced at all. Some of the organisations in the sample operate in more than one sector which naturally blurs disparities. The greatest difference between

organisations, however, may lie in different degrees of formality or institutionalisation related to the size of the organisations – thus in their organisational traits, regardless of whether they operate in the sector of unemployment, migration, or disabilities.

The associational ecology of solidarity

In this chapter, we will take a general look at how organisations in the German sample are structured, and what differences exist across the three sectors.[16] We will then take a look at their involvement in activities with a special focus on the level at which they operate.

To begin with, regarding the age of organisations in different sectors, organisations in the unemployment sample are the oldest on average (68 years) followed by migration (58 years) and disabilities (21 years), which seems comparably young. Regarding the size of organisations and the number of full-time and part-time employees, a different order emerges with an average number of members of around 14,000 and a rather low average of employees (full-time: five; part-time: two) in the disabilities sector; 580,000 members and the highest number of employees (full-time: 50,250; part-time: 16) in the migration sector[17]; and 1,200,000 members with 99 full-time and 30 part-time employees in the unemployment sector. Volunteers' involvement is highest in the disabilities sector: Here, organisations need to rely on volunteers at least 30% (in contrast to 0 in the other two). In this sector, the average is around 80% in contrast to 40% in the migration sector, and 36% in the unemployment sector (see Table 1). While all other organisations indicate that they operate on the basis of a statute, two in the disabilities' sector report they do not have one.

Table 1: Summary of Statistics for Age, Size, Employees and Involvement of Volunteers

		Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Disabilities						
	Av. Age (years)	10	21.2	16.7	3	59
	Av. No. Of members	10	13,990.8	40,800.4	20	130,000
	No. of fulltime employees	10	5.2	16.1	0	51
	No. of part time empl.	10	2.1	3.1	0	9
	Volunteers (%)	10	82.8	26.1	30	100
Migration						
	Av. Age (years)	10	57.5	43.5	11	117
	Av. No. of members	4	580,043.5	1,146,676	40	2,300,000
	No. of fulltime employees	9	55,836.78	166,563.1	0	500,000
	No. of part time empl.	9	17.44	40.72	0	125
	Volunteers (%)	9	43.33	35.62	0	100
Unemployment						
	Av. Age (years)	10	67.5	46.9	4	117
	Av. No. Of members	5	1,237,138	2,689,453	35	6,047,503
	No. of fulltime employees	10	98.5	119.5	0	300

[16] Due to technical difficulties with the LimeSurvey database, the values for one interview in the migration sector cannot be used for most of the analyses conducted in this chapter.

[17] Note, however, that the high standard deviations calculated in summary statistics indicate vast differences between organisations.

No. of part time empl.	10	29.7	52.4	0	130
Volunteers (%)	10	35.9	42.7	0	100

Note: In migration AGE, N=10;

Regarding motivation to join organisations (see Table 2), the most prominent factors reported as motivating people to join a TSO are either altruistic or political reasons. Most prominently in the disabilities' sector, altruism and social contacts are important motives for joining an organisation. In the category 'other', eight out of ten disabilities' TSOs report that being affected by a particular illness and the anticipation of getting information for self-help were reasons to join, too. Especially in the unemployment sector, political motives play an important role as the highest numbers are reported for shared political ideas and political support, followed by the desire to help others. In the migration sector, it is harder to detect a distinct pattern. Both factors that are found to be important in the two other sectors (altruism and political values) are deemed equally important here. The differences between the sectors become most visible when locating them on a continuum ranging from altruism, service-orientation and meeting needs to more ideologically-motivated political reasons and activism: On this continuum, disabilities and unemployment organisations constitute extreme points (political activism vs. altruism, respectively), whereas the migration sector ranges in between.

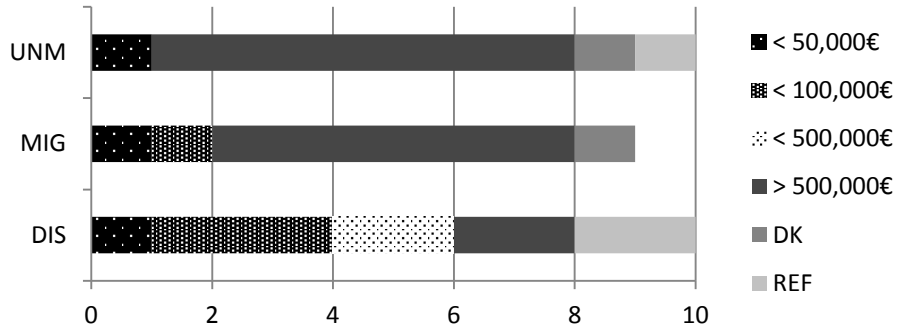
Table 2: Why people join solidarity organisations

Reason for joining	ALL	DIS	MIG	UNM
For political support	41.4	2	4	6
For financial support	13.8	0	1	3
For legal/judiciary support	27.6	4	0	4
For social contacts	37.9	7	2	2
Altruism (helping people)	65.5	9	5	5
Shared political ideas/values	58.6	3	5	9
Other	34.5	8	1	1

Note: N=29; ALL in % in all; DIS/MIG/UNM in absolute numbers.

As regards **financial aspects** in terms of budget, the migration and unemployment sectors seem better equipped as six out of nine (migration) and seven out of ten (unemployment) report to have an operating budget greater than 500,000€ (see Figure 1). The disabilities' sample seems more diverse in this respect, and budgets tend to be more limited.

Figure 1: Annual Operating Budgets of Organisations across Sectors



Regarding the **funding sources** of organisations (see Table 3), grants from the national government are the most relevant, followed by membership fees and donations from individuals. In the disabilities sector, company sponsorship, support via health insurance (other), and donations are the most relevant. In the more politically-oriented unemployment sector, company sponsorship is seen as indirect lobbying, as interviewees reported, and therefore mostly irrelevant. Here, membership fees and grants from the national government, plus EU grants to a lesser degree, are the most important funding sources. The migration sector relies on national (very relevant) and EU (fairly relevant) grants, as well as on donations from individuals. The relevance of national grants or national institutions (health insurance) indicates a strong rooting of organisations in the national context. Financial support from umbrella organisations, or the network in which organisations are members, is overwhelmingly reported as irrelevant. However, since membership in umbrella organisations often opens doors regarding possibilities to apply for funding, for example, this must be regarded as financial support in very concrete terms.

Table 3: The Funding Sources of Solidarity Organisations

Sources of funding	***Irrelevant***				***Fairly relevant***				***Very relevant***			
	ALL	DIS	MIG	UNM	ALL	DIS	MIG	UNM	ALL	DIS	MIG	UNM
Returns from fundraising	58.6	6	6	5	20.7	2	1	3	20.7	2	2	2
Membership fees	34.5	3	6	1	20.7	4	0	2	44.8	3	3	7
Donations from individuals	27.6	1	3	4	37.9	5	2	4	34.5	4	4	2
Sponsoring from companies/firms	65.5	3	8	8	10.3	2	0	1	24.1	5	1	1
Finance from fed. or umbrella org.	69.0	8	4	8	17.2	2	2	1	13.8	0	3	1
Grants from nat. gov.	41.4	5	3	4	6.9	2	0	0	51.7	3	6	6
EU grants	58.6	10	4	3	34.5	0	4	6	6.9	0	1	1
Other sources	75.9	4	9	9	3.4	1	0	0	20.7	5	0	1

Note: N=29; ALL in % in all; DIS/MIG/UNM in absolute numbers.

In this respect, over half of the organisations in the sample have not experienced a financial retrenchment in the last two years. A severe retrenchment was only reported for two organisations

in the unemployment sector, whereas around 31% of all organisations – fairly equally across sectors – have made the experience that their budget was at least slightly limited (see Table 4).

Table 4: Retrenchment in Budget over the Last Two Years

Retrenchment in budget	ALL	DIS	MIG	UNM
No retrenchment	55.2	5	6	5
Limited retrenchment	31.0	4	2	3
Severe retrenchment	6.9	0	0	2

Note: N=29; ALL in % in all; DIS/MIG/UNM in absolute numbers.

Bearing in mind the findings described so far, we can highlight a number of differences between sectors. First of all, we need to acknowledge that differences between the MIG and unemployment sectors may be blurred since some organisations included here operate in both. These multi-issue organisations are among those with more resources available (measured in staff and budget) and out of the seven organisations with this profile, three have a religious background and two are trade unions. The relevance of these larger multi-issue organisations was particularly salient in the field of migration, since they are the oldest in this field (all four fall into the category '70 years and older'). Given the overlap between migration and unemployment, it is not unsurprising that general differences between sectors seem greatest between the disabilities' sector, on the one hand, and the other two sectors on the other. Disabilities TSOs in the German sample are younger, fewer in number, have fewer employees, have a more intense involvement with volunteers, are comparatively less structured, and have lower budgets. Motivations differ especially for disabilities and unemployment. Whereas in the former, people are mostly motivated by altruism and a desire to help others, the latter attracts people looking for similar-minded others in terms of political values and support. This is also mirrored in funding sources where unemployment organisations report sponsoring from companies, dubbed political lobbying, as largely irrelevant, however, it plays a great role for organisations operating in the disabilities sector. The migration sector seems less defined in these aspects and can often be seen lying somewhere in the middle.

Against this more general background, we now turn to the actual activities which organisations undertake in order to reach their goals. Starting with the involvement of organisations at different levels, the most reported is the national level in all three sectors. Unemployment organisations are viewed as more transnationally- or even EU-oriented than operating regionally or locally. The two other sectors appear more balanced in this respect (see Table 5). This is also mirrored in their activities, which we differentiated into organisations that mainly operate at national or transnational level. Here, the unemployment sector clearly sticks out as the one with most reported transnational activities.

Table 5: Level of Activities

	ALL	UNM	MIG	DIS
EU	41.4	7	2	3
Transnational	44.8	6	1	6
National	93.1	10	7	10
Regional	34.5	2	2	6
Local	24.1	2	1	4

Note: N=29; ALL in % in all; DIS/MIG/UNM in absolute numbers.

From the main actions listed (see Table 6), services for members are the most important, followed by awareness raising/political education and participation in the legislative process. Also, in line with what we discussed in the previous chapter, mobilisation activities are focussed on the national context and are, to a much lesser degree, transnationally-oriented.

Table 6: Main actions used by the organisation in order to reach its aims

	ALL		**DIS**		**MIG**		**UNM**	
	Nat	**TN**	Nat	TN	Nat	TN	Nat	TN
Mobilise members via protest actions or demonstrations	41.4	6.9	3	0	4	0	5	2
Mobilise members via direct actions/activities	69.0	10.3	7	0	5	0	8	3
Political education/awareness raising	79.3	17.2	7	1	7	1	9	3
Interest representation/lobbying institutions	82.8	37.9	8	1	7	3	9	7
Services for members	51.7	17.2	1	2	6	1	8	2
Service for others	58.6	13.8	6	2	7	1	4	1
Fundraising	48.3	6.9	7	0	4	0	3	2
Participation in legislative process/political decision-making process	79.3	27.6	8	0	7	3	8	5
Other	24.1	3.4	3	0	1	0	3	1

Note: N=29; ALL in % in all; DIS/MIG/UNM in absolute numbers; Nat= national, TN=transnational.

As discussed earlier, solidarity may be achieved using different tools or channels. As such, they can be oriented more towards the provision of services, often to meet immediate needs, or they can be more politically-oriented, grounded in political activism directed at changing law or raising public awareness, for example.

Focusing first on the provision of **services** (see Table 7), 100% of disabilities' organisations reported that they provide services, whereas 70% of migration and only 50% of unemployment TSOs indicated that they do so. Zooming in on these services, providing non-material assistance, i.e., emotional or interpersonal support is by far the most important amongst all services, followed by assistance in access to the welfare system and legal aspects most often provided. When looking closer into individual sectors, non-material support is the most important service in the disabilities' sector, followed by assistance in accessing the welfare system and legal issues. Migration organisations follow a similar pattern of engagement in services, though less pronounced, whereas in the unemployment sector, all services mentioned seem to play a minor role.

Table 7: Type and Frequency of Service Provision in the last two Years

Providing assistance in …	*Often*				*Seldom*				*Never*			
	ALL	*DIS*	*MIG*	*UNM*	*ALL*	*DIS*	*MIG*	*UNM*	*ALL*	*DIS*	*MIG*	*UNM*
housing and shelter	6.9	0	2	0	17.2	1	3	1	58.6	9	4	4
employment seeking	10.3	0	2	1	17.2	1	3	1	55.2	9	4	3
access to the welfare system (health care, education, etc.)	34.5	4	4	2	17.2	3	2	0	31.0	3	3	3
financial support	17.2	0	3	2	13.8	1	3	0	51.7	9	3	3
in-kind support (e.g. meals, clothes, etc.)	10.3	0	2	1	13.8	0	3	1	58.6	10	4	3
legal assistance	31.0	3	4	2	17.2	2	2	1	34.5	5	3	2
education services	24.1	2	2	3	13.8	0	3	1	44.8	8	4	1
debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)	6.9	0	1	1	13.8	0	2	2	62.1	10	6	2
non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.)	51.7	9	4	2	20.7	1	3	2	10.3	0	2	1
Other	10.3	0	2	1	3.4	0	0	1	58.6	10	7	0

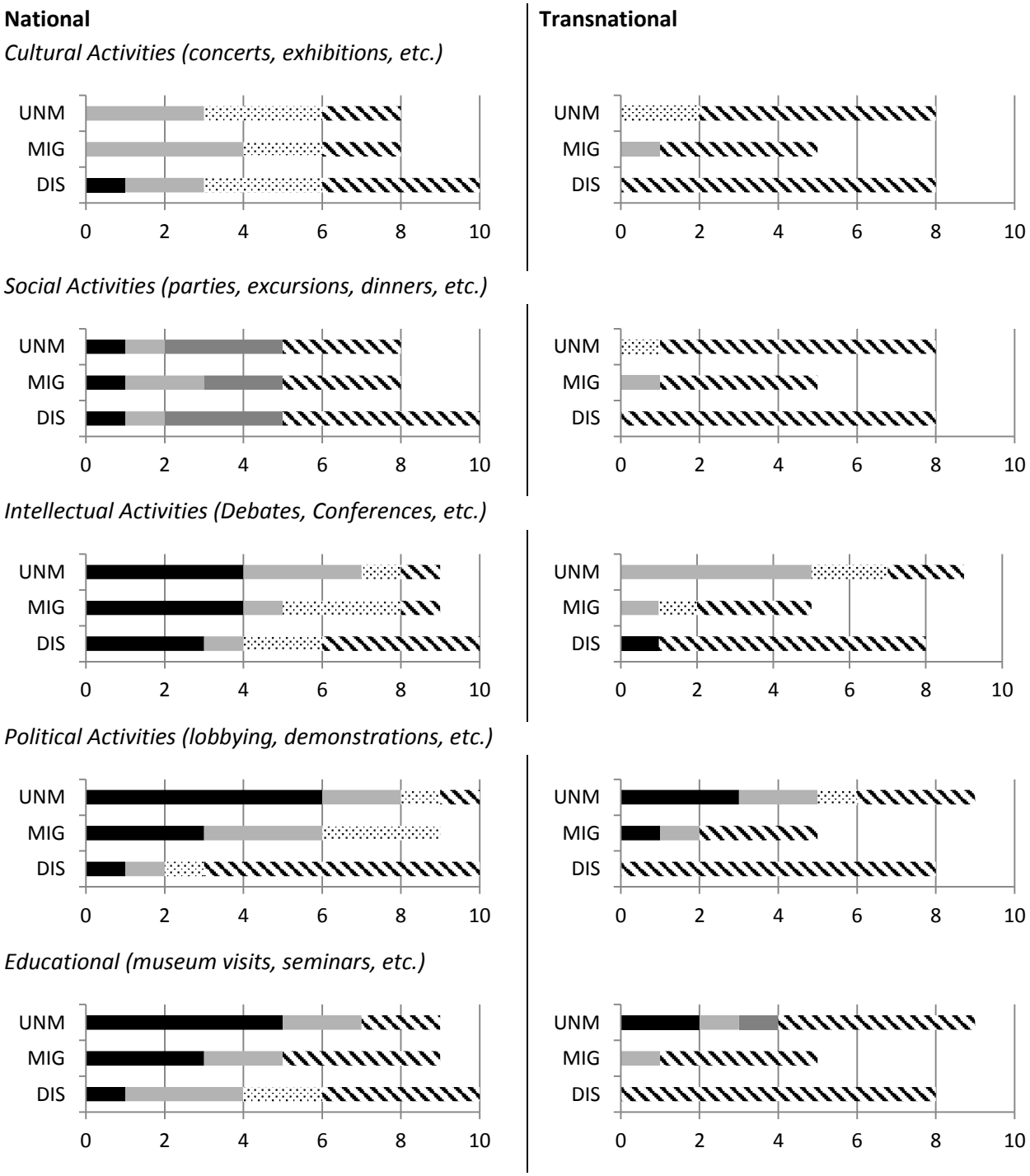
Note: N=29; ALL in % in all; DIS/MIG/UNM in absolute numbers.

Regarding activities other than providing services (see Figure 2), the most important are cultural, social, intellectual, political, and educational in nature, or concern the implementation or management of public programmes. The disabilities sector, which is intensely engaged in providing services, is less active regarding other such activities, whereas the opposite is true for the unemployment TSOs. The transnational dimension is largely irrelevant, especially in the disabilities sector. It plays, however, a role in the unemployment sector regarding political and educational activities, as well as the implementation of public programmes.

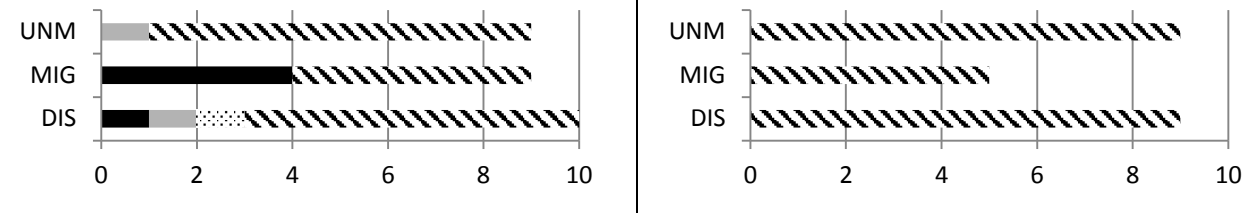
Zooming in a little closer on the migration sector, in the case of the trade unions included in the sample, the understanding of 'migration' seems to be shifting: While these organisations have been strong advocates for the integration of first and second generation migrants into the workforce under fair conditions, they are now extending this advocacy to include refugees. Among the organisations working in the field of migration, the older/largest ones either tend to be more focused on lobbying, campaigning and 'educating', or on providing specific services to migrants. Also, illustrating the overlap, in two important cases, the focus of work for migrants related to social and labour integration. Some of the newer and smaller organisations are more strongly focused on providing 'emergency' services, i.e., medical attention to undocumented migrants, meals, temporary

accommodation, etc. In essence, this may be an indicator that political lobbying needs a more established, i.e., older network than providing services, i.e., meeting urgent needs. It is therefore highly useful to take a look at how actors across the three sectors are linked to each other which is why we now turn to an analysis of their networks.

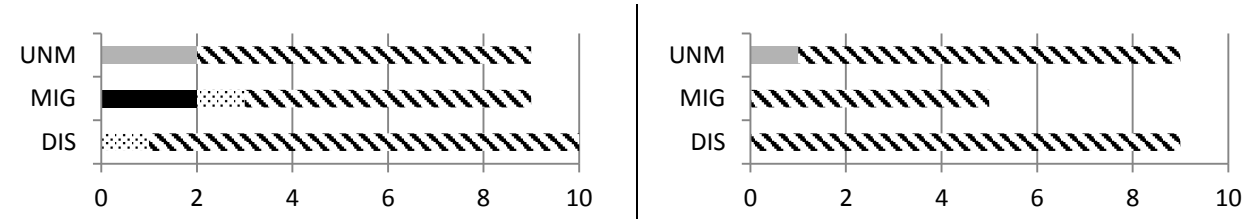
Figure 2: How often has your organisation engaged in the following activities over the last 2 years?



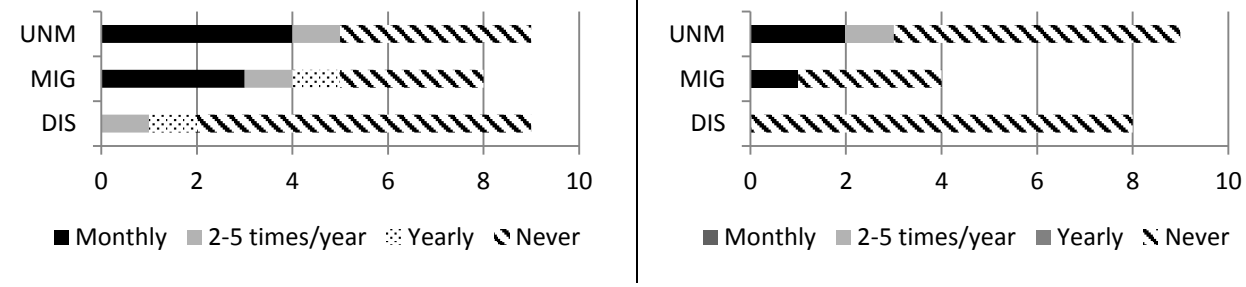
Sport & Leisure (competition, health seminars, etc.)



Religious (services, prayers, pilgrimage, etc.)



Implementation and Management of Public Programmes (social or cultural programmes, etc.)



Solidarity as an interactive process: political and social embeddedness

This chapter will report findings on the contacts and working relations TSOs maintain within their fields. This general question will be dealt with by first looking into social networks constituted by TSOs and institutions more generally, followed by a short look into collaboration between TSOs on the one hand and institutions on the other hand. We look at social networks to gain a better understanding of how TSOs operating in the three sectors of disabilities, migration and unemployment are connected to each other. This is against the background that 'there is no way of knowing in advance how social positions come about, and overall relations must be analyzed in an inductive attempt to identify behavior patterns' (Von Bülow, 2010: 7; referring to the works of Wasserman and Faust 1994 and Degenne and Forsé 1999). In that sense, TSOs are perceived as embedded in a social and political context in which their positions form dynamically.

The sample of organisations interviewed for this report[18] draws on previous work-packages of the TransSOL-project (WP2), and intense preparatory work. More concretely, an organisational map of transnational solidarity organisations was developed for all eight countries analysed in TransSOL, which gave an overview of all the groups and initiatives active transnationally in the three sectors.

[18] In total, we mapped 87 TSOs for disabilities, 329 for migration, and 152 for unemployment. Note that for this part of the analysis, we drew on 10 interviews for each sector. We contacted 22 TSOs for disabilities, 30 TSOs for migration, and 79 TSOs for unemployment.

This map was put together by means of systematic Internet searches using information provided by transnational platform website registers. Additionally, we benefitted from information provided by interview partners from local initiatives and groups (see WP2 report). For all German organisations included in the map, we assigned random numbers by field, finally resulting in a random order from which we contacted possible interview partners until reaching ten per sector.

In order to analyse the network structures within the issue fields, we had included a number of questions in the interview guidelines that aimed at gathering information on organisational contacts and forms of cooperation. During these interviews, the organisations were asked to look at a list of organisations active in their field, and to indicate if and how they collaborate. The organisations in the list are not separated by level of activity. Thus, included organisations are active at the local, regional, national or even supra- or international levels. Different modes of links were given. However, for the purpose of the following analysis, we concentrated on the most intense form of working relations, namely collaboration onprojects. We assumed that collaboration ties are reciprocal, and thus we assume that the symmetrisation of the data is a legitimate option. This means that we treat ties between organisations as undirected and binary (0, 1). In practical terms, this means that a link exists if one side states that it does. Moreover, the number of TSOs included in the network analysis is bigger than our sample because interviewees could nominate any organisation indicated on the predefined list of mapped TSOs. We are aware of the risk of over-representing links, which is why we also look at the direction of these connections later on. The following graphs (Figure 3–5) show the three different issue networks of German solidarity organisations: Disabilities, unemployment and migration. Each figure consists of nodes (TSOs and institutions shown as circles) and ties (their collaboration relationships are represented as lines connecting the nodes).

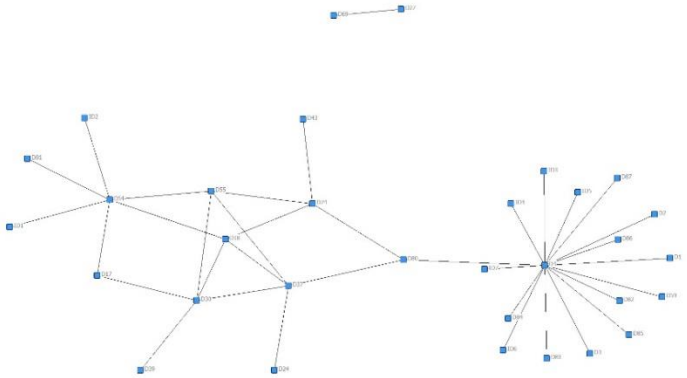
On the network level, we conducted a component analysis which provides descriptive measures about the three networks: We cannot only compare how many organisations are connected in each network; we can also use this information to calculate the density and centralisations of the networks. Density is the 'probability that a tie exists between any pair of randomly chosen nodes' (Borgatti, Everett and Johnson, 2013: 150). This means that in a very dense network many nodes or organizations would collaborate. In a loose network, only a few organisations work together. Another measurement provided is centrality. It assesses how far a network is dominated by one specific node. This can be interpreted as one organisation collaborating with many other organisations and thus being important to the field overall: The higher the score, the higher the centralisation.

Additionally, **in-** as well as outdegree centrality is calculated. These measurements are conducted at the node level and not at the network level, thus every node in every network gets two scores, one indegree score and one outdegree score. Indegree centrality refers to how many ties a node receives from the other nodes and can be interpreted as how many organisations stated that they collaborated with the specific organization under study. Outdegree centrality refers to how many ties a node sends. Both coefficients allow us to assess comparatively which actors are the most important in the network in terms of popularity with others (indegree) and their self-stated links with others (outdegree).

Turning to the analysis of the data, regarding inter-organisational l traits of German solidarity organisations, we can see at first glance that the disabilities network (Figure 3) is smaller than the

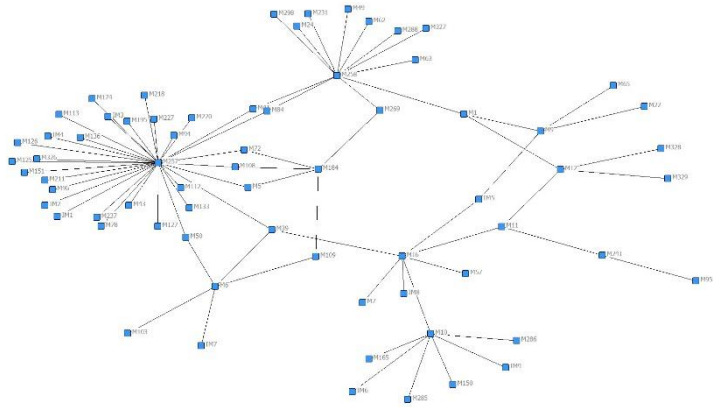
other two. We mapped 94 nodes (including institutions) for disabilities; however, 64 were not mentioned by the 10 TSOs interviewed. This means that only 32% of the nodes share all 37 ties in the network. Compared to the other networks, the disabilities' network has the highest density score compared to the other networks (0.008), although it is still under 1% and therefore rather low. The network includes two components, whereby only one consists of two organisations that are thematically connected. The second component includes all other organisations. We can, however, see that inside the component, we have two clusters which are connected by collaboration between two organisations. These organisations are large German umbrella organisations, , i.e., confederations of disability organisations operating nation-wide with the aim of generally supporting and representing individuals with especially mental handicaps. One of the clusters (right side) clusters notably around one of them (D4), also interviewed for the analysis. The left cluster seems less centralised in that respect – an aspect we will discuss later on.

Figure 3: Disability network



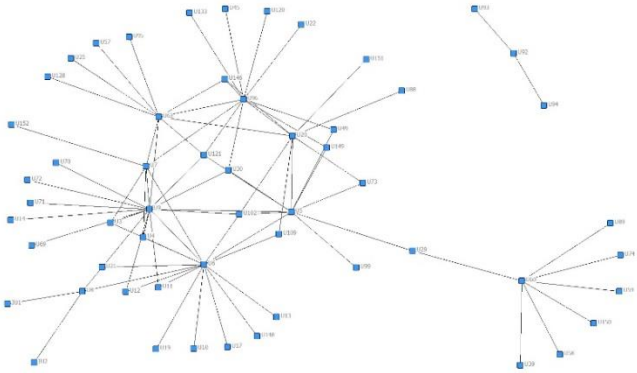
The migration network is considerably larger than the other two networks, and consists of twice as many nodes as the unemployment network. It also includes more than three times as many nodes as the disabilities network. However, of the 338 organisations mapped, only 20.4% are indicated as collaboration partners, meaning that only one fifth of the mapped TSOs are connected by a total of 77 ties. Thus, it is no surprise that the migration issue network has the lowest density (0.001). However, density is generally lower in larger networks, because the actual number of ties can usually not keep up with the number of possible ties (Borgatti et al., 2013). As can be seen in Figure 4, it is the only network which consists of one large component, with central nodes in parts of it. The node with the most connections (M257), for example, represents a large charity umbrella organisation which we interviewed; this TSO operates in global branches all over the world in an impartial, non-political manner and is therefore focused on charity work in contrast to political activism. This may help it to collaborate with many different partners, as long as involvement does not become too political. Such central nodes play an important role in connecting the field in general.

Figure 4: Migration network



The third network, unemployment (see Figure 5), consists of 154 nodes, 56 of which are connected by 86 ties. 36.4% of the mapped organisations in the network collaborate with at least one other organisation. Displaying a density score of 0.007, organisations in the unemployment sector collaborate almost as often as those in the disabilities' sector. Again, there are two components, one of which is very small, only consisting of three nodes and two ties. The three organisations all focus on fair trade and therefore can be said to have content accordance. The larger component consists of two parts which are connected by collaborations between three organisations.

Figure 5: Unemployment network



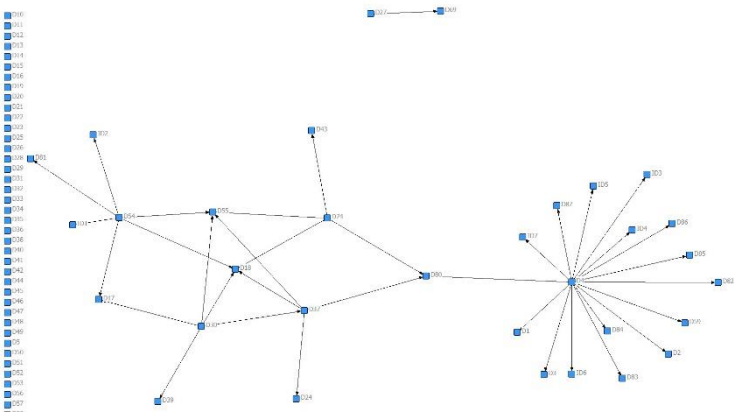
Overall, looking only at the connections between organisations, and without taking into account the directions of connections, the disabilities' network presents itself as smaller but is characterised by closer cooperation. Umbrella organisations play an important role in connecting actors in the field. The migration network is the largest and therefore, cooperation is less dense due most probably to the great amount of possible cooperation partners. The unemployment sector is characterised by comparatively close cooperation patterns, and again shows the importance of umbrella organisations which seem to play quite a minor role in the migration network.

Looking more closely into the dynamics of networks, the three centrality scores are best interpreted in directed networks. This means that a tie is no longer binary, i.e. existing or not, but also has a direction from one node to another (sending and receiving). In Figures 6 – 8, we can see the directed connections between the organisations. The maximum number of sent ties (out-degree centrality) is higher in the migration network than in the other two networks. M257, the large German umbrella organisation discussed earlier, sends 31 ties, the highest number in all three networks, which underlines its influence in the field. In comparison, in the disabilities and unemployment network, the highest number of sent ties is only half of that, with 17 sent ties respectively.

The maximum number of received ties (in-degree centrality) is four in all three networks. Relating back to sent ties, the higher number of out-degree centrality also has to be interpreted against the methodological background of this analysis: Since only ten organisations were interviewed, the maximum number of ties an organisation can receive is ten, whereas the number of collaboration partners indicated by interviewees (sent ties) can be much higher.

Going back to the network level, when we take a closer look at the disabilities network, we can see the central importance of one large umbrella organisation (D4). Not only does it send the most ties (17) in the network, it also collaborates with one other dominant organisation (D80) in the field, and thereby connects two clusters into one big component (Figure 6). With a number of 17, it sends more than twice as many ties than the organisations ranking right behind it (six and five sending ties). The organisations which receive the most ties are, once again, an umbrella organisation and a network. Otherwise, all organisations get only one tie. Thus, we can say that in general, most organisations collaborate only with one other organisation in the disabilities' network. This is mirrored in the low density of the network which is still the highest of all networks. However, we find some organisations receiving many ties, indicating their prominence, popularity, and thus importance in the disabilities' network.

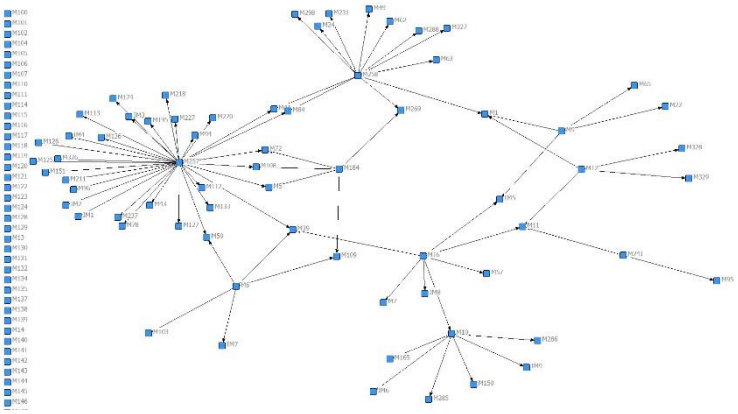
Figure 6: Directed Disability Network



In the directed migration network (Figure 7), M257 sends the most ties, 31 in total, collaborating with the most organisations in this sector. This is nearly thrice as many as the organisation ranking second with 12 sent ties. The centralisation score is lower for this network (0.22) compared to the disabilities and unemployment networks. Again, we have a large range between in- and out-degree centrality, with most organisations receiving only one collaboration tie. As indicated earlier, this is

due to the research design of our study, but in this special case, it is also conditioned by the large number of potential collaboration partners in the migration field.

Figure 7: Directed Migration Network



The unemployment network centralisation score is 0.28, which is higher than the migration network, and ties with the disabilities' network. When looking at Figure 8, we can see that there is more than one node which is central in the component. The highest number of collaborations is 17 for a larger German umbrella organisation (U9), closely followed by another umbrella organisation (U6) with 16 ties. Although there are many organisations sending ties, most of the receiving organisations only get one tie.

Figure 8: Directed Unemployment Network

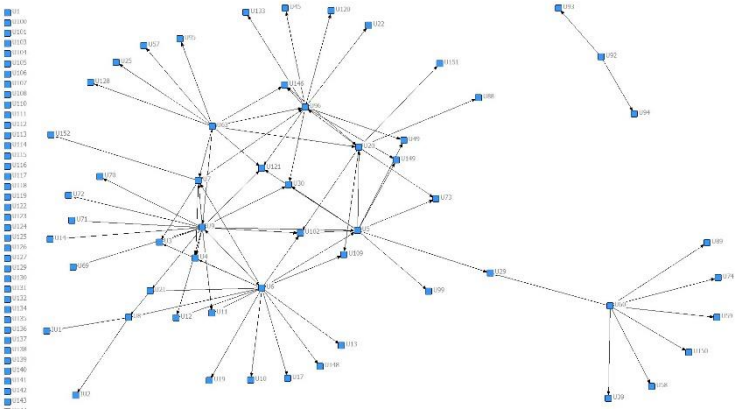


Table 9 gives a final overview of all measurements at network level. In sum, we can see that centralisation is higher in the disabilities' and unemployment networks (0.28 both) than in the migration network (0.22). Thus, connections in the migration network are more equally distributed even with the presence of one single strong sending organisation (M257), while the other two networks are more dominated and connected by single organisations. We can conclude that migration is the largest network although it also has the lowest density of all three networks. Additionally, it stands out because it only consists of one large component, and has a slightly lower centralization than disabilities and unemployment. The disabilities network, although considerably

smaller than unemployment, consists of two components, whose centralisation score is equal. For disabilities, this may be explained by the high specialisation of TSOs in this sector that unite under umbrella organisations targeting more general questions regarding disabilities. In unemployment, the field seems to express distinct German traits regarding the key position of trade unions and large Christian organisations as important umbrella TSOs. The migration sector, due to its greater size, would most probably need a larger sample than N=10 in order to identify clearer patterns in this respect.

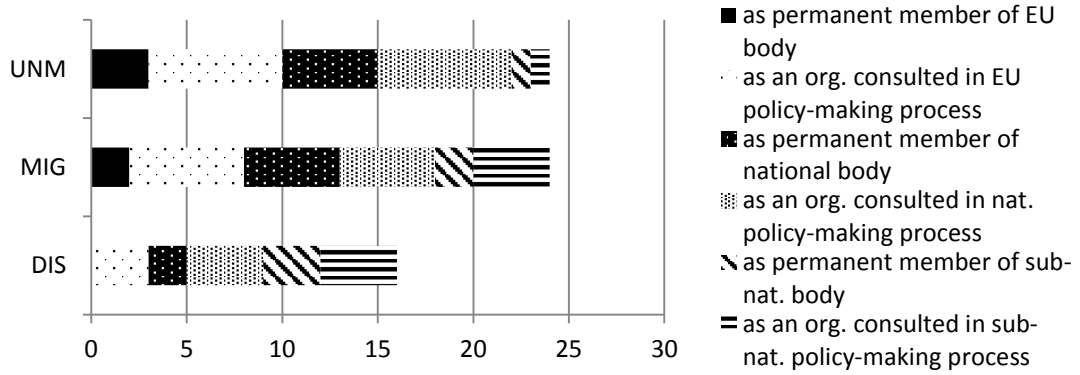
Table 9: Overview of measurements across sectors

	DIS	UNM	MIG
Size (no. of nodes, including TSOs and institutions)	94	154	338
Isolates (not indicated by interviewed TSOs)	64 nodes	98 nodes	269 nodes
Components (without counting isol. nodes)	2 components	2 components	1 component
Largest component	30 nodes	53 nodes	69 nodes
Number of ties	37	86	77
Density	0.008	0.007	0.001
Centralisation	0.28	0.28	0.22

In our fieldwork we were interested in mapping the social and political embeddedness of TSOs. This included other TSOs, as well as institutions that interview partners themselves identified. Regarding this collaboration of TSOs with institutions in the field, numbers indicated by interviewees seem quite low in general. In sum, we identified two relevant ministries in unemployment, nine ministries and foundations in migration, and seven ministries and university hospitals in the disabilities' sector. In unemployment, both ministries are connected to one large umbrella organisation (IU1 and IU2, see Figure 5). Also, in the other two sectors, collaboration with ministries, foundations or university hospitals is centred on the dominant organisations in the field (see Figures 3 and 4). Interestingly, all institutions identified seem to operate mostly in the national context or are national institutions.

Regarding the reciprocity of connections with institutions, representatives of institutions were not interviewed and hence, we cannot assess what institutions themselves indicated in terms of collaboration with TSOs. We can, however, draw tentative conclusions from the answers regarding the question whether interviewed TSOs have been either members or consultants of institutions at different political levels. Here, it seems that unemployment TSOs are the most wanted at the EU and national level, followed by migration TSOs.

Figure 9: Involvement of TSOs in Policy-Making Process …



As is mirrored in the data just discussed, this concerns large umbrella organisations and networks – i.e. such as organisations that tend to be important and dominant in networks in general. Disabilities' TSOs, in contrast, have not been permanent members of EU bodies; in some cases, they were members of national or even sub-national bodies. However, they seem to be perceived more as consultants. This may be related to the fact that many of the disabilities' TSOs interviewed were targeting very specific and therefore also rare disabilities. Legislation, then, would most probably need a more general input.

Conclusion

This study set out to provide detailed information about German solidarity organisations working in the fields of migration, unemployment and disabilities; their organisational structure, activities, concepts of solidarity and cooperation with similar organisations. One of the aims of this study is to account for the significant similarities and differences across the sectors..

One of the most significant findings is that traditional actors in the German civil society, such as trade unions and religious organisations, remain key players in the fields of migration and unemployment. These large players tend to be among the oldest, best funded organisations, have multi-issue agendas, and are dominant players in networks in the fields. In this vein, it is also relevant to mention that there was a strong overlap between organisations working in the fields of migration and unemployment which (as explained above) implies that the most significant contrasts are between disabilities and the other two sectors.

The literature available recognises solidarity as a vital element for the proper functioning of societies, and identifies certain traits necessary for solidary action; the existence and recognition of a group with common problems and goals, the acceptance of a social order and the willingness to accept a degree of self-sacrifice for the good of the group among others. Tranow´s theoretical contribution (2012) mentions two levels at which solidarity operates: An individual level and a structural (or systemic) one. While the former makes reference to personal attitudes towards solidarity or compliance with solidary norms, the latter describes structural and institutionalised expressions of solidarity (such as, for example, welfare policies, trade unions, self- help networks, etc.). The scope of this study was predominantly focused on the structural forms of solidarity. However, some of the variables explained earlier could help to illustrate forms of individual solidarity: Individual donations and voluntary involvement. In this particular case, evidence suggests

that while organisations working in the fields of unemployment and migration tend to be older on average and have larger budgets, those working in the disabilities' sector are more reliant on volunteers and sponsorship from individuals and companies, whereas migration and unemployment organisations were more reliant on the state or EU funding, as well as members' fees.

This could indicate that disabilities' organisations are more capable of mobilising individual solidarity while migration and unemployment organisations mostly depend on institutionalised redistribution policies and the contributions of members. Similarly, the results show that people who join organisations working in the disabilities' sector are mostly motivated either by altruism or by their own experience with a given illness or disability, whereas the dominant motivation for people joining unemployment organisations had to do with political ideals (see Tables 1 and 2 above). In this case, the relevance of political conviction and advocacy of unemployment organisations might make it more important for them to refrain from resorting to funding from corporations, since they need to maintain a certain independence. Moreover, this raises the question about the capacity that each sector has to engage volunteers and mobilise individual solidarity: Is it, as argued by Van Oorschot (2008) related to the perceived deservingness of the different groups? Or is it rather related to the ability to secure sufficient resources from the welfare state?

The evidence presented in this study strongly suggests that solidarity initiatives are mostly tied to the national level in terms of their networks, their interaction with institutions, their scope of action and sources of funding. This corroborates findings in the literature regarding the fact that even if engaging transnationally, CSOs remain rooted in the national arena (e.g., Von Bülow, 2010: 191) and the nation state remains the main reference for securing social protection (Hartwig, 2014).

Regarding the limits of solidarity as reflected on by previous studies, they appear to be defined in a rather pragmatic manner: Set by geographic boundaries (organisations tend to have a clear and concrete idea of the level on which they operate), by level of expertise (do the clients or potential clients fit their profile? This is particularly true for those working in the field of disabilities), or by 'neediness' (Van Oorschot, 2008) as defined by those seven organisations that claim to work for 'disadvantaged groups'.

Regarding our expectations outlined in the introduction, our data provides first suggestive insights regarding cooperation, the associational ecology and the social and political embeddedness of TSOs in Germany.

(1) 'Solidary action is still predominantly tied to the nation states, and obstacles will include language, financial and cultural barriers'

This hypothesis seems to find support in our results; transnational cooperation was particularly absent among organisations working in the field of disabilities, but seemed relatively peripheral in the other sectors, as well. Likewise, results suggest that interaction with institutions remained strongly tied to the nation-state. This was particularly true for the disabilities' networks. The qualitative part of the interviews reveals that backgrounds are relevant not only in terms of linguistic and organisational terms but also in terms of the political and ideological backgrounds of organisations. This was not contemplated in our hypothesis. Moreover, the interviews also reflect concern about the perceived remoteness of the European level and with the differences in political climates and national priorities as significant impediments for successful transnational cooperation.

Lastly, the hypotheses did not contemplate the possibility that most of the organisations will still depend on national sources of funding and support, hence will orient their actions accordingly.

(2) We expected larger and better-funded organisations to be more involved in transnational campaigns and solidarity; (4) we also assumed that unemployment organisations would be among the oldest and best funded.

Unemployment organisations in our sample were indeed older on average than those in the other two sectors. However, the sector with more organisations having a budget of 'over 500,000 euros a year' was migration, not unemployment. Unemployment organisations were also among the most involved in transnational activities and initiatives. Disabilities organisations, which were on average younger and had fewer financial and human resources available, were the least active transnationally. This salient difference could be related to the level of formalisation and resources that an organisation has, but also to the scope of the issues it addresses; some of the organisations in the disabilities' sector work on one single very specific issue, whereas unemployment organisations have broader agendas, which increases the likelihood of finding suitable partners to cooperate with. This could also account for the fact that disabilities' organisations were not as frequently present in permanent policy consultations as those in unemployment. Lastly, it is important to highlight that while 100% of the disabilities' organisations surveyed provided services to their beneficiaries, this was only the case for 50% of those in the unemployment sector, and 70% of those in the sector of migration. This difference could mean that these disabilities' organisations tend to be more focused on the local level and on the provision of services than on transnational advocacy. The fact that organisations in the fields of unemployment and migration actively devote efforts to political education and lobbying could contribute to them being more visible for policy making bodies at the national and transnational levels than disabilities' organisations.

(3) We expected that there would be a different expectation from the recipients of solidarity depending on whether they are vulnerable groups or members of other organisations. Our expectation was that there would be a strong demand for reciprocity from the latter.

The qualitative analysis of the open questions for the 30 TSOs interviewed suggests that solidarity with other organisations was more dependent on criteria of similarity and reciprocity (Van Oorschot 2008) than on neediness or responsibility. Solidarity action towards recipients or towards vulnerable groups was more related to a sense of social justice and inclusion.

(5) Given the high number of people with migration backgrounds in Germany, we expected migration organisations to have a strong ability to mobilise people and resources.

Regarding this hypothesis, it is first important to once again, mention the significant overlap between organisations working in the fields of migration and unemployment. Secondly, while the organisations working in the field of migration appeared to be well funded, and experienced no financial retrenchment after 2010, they did not have as many volunteers as those working in the field of disabilities, nor did they consider donations from individuals to be as relevant as they were for the disabilities' sector. Whether this can be explained by their stable and high amounts of state funding, or to less power of mobilisation could not be determined based on our data.

To summarise, our exploratory study has shown that actors operate with different understandings of solidarity depending on the characteristics of the 'other' (is it someone in need or another organisation?), and that cooperation and networks remain strongly tied to the national level. We

have learned that there is an important overlap between those working in the unemployment and migration fields, and that these tend to devote more attention to advocacy and awareness activities. TSOs in the disabilities' field, in contrast, seem more dedicated to the provision of services. In addition, networks in the disabilities' sector appear smaller and tend to be more closely connected than those of migration organisations.

While we have found supportive evidence for a number of our hypotheses, we did not foresee the importance of traditionally recognised civil society actors in the field of solidarity. The actors in question are trade unions and religious institutions which have been very important actors for the generation of spaces for inclusion and justice in German society. They also match Stjerno´s (2011) classification of Europe´s most important figures in the enaction and definition of political solidarity.

Trade unions and religious organisations are important players in the field of solidarity which have adjusted their agendas and their strategies over time; trade unions started as labour organisations dedicated to the protection of workers, but have now a broader agenda which covers protection and inclusion of women in the workforce (closing the gender gap), inclusion of migrants and refugees, advocacy against free trade agreements, etc. Likewise, religious organisations have also adjusted their agendas to match the needs and discourses of the time. A question for future comparative studies could be whether or not the church and trade unions are equally important civil society actors in other countries. If not, who are their main players and how are the agendas of these main players changing?

References

Borgatti, S. P., Everett, M. G., & Johnson, J. C. (2013). Analyzing social networks. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Limited.

Durkheim, E. (2014). The division of labour in society. Simon and Schuster.

Hartwig, I. (2014). Solidarische Kohäsionspolitik jenseits 2013. In Solidarität in der EU (pp. 163-192). Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG.

Kaufmann, Franz-Xaver (2013). 'Variations of the Welfare State: Great Britain, Sweden, France and Germany between Capitalism and Socialism'. In: Franz-Xaver Kaufmann (Hrsg.), Variations of the Welfare State Great Britain, Sweden, France and Germany Between Capitalism and Socialism. Springer, pp. 23-239, (translated from German by Thomas Dunlap).

Stjerno, S. (2011). The idea of solidarity in Europe. European journal of social law, 3, 156-176.

Tranow, U. (2012). Das Konzept der Solidarität: Handlungstheoretische Fundierung eines soziologischen Schlüsselbegriffs. Springer Science & Business Media.

Von Bülow, M. (2010). Building Transnational Networks – Civil Society Networks and the Politics of Trade in the Americas. Cambridge University Press.

Van Oorschot, W. (2008). Solidarity towards immigrants in European welfare states. International Journal of Social Welfare, 17(1), 3-14.

Zimmer, A., Appel, A.,. Dittrich, C., Sittermann, B., and Stallmann, F. (2009). 'Germany: On the Social Policy Centrality of the Free Welfare Associations'. In: J. Kendall (ed.), Handbook on Third Sector Policy in Europe: Multi-level Processes and Organized Civil Society, Edward Elgar, pp. 21-42.

Transnational solidarity in Greek civil society

M. Paschou, A. Loukakis, M. Kousis, and K. Kanellopoulos (University of Crete)

Introduction

Greece, with the highest levels of public debt in the EU, has suffered significantly from the recent global financial crisis. In response, successive programmes of economic stabilization, budget restrictions and structural adjustments were applied aimed at reducing the country's fiscal deficit. As in other countries, austerity policies during the financial crisis have also been an attack on the welfare state (Bush et al., 2013; Hermann, 2013). More so, however, austerity measures in Greece have resulted in severe recession, collapse of small- and medium-sized enterprises, "brain drain", a rapid rise in homelessness, impoverishment of the middle classes and the intensification of inequality (Matsaganis and Leventi, 2014). Simultaneously, it has induced radical pay and social welfare cuts, increasing unemployment, the liberalisation of the labour market and precarity (Zografakis and Spathis, 2011), while cutbacks in health have led to the worsening of health care provision which particularly harms the already vulnerable groups (Kentikelenis et al., 2011). In addition to the economic crisis, since 2011, at the EU's eastern borders, Greece has witnessed very large flows of refugees and/or migrants, which dramatically increased in 2015, reflecting the high need for solidarity action and human rights protection (Kanellopoulos et al., 2016).

While formal civil society organisations were hit hard by the economic crisis in Greece, with state funding having almost stopped (Lekakis and Kousis, 2013, Huliaras 2015, Kousis et al., 2016, Papadaki and Kalogeraki, 2017), civic engagement has been simultaneously strong in new and mainly informal forms of collective solidarity action (Sotiropoulos, 2014; Sotiropoulos and Bourikos 2014, LIVEWHAT Integrated Report D6.4, 2016, TransSOL Integrated Report on Reflective Forms of Transnational Solidarity D2.1, 2016). Civil society organisations have carried out solidarity actions aimed at covering services no longer provided by the state in order to confront the deep impact of both the economic (Clarke et al., 2015, Kousis, Kalogeraki, Mexi 2015, Simiti 2017) as well as the refugee crises.

In this context, the need for collective representation and political advocacy has intensified particularly for the working and unemployed populations, for people with disabilities and for migrants/refugees, among other crisis-affected social groups. This report presents the findings of interviews conducted for Work Package 4 of the TransSOL project, with representatives of transnational solidarity organisations active in Greece across the aforementioned fields: Disability, unemployment and migration. The interviews aim to study three broad areas, which articulate the structure of this report: First, the perception of events and campaigns as opportunities for organised solidarity, second, the associational ecology of solidarity, and, third, political and social (network) embeddedness.

A total of thirty interviews (ten per field) were carried out, from March to July 2017, most of them face-to-face and only a few via the telephone/ Skype. An integrated research tool was used for data collection, including both open- and closed-ended questions. The participating organisations were identified from their membership in transnational umbrella organisations, confederations and networks which participated in big campaigns and events. Hence, the

selected events constituted our core starting point in the process of sample selection, which involved random sampling from the list of the Greek members of the identified umbrella organisations participating in these events.

In the disability field, the European Day of Persons with Disabilities (29/11/2016) was the transnational event chosen for the selection of organisations, while the participating umbrella organisations from which the sample of Greek organisations was drawn are: the European Association of Service Providers for Persons With Disabilities (the EASPD), EURORDIS, European Disability Forum and Inclusion Europe.

In the field of unemployment, we studied organisations which participated in the International Summit of Cooperatives (11-13/10/2016) through their membership in the European Anti-poverty Network and the European Trade Union Confederation.

In the migration field, the organisations were drawn from a list of those that participated in International Migrants' Day (18/12/2016) and their membership in one of the following networks: the European Network against Racism, the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM), the umbrella organisation UNITED for Intercultural Action and the European Council on Refugees and Exiles.

Our selected organisations vary with respect to their organisational traits, such as their size, type, age and degree of formalisation. Twenty-six of the 30 organisations were founded before 2010, with the oldest organisation of our sample founded in 1877 and the youngest in 2014. About a quarter of the organisations are umbrella organisations, 30% of TSOs are members of a federation of organisations, one is a member of a national umbrella organisation while 60% of them are members of a network. As concerns the geographic level in which the sampled organisations are active, 36.7% are active at the European Union level, 30% at the transnational level (inside and outside EU), 73.3% at the national level, 46.6% of TSOs at the regional level and 36.6% organisations at the local level. As regards their degree of formalisation , all organisations in our sample have a constitution. With respect to the size of the organisation as reflected in the paid workload produced, 70% of organisations have more than five (full-time) paid staff, whereas concerning volunteerism, 34.5% of our selected organisations reported that more than the half of their activities are conducted by volunteers.

Events and Campaigns as opportunities of organised solidarity

This section centres on the study of events and campaigns. It offers new findings on organised solidarity issues concerning organisational involvement, transnational cooperation, the comparison between national and transnational cooperation and cooperation understanding as solidarity.

Involvement in campaigns

Civil society is, by its nature, open to public dialogue, which is evidently ingrained in the perception of its members. Hence, engagement in campaigns as forms of mass communication, together with networking and relations establishment, are largely regarded to be an integral part of the actions undertaken by transnational solidarity organisations. Campaigning is regarded to be a means of advocacy. As such, it relates to the political aims of organisations which are distinguished from the operational part of their action. The narrative on campaigns involves three strands, namely: Protest events, awareness raising and lobbying. There are no striking differences as regards involvement in campaigns recorded in our interviews across the three sectors.

> "We are an active and organic part of civil society and it would not be possible for us *not* to participate. Campaign participation is indeed a means to exercise pressure on decision makers" (U4).

Concerning protest events, a broad repertoire is mentioned, ranging from peaceful rallies to protest marches. It is widely believed that the stronger and more massive the presence of organisations at a demonstration is, the greater the resonance of their political claim. Labour and unemployment-related organisations typically refer to strikes for the protection of labour rights and the protest against labour precarity (U2, U10). It seems that in Greece, where austerity policies have overwhelmed the political scenery during the last years, protest campaigns against the government and against public cuts, particularly for social welfare, occupy a great deal of civil society organisational forces, which is reflected in the discourses of umbrella organisations in the field of disability (D1, D4). Furthermore, the refugee crisis and the rise of the extreme right have also intensified protest participation of organisations active in the field of migration, which refer to events such as the demonstration for the support of the right to asylum (M8) and the international day against discrimination (M6).

Awareness raising campaigns aim at encouraging positive behaviour. They may include public demonstrations, but what differentiates them from the previous strand is that they primarily address the public rather than decision makers, and this attribute shapes less contentious action forms and protester attitudes. This strand usually involves other actions of public reach, such as fundraising bazaars (D8) and petitions (U9). The scope of awareness raising-focused campaigns as described in our interviews defines three broad categories: First, there are context specific campaigns, which are connected to a particular political agenda, such as the campaigns supporting the Greek citizenship of second generation migrants in Greece (M4), or to specific events, such as the campaign in favour of the anti-racist vote in national elections (M4) and the observatory of the Golden Dawn trial for the conviction of racist violence (M9). This context relevance of campaigns relates to the embeddedness of civil society action in its socio-political and cultural context, which is stressed by scholars (Giugni and Baglioni, 2014: 233) Second, there are campaigns oriented towards informing the public on issues of limited public knowledge, which is particularly important in the field of disability and rare diseases, thus aiming to increase public interest and prevention (D2, D6, D7 and D10). Third, there are big international campaigns

which aim to motivate public support by acting on a large scale, such as the "16 days of activism" campaign against gender violence, organised by UN Women (U4), or the international campaign against war (U7).

Lobbying is the third strand of campaigning activity undertaken by solidarity organisations. Networking practices and participation in deliberation processes, both institutional and informal, are said to be the main features of communication strategies by the some of our selected organisations (U8, U3, U9, D4). Affiliations, partnerships, project collaborations and co-participation in knowledge exchange events, such as conferences, seminars and workshop (D3, D5, D8, D9, M2), are discussed not merely in terms of their operational benefits for organisations, but also for being influential in policy making and thus for falling within the conceptual framework of campaigns.

"Organisational cooperation is substantial in the success of lobbying activity and this in fact provides the linkage of civil society with social movements" (D4).

In general, the interviews reveal that cooperation between organisations is the core theme of the narrative on campaigns, while division of labour and consensus building are perceived to be the main challenges. One of our study participants underlines that the context of cooperation needs to be clearly defined from the beginning, and that distinct role allocation between the cooperating members is crucial (M7). Finally, it should be noted that the word "campaign" has been flagged as having negative connotations for our target population due to its connection with commercial advertising and branding. Hence, abstaining from campaigning and public relations has been indicated by some of our study participants (M5, D9, U1 U3, U6).

National cooperation

The majority reported openness, positive experiences and the appreciation of organisational cooperation at the national level. National cooperation involves connection with other civil society organisations such as NGOs, institutes, federations and informal groups and collectivities which are active at the national level as well as with state agencies, local authorities (D9, D5) and institutionalised public structures, such as schools (D5, D9, D10) and universities (D10). Both permanent and ad hoc cooperation is mentioned by our interviewers as well as cooperation in the context of common projects (D5, U1). Fieldwork cooperation is very frequent, usually when organisations support refugees.

Our interviews provide further evidence on the fact that civil society organisations tend to cooperate with organisations that possess similar organisational traits (Lahusen and Grimmer, 2014). In specific, whereas organisational cooperation across fields is mentioned by some interviewers, it is much more likely to meet inter-organisational cooperation within the same field of activity. What seems to be crucial for most organisations is to cooperate with other groups and organisations which share the same values or ideological standpoint and have common interests and goals (M8, M10), which also accords with recent empirical findings on organisational cooperation elsewhere (Bassoli and Theiss, 2014). A common understanding or definition of the field is clearly a decisive factor in collaborations, particularly among the

organisations in the disability field (D2, D7, D10), each of which represents a distinct agenda. This field is less flexible in the definition of its target population compared to the others, and it seems that its organisations prefer to cooperate with umbrella organisations or affiliated bigger organisations in the same field of disability (D7, D8) rather than with organisations focusing on other areas of disability or on other fields.

As regards the challenges met in national cooperation, our interviewees refer to overcoming antagonism and power relations which generate tension and imbalance (D7, U4), while it is also mentioned that antagonistic relations at the national level are in fact so intense that they impede most attempts for cooperation at the national level (U7). Lastly, bureaucracy, combined with the inconsistency and untrustworthiness of public administration, is mentioned to be a barrier for the cooperation with the state: *"…procedures are always cumbersome and time-consuming*" (D4).

Transnational cooperation

Like national cooperation, transnational cooperation is met both in ad hoc collaborations and in forms of permanent cooperation. The first case includes co-participation in public communication (campaigns) and knowledge diffusion events (e.g. international conferences), but also involvement in operational programmes (U1, M2, M7), while the second one refers mainly to cooperation established on the grounds of membership in federations and other types of institutionalised associations, or in transnational networks, such as the European Migration Forum mentioned by organisations in the field of migration.

Big organisations and those which represent a network themselves, such as national umbrella organisations and confederations emphasise their involvement in the respective European and international associational schemes (D1, D4, U2), while smaller organisations usually refer to one-to-one relations with foreign organisations initiated on the occasion of an event or through personal contacts (D5, M2, M9). Nevertheless, it is their membership in transnational partnerships which is accountable for their connection with leading organisations in their field and their involvement in international campaigns (D2, D6, D7, U6, U9, M3, M7, M8, M10).

International memorial days relevant to the field of action (e.g. International Day of Rare Diseases, European Day of persons with disabilities, International Workers' Day, International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, International Day for the Protection of Economic Migration) emerge to be the drivers of big transnational campaigns.

Apart from co-participation in campaigns, organisations cooperate with each other at the transnational level in the context of operational and research projects for the acquisition of know-how and benchmarking purposes (D5, D8, D9, D10, U6, M10). The exchange of knowledge and good practice as well as the sharing of experiences is largely recognised as being a markedly beneficial type of transnational cooperation.

> *"One learns what other organisations do, how they work, their problems; one learns both organisational and operational matters*" (M2).

Antagonistic relations are also reported to be a challenge in transnational cooperation but are less often compared to national cooperation. As a representative of an organisation in the migration field explained, international partnerships are often opportunistic, based on personal contacts and aspirations of individual members of organisations and therefore establish less authentic and less sincere relations between the participating bodies (M7). In addition, cultural differences which shape the mentality of organisational structures and operations are mentioned as barriers to cooperation (D4, D5, M7) together with language barriers (U1) and limited funds for travelling to meet with transnational partners (D1, D3, U4).

Comparing national and transnational cooperation

Based on the interviews conducted with representatives of transnational solidarity organisations, there are no striking differences in national and transnational campaign involvement. Excluding very few cases, our respondents use an integrated framework to elaborate the benefits and the challenges of their engagement in organisational cooperation at both levels. This underlines the importance of sharing common goals, values and philosophies in the establishment of substantial and successful collaborations (D9, D10, U4, U6, U7, U8, M4, M10).

> "*There are always problems where there are conflicting interests or strategies or different temperaments among the collaborating members– whether they are between individual members or between member-organisations - and this concerns both national and transnational cooperation*". (U4)

Notably, there is a general tendency to positively evaluate cooperation by prioritising the benefits over the difficulties. In addition, cooperation at each geographical level has advantages and disadvantages. The flow of communication is easier in national cooperation, since there are no language or geographic boundaries. By contrast, competition is more intense at the national level "…*when organisations address the same bodies for funding"* (U7) and there is antagonism over scarce resources, which does not come as a surprise given that civil society organisations in Greece find themselves in an era of increased social demand due to the inability of the state to cover the social needs for welfare services and reduced funding opportunities due to the economic crisis (Clarke et al., 2015).

The cooperation of transnational solidarity organisations is associated with some particular obstacles depending on the field of action. In the migration field, the fact that international organisations are not well informed about local communities, their politics and Greek bureaucracy upon arrival at Greek camps and detention centres is problematic, leading to difficulties in their collaboration with Greek organizations (M4).Context-specific difficulties in transnational cooperation are also mentioned by trade union confederations, which develop their agenda in direct -and almost exclusive- response to the national socio-political and institutional context (U2, U10). This can be understood in the light of previous studies on the impact of political opportunity structures upon the politicisation of civil society organisations, which holds true particularly for the organisations in the field of unemployment and precarity (Cinally and Giugni, 2014). This does not seem to be the case in disability organisations, that are

quite interested in the policies and conventions made at the European level and which seem to be more closely connected to their European counterparts (D2, D7).

Last but not least, there is a set of arguments recorded in our interviews with the representatives of solidarity organisations on the perspectives and cultural traits of Greek organisations, which distinguish them in the international map of civil society organisations. According to some of our study participants, Greece does not have a strong tradition in activism, compared to most European countries of the West. The role of civil society is weak and disintegrated from welfare state (D5), while public deliberation is poorly institutionalised (U8). Hence, Greek organisations are considered inadequately experienced and/or poorly resourced to share roles and responsibilities in multi-partners projects (D10), while organisations located in other European countries are reportedly more experienced and better organised , as is reflected in their capacity and adaptability in transnational settings of cooperation (D2, D7, M6). Added to the Greek inexperience and unfamiliarity with international cooperation, stereotypes of Greek untrustworthiness and laziness appear to make foreign organisations less willing to initiate collaboration with Greek organisations (D4). In accordance with some scholars, low levels of associational density, volunteerism and social capital place Greece amongst the weakest organised ed civil societies in Europe (Huliaras, 2015; Jones et al., 2015). The domination of political parties, clientelism and the predominance of family-based solidarity (Sotiropoulos, 2014) together with church-state relations, tax incentives and civic education (Huliaras, 2014: 149) have been identified as the main reasons for this underdevelopment of civil society in Greece. This literature, however, does not systematically address other forms of active citizenship in Greece, such as contentious or informal actions and organisations. When it comes to informal and contentious activism, studies of the past two decades point to the importance of informal groups and solidarity networks which are not necessarily linked to political party structures and which are especially prominent in the south European context (e.g. Eder and Kousis, 2001, Kousis, 1999, Kousis et al., 2008, Alexandropoulos, 2010, Botetzagias and Boudourides, 2004).

Cooperation understood as solidarity

Campaign co-participation in addition to other types of inter-organisational cooperation is perceived to be a form of solidarity by most of their representatives inasmuch as the collaboration itself establishes solidarity networks. Civil society action is nevertheless grounded in solidarity, so the relations met within it are ingrained in this spirit of solidarity. Cooperation means solidarity, reciprocity, mutual help, as explained by participants of our study (D6, U6). Another justification is that campaign involvement is largely appreciated for bringing together organisations, and this togetherness of the joined forces is experienced as solidarity by their members.

> "*Cooperation is mainly recognised and valued in terms of united forces and in terms of size superiority in the making of public claims*" (M3)

Organisational cooperation is hence understood as a form of solidarity on the grounds of practical support, be it financial, advisory or in terms of knowledge sharing since sharing is perceived ascaring (D10, M2). This becomes more visible and meaningful during hard economic

times when organisations need to rely on each other and on shared resources for their own survival (D3, D5).

> "*We both use the same building, so we do things together, cook and eat … this is what solidarity means*" (M10).

In any case, the sharing of the same goals and ideals itself is said to be an indication of solidaristic relations (D1). At the individual level, the participation in campaigns as a collective experience is a source of inspiration which increases devotion to the group and stimulates altruistic behaviours (M9, M10).

Another reason to regard organisational cooperation as a form of solidarity is to acknowledge that the ultimate aim of cooperation is to increase effectiveness and public reach, which maximises the impact on the beneficiaries and society at large (U1, U8, M5). Only in rare cases is organisational cooperation not considered a form of solidarity, but a self-referential activity, targeting the organisation itself (U4, D7, D8). Finally, it should be noted , that the understanding of what solidarity means influences responses. To consider campaign engagement as a form of solidarity is much more likely for those who adopt a broad conceptualisation of solidarity as mutual help and reciprocal relations than for those who associate solidarity with only specific types of humanitarian action or with volunteerism, and who represent the minority of our sample (D7, D8).

The overwhelming recognition of solidaristic relations within the partnerships and networks of Greek civil society organisations can be better understood within the crisis context, that led to the flourishing of informal forms of collective solidarity as a form of resilience towards economic hardship and rights' depletion due to a generalised austerity (Kousis, Kalogeraki and Mexi, 2015; Clarke, 2015; Kousis and Paschou, 2017). These include a wide repertoire of initiatives, ranging from local exchange networks and barter clubs to alternative currencies, ventures of a social economy and service-oriented structures including social clinics and social kitchens, which fueled civic engagement into new alternative forms (LIVEWHAT Integrated Report D6.4, 2016).

The associational ecology of solidarity

Solidarity action can be both policy- and service-oriented, and can take place in a domestic or transnational setting. Table 1a presents the percentages of the main actions undertaken by TSOs at the national and transnational level. Our findings show that raising awareness of and participation in policy making processes are reported to be the main actions (83.3%) undertaken by most TSOs, both at the national and transnational level. In contrast, mobilising members through protest and providing services to others are reported less frequently by TSO representatives (56.7%). Regarding the transnationalisation of the activities, both action categories are almost the same; 23% of the solidarity organisations carry out awareness raising activities at the transnational level and 30% organise transnational policy-making activities. Direct actions and services to members are also very commonly conducted activities as they are organised by 80% of organisations at national level. As for the transnational aspects of these activities, 20% of TSOs conduct direct actions and 6.7% provide services to members who are

based outside Greece. Lobbying is also a familiar practice for organisations as it is used by 70% of them, mostly at the national level and in 16.7% of cases, at the transnational level (16.7%). Looking at protest participation, the majority of the TSOs do not participate in protests (56.7%), almost 45% of TSOs participate in national level protest and 20% in transnational protests (13 and 6 TSOs, respectively). This is an expected finding since this action type is difficult to realise at the international level.

Table 1a. Main Actions of the Organizations at the national and transnational level

	No (%*)	Yes (%)*	
		Nationally	*Transnationally*
Mobilising members through protest, demonstrations	56.7	43.3	20.0
Mobilising members through direct actions	20.0	80.0	20.0
Political education of citizens / awareness raising	16.7	83.3	23.3
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions	30.0	70.0	16.7
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc.)	20.0	80.0	6.7
Services to others (e.g. clients)	56.7	40.0	10.0
Fundraising	53.3	43.3	3.3
Participation in legal consultations / policy making processes	16.7	83.3	30.0
Other	86.7	10.0	10.0

* Valid Percent

**Each "Yes" category (nationally, transnationally) is a dichotomous variable and therefore percentages do not add up to 100%.

Looking for a cross-fields' comparison (Table 1b), some interesting similarities and differences can be seen. In detail, unemployment organisations seem to be more contentious than the others with six of them participating in national level protest and three out of ten at transnational protest events. Migration and Disabilities TSOs are less protest-oriented with only four and three TSOs, respectively, participating in protests regardless of the geographical level of action. With respect to members' mobilisation in direct actions, there are no differences recorded based on the field of action, with only six TSOs abstaining from this action (two in each field). Awareness raising follows a similar pattern. Looking at participation in policy making procedures, all TSOs in the field of disabilities and the vast majority of TSOs in the migration field (nine out of ten) are engaged in this action form, while the respective number of unemployment-related TSOs is lower (six out of ten). Service delivery to members is also an activity largely adopted by migration- and disabilities-related TSOs and less frequently adopted by unemploymentorganisations.

Fundraising is adopted by the majority of both migration and unemployment TSOs,but only by four disability TSOs. Interestingly, unemployment TSOs are less active in lobbying compared to TSOs in the other two fields.

Table 1b. Main actions used by the organisation in order to reach its aims by field, at the national and transnational level

Main actions	No			Yes					
				Nationally			*Transnationally*		
	Mig	Une	Dis	Mig	Une	Dis	Mig	Une	Dis
Mobilising members through protest, demonstrations	6	4	7	4	6	3	2	3	1
Mobilising members through direct actions	2	2	2	8	8	8	2	2	2
Political education of citizens / awareness raising	2	2	1	8	8	9	1	3	3
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions	2	4	3	8	6	7	3	1	1
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc.)	0	5	1	10	5	9	1	0	1
Services to others (e.g. clients)	5	8	4	4	2	6	3	0	0
Fundraising	6	6	4	3	4	6	0	1	0
Participation in legal consultations / policy making processes	1	4	0	9	6	10	3	2	4
Other	9	9	8	1	1	1	1	1	1

N=30 (10 TSOs per field)

Moving to the question on service provision, 27 out of 30 TSOs answered positively. Table 2a presents the results on the frequency of different types of service provision. Providing assistance in access to the welfare system as well as providing assistance in education are the services provided most frequently, with 74.1% of TSOs providing them often and 11.1% providing them seldom. Providing assistance for non-material issues is also frequently mentioned, with 74.1% of TSOs providing it often and 7.4% providing it seldom. In-kind support and legal assistance are provided by the majority of TSOs with 48.1% and 55.6% of organisations, respectively, providing these services often. Help in finding a job and assistance in housing issues are services often provided by almost half of the TSOs. Finally, financial support and counselling debt issues are types of services which are not often provided by the Greek TSOs, with their majority reporting no provision at all.

Table 2a **Type and frequency of service provision in the last 2 years**

Service Type	Frequency (%)			
	Often	*Seldom*	*Never*	*Total (%)*
Providing assistance in housing and sheltering	48.1	7.4	44.4	100
Providing assistance in employment seeking	51.9	18.5	29.6	100
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (e.g. health care, education)	74.1	11.1	14.8	100
Providing financial support	29.6	18.5	51.9	100
Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes)	48.1	29.6	22.2	100
Providing legal assistance	55.6	22.2	22.2	100
Providing assistance in education services	74.1	11.1	14.8	100
Providing assistance in debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)	14.8	18.5	66.7	100
Providing assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal)	74.1	7.4	18.5	100
Other	7.4	0	92.6	100

N=27

Table 2b depicts the similarities and differences on the frequency of service delivery across the three fields. In general the Migration and Disabilities Organisations organise more service-oriented practices and follow a similar pattern regarding the type and frequency of their activities. To be more specific, all organisations very actively provide assistance to gain access to the welfare system (90% of the total): In more detail, eight out of nine Disabilities TSOs are engaged in it, followed by eight migration TSOs. Providing assistance in employment seeking is an activity more often undertaken by migration and disability TSOs than by unemployment organisations, which does not come as a surprise, since the latter in Greece are overrepresented by unions and employment-related organisations which focus on sectoral interests and advocacy rather than practical help to their members. Education services are also very common for all organisations but offered mostly by the unemployment TSOs (eight out of eight) and more often by Disabilities (eight out of nine) TSOs. Looking for emotional and non-material assistance, disabilities TSOs dominate the field since participating TSOs state that they offer this service often. In-kind support is offered almost equally by TSOs (only two TSOs per field do not offer this kind of service) but Disabilities TSOs do it more often (six out of nine offer this service on a frequent basis). Finally, legal services are offered by nine out of ten migration TSOs (eight TSOs offer this service often and one, seldom).

Table 2b Type and frequency of service provision in the last two years by field

Service Type	Frequency								
	Often			*Seldom*			*Never*		
	Mig	**Une**	**Dis**	**Mig**	**Une**	**Dis**	**Mig**	**Une**	**Dis**
Providing assistance in housing and sheltering	5	3	5	1	0	1	4	5	3
Providing assistance in employment seeking	7	2	5	1	2	2	2	4	2
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (health care, education etc.)	7	5	8	2	1	0	1	1	1
Providing financial support	2	3	3	1	1	3	7	4	3
Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.)	4	3	6	4	3	1	2	2	2
Providing legal assistance	8	3	4	1	3	2	1	2	3
Providing assistance in education services	6	6	8	1	2	0	3	0	1
Providing assistance in debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)	1	2	1	1	1	3	8	5	5
Providing assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.)	8	3	9	0	2	0	2	3	0
Other	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	7	9
N= 27 (n migration = 10, n unemployed =8, n disabilities =9)									

Funding and financial resources are very important for the operation of TSOs and for their ability to organise and carry out solidarity activities, especially in hard economic times such as those experienced in Greece since the economic crisis began back in 2010. The following tables provide information about the funding of organisations. Table 3 depicts the changes to the TSOs' budgets from 2010 and onwards across the three fields. In general, it seems that the crisis affected most TSOs as more than 75% of them faced severe or limited retrenchment (34.5% and 41.1% accordingly). Moving into cross-field comparisons, all disability TSOs experienced retrenchments, with six out of nine having faced severe retrenchment. The situation in the unemployment field is somehow better, with half of the TSOs having faced severe retrenchment, three out of ten having experienced limited retrenchment and two having recorded no retrenchment at all. The refugee crisis and EU support seem to have benefitted the Greek TSOs dealing with migration

issues as half of them did not face any retrenchment[19]. As for the migration TSOs that experienced retrenchment in their budgets, most of them reported limited retrenchment (four TSOs), while only one TSO experienced severe retrenchment.

Table 3: Retrenchment experienced in funding or available resources by organisational field

Retrenchment Experienced	***Field***			
	Migration	*Unemployment*	*Disability*	*Total*
No retrenchment	5	2	0	24.1%
Limited retrenchment	4	3	3	34.5%
Severe retrenchment	1	5	6	41.4%
Total	10	10	9	100.0%

Moving now to the composition of resources (Table 4a), 80% of the TSOs do not rely on finance from federation or umbrella organisations and about 60% of the TSOs consider returns from fundraising grants from national governments and other sources as irrelevant sources of funding. Approximately half of TSO report that donations from individuals and sponsorships from companies/firms are fairly relevant sources of funding (53.3% and 46.7% respectively). Moreover, about one third of the TSOs studied mention EU grants and membership fees as fairly relevant financial sources. Finally, EU grants and other resources are very relevant sources of funding for 20% of the TSOs in our sample, followed by membership fees and finance from federations or umbrella organisations (16.7% and 13.3%, respectively).

Table 4a. The funding sources of solidarity organisations

Sources of funding (%)	***Irrelevant***	***Fairly relevant***	***Very relevant***	***Total***
Returns from fundraising	66.7	26.7	6.7	100
Membership fees	53.3	30.0	16.7	100
Donations from individuals	36.7	53.3	10.0	100
Sponsorships from companies/firms	46.7	46.7	6.7	100
Finance from federations or umbrella organisations	80.0	6.7	13.3	100
Grants from national government	66.7	26.7	6.7	100
EU grants	43.3	36.7	20.0	100
Other sources	60.0	20.0	20.0	100

[19] Actually, it was exactly the opposite of reports made during the interviews when many TSOs mentioned that their budget had increased.

Table 4b depicts the similarities and differences between the three fields. In general, it seems that unemployment and migration TSOs usually depend on one main source which is considered as very relevant, and they supplement their budget with other sources which are considered to be fairly relevant. On the other hand, disabilities' TSOs in most cases do not rely only on one very relevant source but they mention many fairly relevant sources. To be more specific, Migration TSOs mostly get funding from donations from individuals (four of the migration TSOs consider the specific source as fairly relevant and three as very relevant) followed by Other sources and EU grants (for six TSOs fairly and very relevant together for both revenue categories). The latter is also a very important source of income for unemployment TSOs as well (four unemployment TSOs consider the specific source as fairly relevant and two as very relevant) followed by membership fees (three out of ten unemployment TSOs mention it as very relevant and one as fairly relevant). Similar to migration TSOs, the most important funding source for disability TSOs is donations from individuals (nine disability TSOs consider it as fairly relevant), with sponsorship from companies/firms to follow (for eight out of ten TSOs). Moreover, other important sources of funding for the disability TSOs are Returns from fundraising and membership fees (six TSOs mention them as fairly relevant), while Grants from national government are notably fairly relevant for the majority of disability TSOs, but not for the TSOs in the other two fields.

Table 4b. The funding sources of solidarity organisations by field

Sources of funding	**Irrelevant**			**Fairly relevant**			**Very relevant**		
	Mig	Une	Dis	Mig	Une	Dis	Mig	Une	Dis
Returns from fundraising	8	9	3	2	0	6	0	1	1
Membership fees	6	6	4	2	1	6	2	3	0
Donations from individuals	3	7	1	4	3	9	3	0	0
Sponsoring from companies/firms	5	7	2	4	2	8	1	1	0
Finance from federation or umbrella organisation	7	8	9	0	2	0	3	0	1
Grants from national government	10	7	3	0	1	7	0	2	0
EU grants	4	4	5	4	4	3	2	2	2
Other sources	4	7	7	3	1	2	3	2	1

N=30 (10 Organisations per field)

Solidarity as an interactive process: political and social embeddedness

The following section is about the relation of TSOs with political institutions as well as with other civil society actors. Starting with the role of TSOs as political actors: The general picture shows that Greek TSOs are more active at the domestic than the European or transnational level and as consulted organisations rather than as permanent bodies of policy-making bodies and

procedures. More specifically, as seen in Table 5a, the vast majority of the TSOs never participated (83.3%) or received any call (76.7%) to be a permanent member of an EU body, while calls' and participation rates are higher when TSOs are invited as consulted organisations When it comes to the national and subnational level, still the majority of TSOs have not participated as permanent members of policy- making processes, neither have they been invited to do so, but calls and participation rates are higher compared to the transnational level. While TSOs' political engagement as permanent members of political institutions is low, their involvement as consulted organisations is much higher. Thus, the majority of TSOs have been called to participate and have participated as consulted organisations in policy-making procedures at the national and sub-national level, with slightly higher percentages being recorded for the subnational level.

Table 5a. Arenas where organisations have been called to participate or have participated in decision-making processes within the last three years

	a. Has been called (%)		b. Participated (%)	
	No	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**
As a permanent member of an EU body (e.g. Economic and Social Affairs committee; Social Business Europe)	76.7	23.3	83,3	16.7
As an organisation consulted during specific policy procedures (e.g. EP and EC consultations, etc.)	63.3	36.7	66.7	33.3
As a permanent member of national policy-making procedures	60.0	40.0	63.3	26.7
As an organisation consulted during specific policy-making procedures at national level	36.7	63.3	46.7	53.3
As a permanent member of sub-national policy-making procedures	56.7	43.3	60	40
As an organisation consulted during specific policy-making procedures at sub-national level	36.7	63.7	40	60

N=30

Moving to a cross-field comparison (Table 5b), some interesting findings can be noticed. The general picture reproduces the abovementioned finding for all TSOs, irrespective of their field of action: Their political involvement is stronger at the national and local level compared to the transnational level, and their role remains largely advisory rather than institutionalised to the extent of permanent membership. Notably, TSOs in the disability field seem to be the most established social partners in policy-making procedures at all geographical levels. TSOs in the migration field follow, though at the national level their presence is as salient as the presence of TSOs in the disability field. Unemployment TSOs are those with minimum impact in policy-making

procedures. In more detail, at the European level, disability TSOs are invited in policy- making processes more often than the TSOs of the other fields (four TSOs in both categories, ie. as permanent members and as consulted organisations). Moreover, when they are called, they usually participate (three out of four as permanent members and four out of four as organisations consulted). The same applies for migration TSOs but they are called less often than disability TSOs (two as permanent members and four as consulted organisations). The pattern does not differ when the national political procedures are examined. Again, the disability TSOs are invited more often than the other TSO categories (six of them as permanent members and eight as consulted organisations) followed by migration ones (five and six, respectively). What is really impressive is the low percentage of unemployment TSOs' participation in the national policy-making processes; only one out of ten called to participate as a permanent member in policy-making procedures, and only four out of ten called to participate as organisations consulted during specific policy-making procedures. Finally, it is worth mentioning that, despite the fact that Unemployment TSOs receive fewer invitations than the other organisations, they always respond positively when they are called to participate in policy-making procedures, and they always participate irrespective of their institutional role and geographical level (EU, National or sub-national).

Table 5b. Arenas where organisations have been called to participate or have participated in decision-making processes by field

	a. Has been called						b. Participated					
	No			Yes			No			Yes		
	Mig	Une	Dis	Mig	Une	Dis	Mig	Une	Dis	Mig	Une	Dis
As a permanent member of an EU body	8	9	6	2	1	4	9	9	7	1	1	3
As an organisation consulted during specific policy procedures	6	7	6	4	3	4	7	7	6	3	3	4
As a permanent member of national policy-making procedures	5	9	4	5	1	6	5	9	5	5	1	5

As an organisation consulted during specific policy-making procedures at national level	3	6	2	7	4	8	4	6	4	6	4	6
As a permanent member of sub-national policy-making procedures	5	7	5	5	3	5	6	7	5	4	3	5
As an organisation consulted during specific policy-making procedures at sub-national level	4	6	1	6	4	9	4	6	2	6	4	8

N=30 (Ten TSOs per field)

The following descriptive Social Network Analysis aims to shed light on the forms of cooperation between the interviewed organisations and other TSOs, as well as between them and other institutions.

Data and methods

Regarding the sample, we mapped the population in each field by following the approach described in the introduction of the chapter. Moreover, we enriched this population by adding new organisations which were mentioned by the interviewed TSOs in response to a relevant question. Table 6 provides an overview of the Greek population used for Social Network Analysis (SNA) per issue field.

Table 6. SNA map per field

	Disability	Unemployment	Migration
Mapped organisations	53	52	66
Mapped institutions	23	14	13
Contacted organisations	12	22	18
Interviewed organisations	10	10	10

The analysis that follows in the next section focuses on three matrices of collaboration, each for a field of action (namely Disability, Unemployment, Migration). The three matrices are binary (1,0). When a TSO is mentioned by another TSO, it receives value 1, otherwise it receives value 0. The analysis of the networks was carried out after the symmetrisation of the data. It is based on the assumption that the collaboration ties between the interviewed TSOs are reciprocal, although there might be a risk of overrepresentation of links. In addition, we controlled for the in-degree links per association to the application of data symmetrisation. Furthermore, all the matrices analysed are uni-mode. This means that we assume that every set of nodes is similar to each other and uni-plexie, i.e. organisations are connected with a single type of linkage, a single type of relationship (collaborations).

Inter-organisational traits of Greek solidarity organisations

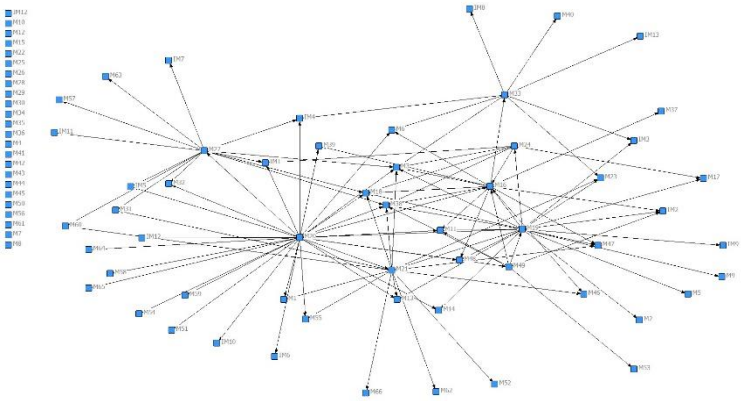
Figure 1 offers three graphs (one per issue field), which depict the networks in which TSOs fit. Specifically, each square represents a node, which is a TSO or an institution in the specific issue field. Each line represents a tie of collaboration between two organisations. Figure 1 is the visualisation of TSO networks in the three fields. The general picture shows that TSOs across all fields are well connected, albeit differently, and shape coherent networks. This may be related with the economic and migration crises that struck Greece in 2010, as TSOs have had to cooperate with other civil society actors and share resources as a survival tactic. As expected, the field with the highest number of nodes is that of migration, followed by that of disabilities and unemployment. The field with the highest number of collaborations is that of migration as it has the biggest number of nodes; it is followed by Disabilities, while unemployment has the lowest number of nodes. This finding is also reflected in our interviews where many TSO representatives mentioned that the European Union and the UNHCR prioritise inclusive projects (i.e. Those which include various activities such as shelter provision, distribution of food and medical services), thus encouraging collaboration between organisations with different specialisations. This reflects the influence of supranational agencies on the operations of Greek civil society organisations and supports previous related work on the issue (Huliaras, 2015, Kousis, 2004).

Impressively enough, the field with the most isolated nodes is that of migration (approximately one out of three nodes is isolated). This fact is mainly attributed to the sub-field of the isolated migration TSOs, which are interested in issues of a particular culture or ethnic group, or other associations to support the first wave of migrants in Greece back in the early 1990s and 2000s. These organisations are still active but they are not engaged in the current wave of support for refugees; thus it is not unusual for these TSOs not to collaborate with organisations that are very active in emergency refugee support. On the other hand, the field with the fewest isolated nodes is that of Unemployment (ten out of sixty-six nodes are isolated). Another important aspect of the networks is the type of actors the network involves. The Migration network has the most civil society actors (sixty-six organisations and associations) and the fewest institutional actors (only thirteen) compared with the other issue field networks. On the other hand, the disabilities network has the highest number of institutional actors. Focusing on institutional actors, TSOs from the disabilities field collaborate with institutional actors from the local level (such as schools

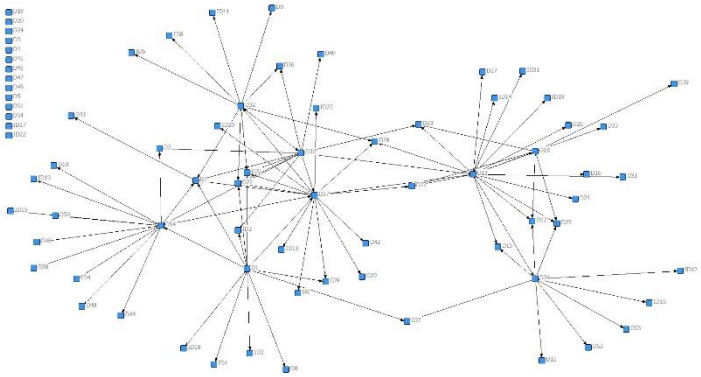
or municipalities) to the transnational level (such as the EU and the European Economic and Social Committee). Looking into the migration network they also have transnational collaboration but they are mainly interested in collaborations at the national level,specifically with governmental ministries. No significant differences can be spotted when the unemployment network is examined. Here we can observe both transnational and national collaborations.

Figure 1: Networks of collaborations per field

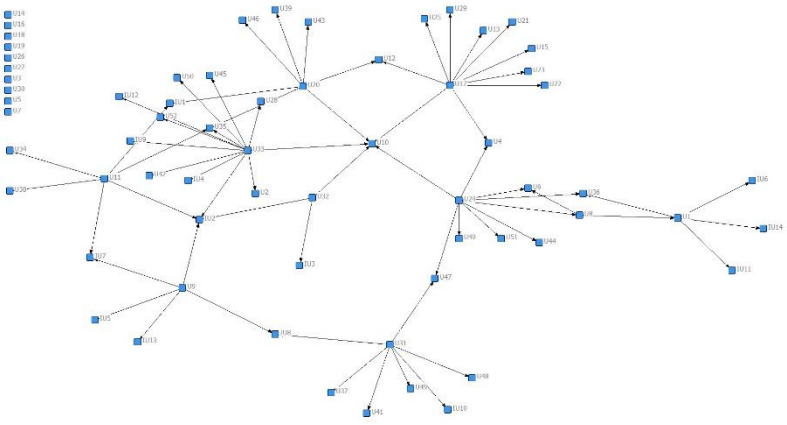
1- Migration



2- Disability



3- Unemployment



Moving to component analysis, Table 7 informs us that in all fields' nodes, except the isolated ones, one big component is connected, which means that every connected node can be reached by following directed edges. Practically speaking, this finding shows the importance of collaboration in conducting practices among the same field, as it seems that project management is a collaborative procedure. A possible explanation for the existence of one component in each

field could be the sampling strategy that we follow. In more detail, the interviewed organisations were the Greek counterparts of European networks, thus there was already a link between the TSOs. The sample for the network analysis was completed with the organisations that they collaborate with, thus again there was an already established link between the TSOs. The situation might have been different if we had followed a different sampling strategy e.g. random sampling or snowballing. Moving to a cross fields comparison, the component of the disabilities TSOs is the biggest (sixty-two nodes) followed by those of the migration and unemployment (fifty-six nodes for each component). Looking for the cohesion of the networks, we use different measurements including density. Density is expressed by the ratio of the existed ties divided by all possible ties. Overall, the results show a low density[20] in the three issue fields (from 3% to 3.50%), thus we could say that in general, TSOs act without the influence of the other members of the network. Looking across the three fields, we see that for migration TSOs, common-projects networking appears to be slightly more coherent than for the other two.

Another network feature that we want to examine is that of centralisation of the network. This term in the literature of social networks relates to the influence or the importance of a particular node to the network. The ideal centralised network has a star shape and the category centralisation in Table 7 measures the similarity of the observed network with a network of the same size in the shape of a perfect star (Freeman, 1978). Moving back to our data, migration and disability networks seem to be the most centralised (almost 27.3% of the perfect star network, theoretically the maximum), followed by the unemployment network. Therefore, it appears that inequality in reference to TSO positions is higher in the Migration and Disabilities fields than in the Unemployment one. Yet, there is no evidence that there are TSOs which function as brokers in these two networks. Practically, this finding means that among the Disability and the Migration networks, there are more relatively privileged organisations (with a central role or better access to resources) than in the Unemployment network.

Table 7. Network features by field

	Disability	**Unemployment**	**Migration**
Size (number of nodes)	76	66	80
Isolates	14 nodes	10 nodes	24 nodes
Components (without counting isolated nodes)	1 component	1 component	1 component
Largest component	62 nodes	56 nodes	56 nodes
Number of ties	182	130	222
Density	0.032	0.030	0.035
Centralisation	0.2721	0.1825	0.2737

Following the SNA of the Swiss chapter (in this Integrated Report) we used in and out degree centrality as centrality measures; these refer to the number of ties a node has received (in-

[20] We are aware of the limitations of our networks because of the small number of interviewees per field. We complemented our map strategy of closed list recall of organisations per field with an open recall of alters in which organisations named their five most *important* alters.

degree) or given (out-degree), a simple measure for prominent/important and influential/independent actors within the network. As explained previously in this section, we used unsymmetrised data for the centrality measures to capture the differences between the two types of measures. As expected, the range of minimal and maximal numbers of ties received and given by an actor differs significantly. We observed that the range (minimum and maximum) of the nodes in-degree centrality for all three networks is much lower (three to five times) than the out-degree nodes' range. This finding shows that the degree of inequality in the three networks is three to five times bigger in the given than in the received ties, compared to perfect star networks of the same sizes (Freeman, 1978). Moving to the cross-fields' comparison, the findings do not differ from those of the degree of centralisation. The out-degree range for disability organizations is almost five times larger (24.0%) than the in-degree range (5.08%) which means that the inequality in the position of the influential/independent actors is bigger than the inequality of the prominent/important ones. Similarly, in the migration network, the inequalities in the out-degree range are five times larger (19.6% and 4.2%, respectively). Finally, as previously shown in this report, the unemployment network is the one with fewer central actors, thus the out-in range is approximately three times larger (17.2% and 6.2%, respectively, upper limits).

The last aspect that this report opts to provide a general overview about is the key players of the three networks. Starting with the disabilities network, national confederations as well as organisations that are related with childhood disabilities (including mental) have the highest out-degree centrality, which makes them more likely to collaborate with others. These organisations therefore tend to be more influential than others. Furthermore, their high out-degree centrality reflects that they are not dependent on one node but have higher out-reach. Mental disabilities' organisations, ministries (Ministry of Social Security and Ministry of Health) and municipalities have the highest in-degree centrality, thus they are the more prominent and most popular ones. This implies that many other organisations approach them for collaboration or support, reflecting their importance. Looking into the unemployment network, the most important actors seem to be NGOs with different specialisations , which have high in-degree centrality, as does the disabilities' network. Finally, in the migration network, the key players that have the highest out-degree centralisation are national level NGOs as well as a national branch of a global NGO. As for the in-degree they are mainly NGOs and institutional actors, the most important ones being the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Migration Policies.

Conclusion

Thirty semi-structured interviews, conducted with representatives of transnational solidarity organisations which are active in Greece across the fields of disability, unemployment and migration, have shed light on their involvement in campaigns and their perception of these campaigns as opportunities of organised solidarity, on organisational aspects of their solidarity action and its sociopolitical embeddedness.

Engagement in campaigns, networking activity and the establishment of partnerships both at the national and transnational level are highly valued by TSOs for their contribution in knowledge exchange purposes and the achievement of organisational political aims. The narrative on campaigns involves three strands, namely protest events, awareness raising and lobbying. The main challenges experienced by TSOs in their cooperation with other organisations are division of

labour and consensus building. Competitive and power relations are mentioned as disadvantages of national collaboration, while language and cultural differences together with scarce funding for travelling are said to be the main obstacles in transnational cooperation. In addition, the organisations s themselves make reference to a lack of resources and experience, the weak role of Greek civil society, and negative stereotypes of the Greek organisations by foreign NGOs less willing to cooperate with them.

While there are no striking differences recorded in the perception of campaigns involvement and the evaluation of inter-organisational cooperation, it seems that the TSOs in the field of disability are more interested in transnational cooperation compared to the TSOs in the field of unemployment, while there are difficulties reported in the collaborations of TSOs in the migration field with respect to field action in particular.

Regarding partnerships, what seems to be crucial for most organisations is to cooperate with groups and organisations which share the same values, interest and goals, or have a common understanding of their field of action.

Cooperation in campaigns is perceived to be a form of solidarity by most TSO representatives inasmuch as the collaboration itself establishes solidarity networks and builds reciprocal and trusting relations between the participating bodies. Furthermore, transnational cooperation between TSOs is conceived as a form of solidarity, since it increases public reach and the impact of TSO actions.
Based on our interviews with representatives of TSOs, awareness raising and participation in policy making processes are the main actions undertaken by TSOs both at the national and transnational level, while mobilising members through protest and providing services to others (non-members) are actions less frequently targeted by TSOs. In a cross-field comparison, unemployment TSOs seem to be the most contentious, with higher percentages in protest participation than TSOs in the other two fields. Interestingly though, unemployment TSOs are less actively engaged in policy making processes and lobbying.

As regards the frequency of various service provisions, offering assistance in accessing the welfare system, providing assistance in education, as well as giving assistance for non-material issues are the services provided most frequently by the majority of TSOs, while financial support and counselling on debt issues are types of services which are not often provided by the Greek TSOs. Comparing across fields, the migration and disabilities TSOs organise more service-oriented practices and follow similar patterns on the type and the frequency of their activities. Unemployment TSOs offer education services most frequently, disabilities TSOs provide assistance for emotional and other non-material issues most frequently, while migration TSOs lead in the provision of legal services.

The economic crisis seems to have affected most TSOs, with more than 75% of them having faced severe or limited retrenchment. The disability TSOs record the highest percentages in severe retrenchment, and the migration TSOs record the lowest.

With respect to the funding sources of solidarity organisations, sponsoring from companies and donations from individuals are reported to be the most relevant sources for most TSOs. This holds true for the majority of TSOs in the fields of disability and migration but not for most unemployment TSOs. Grants from national government are notably fairly relevant for the majority of disability TSOs, but not for the TSOs in the other two fields, while EU grants are reported to be funding sources for more TSOs in the migration and unemployment fields, than for the TSOs in the field of disabilities.

Greek TSOs are more actively engaged in political processes at the national and subnational level than the transnational level and they participate more often as consulted organisations rather than as permanent bodies of policy-making procedures. TSOs in the disability field seem to be the most established social partners in policy-making procedures at the EU level, while they are as active as TSOs in the migration field when it comes to national political participation. Disability TSOs receive the most calls for participation, while unemployment TSOs receive the fewest invitations. Notably, however, the latter always respond positively when they are called to participate in policy-making procedures.

Concerning the forms of cooperation between the interviewed organisations and other TSOs, as well as between them and other institutions, the findings of Social Network Analysis demonstrate that TSOs across all fields are well connected, albeit differently, and shape coherent networks. The field with the highest number of nodes and the highest number of collaborations is that of migration, followed by that of disabilities, while unemployment has the lowest number of nodes. Migration TSOs have the most isolated nodes, while unemployment TSOs have the less isolated nodes. Furthermore, the migration network has the highest number of civil society actors and the fewest institutional actors, while the disabilities network has the highest number of institutional actors. This may be attributed to the more formal character of disability organisations which facilitates their links to institutional actors. By contrast, migration organisations that surfaced in response to the migration and refugee crisis offering support which was not provided by the state. With respect to the geographical level of the collaboration with institutional actors, it is the migration TSOs which seem to primarily focus on national actors, while TSOs in the other fields are almost equally interested in local and transnational collaboration. In addition, the finding of a single component for each one of the three networks shows the importance of collaboration between organisations of the same field. Regarding network centrality, migration and disability networks are more centralised than the unemployment network, which is an indication of greater diversity characterising TSOs in migration and disability networks.

The findings of our report reflect the pervasive impact of the economic crisis on formal civil society organisations in Greece. Nevertheless, even though they faced enormous obstacles in terms of resources and mounting needs of their beneficiaries and participants (Simiti, 2017, Kousis et al., 2016, Papadaki and Kalogeraki, 2017), their engagement has been fueled in a national context witnessing the flourishing of a multitude of collective solidarity activities (Sotiropoulos, 2014; Sotiropoulos and Bourikos, 2014, LIVEWHAT Integrated Report D6.4, 2016, TransSOL Integrated Report on Reflective Forms of Transnational Solidarity D2.1, 2016). Under harsh conditions of the concurrent economic and the refugee crises, top-down as well as bottom-up solidarity oriented structures have been offering support for the unemployed and precarious

workers, disabled people, as well as migrants/ refugees and their families – the latter especially since the refugee crisis of 2015. Supporting previous work (Clarke et al., 2015, Kousis, Kalogeraki, Mexi, 2015), our research has shown that formal civil society organisations inspired by the thriving solidarity actions on a national scale, strive to address the gap between increased social needs for welfare services and the state's ability to provide them, while witnessing a reduction in their fund-raising opportunities.

References

Αλεξανδρόπουλος, Σ. (2010) Συλλογική δράση και αντιπροσώπευση συμφερόντων πριν και μετά τη μεταπολίτευση στην Ελλάδα, Αθήνα: Κριτική.

Bassoli, M. and Theiss, M. (2014) "Inheriting Divisions? The Role of Catholic and Leftist Affiliation in Local Cooperation Networks: The Case of Italy and Poland". In S. Baglioni and M. Giugni (eds.) Civil Society Organizations, Unemployment, and Precarity in Europe: Between Service and Policy. Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan.

Botetzagias I. & Boudourides, M. (2004) *The Iraq War and Greek Anti-War Organisations*, Bad Subjects, January, No.64, pp. 15-17.

Busch K., Hermann, C., Hinrichs, K. and Schulten, T. (2013) Euro Crisis, Austerity Policy and the European Social Model: How Crisis Policies in Southern Europe Threaten the EUs Social Dimension. Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftxung.

Clarke, J. A. (2015) "Solidarity and survival: a multidisciplinary exploration of volunteering during the Greek crisis", in J. Clarke and A. Huliaras and D.A. Sotiropoulos (eds.) Austerity and the Third Sector: Civil Society at the European Frontline. Routledge.

Clarke, J. . Huliaras, A. and . Sotiropoulos, D.A. (2015) "Introduction" in J. Clarke and A. Huliaras and D.A. Sotiropoulos (eds.) Austerity and the Third Sector: Civil Society at the European Frontline. Routledge.

Diani, M. and. Kousis, M. (2014) "The Duality of Claims and Events: The Greek Campaign against Troika's Memoranda and Austerity, 2010-2012" Mobilization special issue "Researching Collective Action through Networks: Taking Stock and the Way Forward", 19(4), 387-404.

Eder, K. and Kousis, M. (eds). (2001) Environmental Politics in Southern Europe: Actors, Institutions and Discourses in a Europeanizing Society. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Font, J., Geurts, P., Maloney, W. A., & Berton, M. (2007) Organizations in context: Politics hand culture shaping associational life. In W. Maloney & S. Rossteutcher (Eds.), Social capital and associations in European democracies. London: Routledge.

Freeman, L. C. (1978) Centrality in social networks conceptual clarification. *Social networks*, *1*(3), 215-239.

Giugni M. and Baglioni, S. (2014) “Civil Society, Unemployment, and Precarity in Europe: A Conclusion. In S. Baglioni and M. Giugni (eds.) Civil Society Organizations, Unemployment, and Precarity in Europe: Between Service and Policy. Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan.

Hermann, C. (2013) Crisis, structural reform and the dismantling of the European Social Model(s), Working paper, Institute for International Political Economy, Berlin, 26/2013.

Huliaras, A. (2014) ''The Dynamics of Civil Society in Greece: Creating Civic Engagement from the Top'', The Jean Monnet Papers on Political Economy.

Huliaras, A. (2015) “Greek Civil Society: The neglected Causes of Weakness” in J. Clarke and A. Huliaras and D.A. Sotiropoulos (eds.) Austerity and the Third Sector: Civil Society at the European Frontline. Routledge.

Jones N., Proikaki, M. and Roumeliotis, S. (2015) Social Capital Levels in Greece in Times of Crisis. In J. Clarke and A. Huliaras and D.A. Sotiropoulos (eds.) Austerity and the Third Sector: Civil Society at the European Frontline. Routledge

Kanellopoulos, K., Kousis, M. Trenz, H. J., Loukakis, A. and . Duru, D. (2016) “The Refugee Crisis, Political Opportunities and Threats and Transnational Solidarity Organizations in Greece and Denmark”, ECPR General Conference Panel, Transnational Solidarity and Alternative Action Organizations in European Countries at Times of Crisis, Open Section, Prague Sept. 7-10.

Kentikelenis, A., Karanikolos, M., Papanicolas, I. Basu, S. , McKee, M. & Stuckler, D. (2011) Health effects of financial crisis: omens of a Greek tragedy. The Lancet, 378(9801), 1457-1458.

Kousis, M. and Paschou, M. (2017) “Alternative Forms of Resilience: A Typology of Approaches for the study of Citizen Collective Responses in Hard Economic Times,” in special section Alternative Forms of Resilience Confronting Hard Economic Times. A South European Perspective, *PArtecipazione e COnflitto,* 10(1), 136-168. http://siba-ese.unisalento.it/index.php/paco/article/view/17119

Kousis, M. (2016) “The Spatial Dimensions of the Greek Protest Campaign against Troika’s Memoranda and Austerity Measures, 2010-2013”, *In* M. Ancelovici, P. Dufour and H. Nez (eds) *Street Politics in the Age of Austerity: from the Indignados to Occupy*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press and The Chicago University Press.

Kousis, M., Kalogeraki, S., Papadaki, M., Loukakis, A. and Velonaki, M. (2016) "Alternative Formen von Resilienz in Griechenland" (Alternative Forms of Resilience in Greece). In: *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen*, Vol. 29(1), (in German).

Kousis, M. (1999) "Sustaining Local Environmental Mobilisations: Groups, Actions and Frames in Southern Europe," *Environmental Politics***,** 8(1): 172-198.

Kousis, M., Della Porta, D. and Jiménez, M. (2008) "Southern European Environmental Movements in Comparative Perspective" American Behavioral Scientist. Special issue Mediterranean Political Processes in Historical-Comparative Perspective, guest eds. C. Tilly, R. Franzosi and M. Kousis, volume 51(11):1627-1647.

Kousis, M., Kalogeraki, S. and. Mexi, M. (2015) "Alternative forms of resilience and policy change: an exploration of the theoretical, empirical and policy dimensions" LIVEWHAT Scientific Conference, University of Geneva, October 14-16.

Lahusen C. and Grimmer, B. (2014) "Cliques, Cleavages and Conflicts: Local Civil Societies in Cologne and Turin". In S. Baglioni & M. Giugni (Eds.), Civil society organizations, unemployment and precarity in Europe. Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan.

Lekakis, J. N. and. Kousis, M. (2013) "Economic Crisis and the Environment: the case of Greece", *South European Society and Politics.* May 31, 18(3), 305-331. DOI:10.1080/13608746.2013.799731
http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/MJrXYra6PDYjxQYYvQgi/full

LIVEWHAT Integrated report on alternative forms of resilience in times of crises D6.4 (2016),http://www.livewhat.unige.ch/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/LIVEWHAT_D6.4.pdf

Cinalli M. and Giugni, M. (2014) The Impact of Political Opportunity Structures on the Politicization of Civil Society Organizations in the Field of Unemployment and Precarity. In S. Baglioni & M. Giugni (Eds.), Civil society organizations, unemployment and precarity in Europe. Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan.

Matsaganis, M. and Leventi, C. (2014) Poverty and inequality during the Great Recession in Greece*. Political Studies Review*, 12(2): 209-223.

Simiti, M. (2017) Civil society and the economy: Greek civil society during the economic crisis. Journal of Civil Society, 1-17.

Sotiropoulos, D. (2014) ''Civil Society in Greece in the Wake of the Economic Crisis'', Athens: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Zografakis, S. and Spathis, P. (2011) ''The Economic Crisis and Labour Market'', Essays in Economics, Applied Studies on the Greek Economy, Centre of Planning and Economic Research.

Organised transnational solidarity across different issue-fields: the Italian case

Nicola Maggini (University of Florence)

Introduction

This report elaborates on the data gathered through 30 qualitative semi-structured interviews (Schmidt, 2004) with representatives/participants of Transnational Solidarity Organisations (TSOs) in Italy, carried out mostly over the period February-May 2017 (except for one in January and two in June). The purposive sample of these interviews consists of representatives and participants from selected community settings, 10 from each of TransSOL target groups (disabled, unemployed, and migrants/refugees).

A list of umbrella organisations and networks that are considered by WP4's previous work and preliminary web search as salient actors at transnational level, provided the basis for the selection of our target organisations. Several steps characterised the selection process in each field: first, through a web search we extracted all members from each umbrella; then, we randomised these lists of organisations and we selected the first ten organisations to contact for interview; finally, we adopted a snowballing technique allowing us to expand interviews until we reached the targeted number of interviews. Most of our interviewees were recruited extracting their contacts from the lists of umbrellas, while just four have been reached through snowballing.

To maximise the response rate, first we sent an e-mail to all the TSOs included those in the database. Secondly, to complete the sample we directly telephoned those who did not respond.

All interviewees were well-placed to provide an informed view, having extensive experience with their organisations. The large majority of them was either president/director of the organisation or desk officer. Interviews lasted on average one hour. The questions and the structure of the interview were well accepted, and permission to record interviews was readily given. Establishing a certain degree of sympathy between the interviewers and the interviewees was successful overall. Interviews were carried out face–to-face or via Skype. The respondents were free to choose where the interview should take place. Most of them were carried out at their organisation's headquarters, except one who preferred to be interviewed at the University of Florence.

Most of our interviewees belong to NGOs/non-profit/voluntary/social promotion organisations (20), followed by representatives of social cooperatives/consortia of cooperatives (4), trade unions (2), religious organisations (2) and national branches of European networks (2).[21]

Concerning the types of campaigns, events and networks that emerged, the Italian TSOs we interviewed show a certain degree of variety, entailing: campaigns related to the topic of assistive technologies for the disabled, anti-poverty campaigns, awareness raising campaigns such as the European Day of Persons with Disabilities and the European Day for Independent Living,

[21]For a more detailed description of the sample, including type of TSO per field, together with interviewee's number and date of interview, see the appendices.

communication campaigns linked to fundraising, referenda on environmental issues, scientific conferences (on disability, migration and unemployment/poverty), campaigns on social security, immigration, collective bargaining, self-sufficiency, anti-Mafia caravans, against hate speech and anti-racist campaigns, lobbying campaigns for specific new laws (e.g. "*L'Italia sono anche io*-Italy Is Also Me" campaign for a new law on citizenship and in favour of the *ius soli*; a campaign for the approval of the "*Dopo di Noi* - After Us" law which introduces support and assistance to people with severe disabilities after the death of relatives who care for them), etc.

Most of these campaigns and events are monothematic and thus cover one of the three issue-fields (e.g. campaign for second-generation immigrants' citizenship rights; European Day of Persons with Disabilities). Nevertheless, some of them are cross-themes (e.g. anti-poverty campaigns).

Furthermore, several of such campaigns belong to transnational campaigns. This is consistent with the fact that most of our TSOs are well established national umbrella organisations (or local branches thereof), which in turn are part of well-established international (especially European) federations/networks such as: the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), the European Network of Social Integration Enterprises (ENSIE), the Association for the Advancement of Assistive Technology in Europe (AAATE), the European Association of Service Providers for Persons with Disabilities (EASPD), the European Down Syndrome Association (EDSA), the European Network Against Poverty (EAPN), the European Network on Independent Living (ENIL), Caritas Europa and Internationalis, Eurodiaconia, the European Deaf Federation (EDF), the European Minimum Income Network (ENIM), the European Civic Forum, the Euro-Mediterranean Network for Human Rights, the MigrEurop Association, the Solidar International Network, the European Network against Statelessness, Inclusion Europe and Inclusion International. These TSOs cover formal and (to a lesser extent) informal (or less established) transnational networks/organisations.

Against this backdrop, this report aims to illustrate the prospective shapes that organisational-based transnational solidarity take across various sectors in Italy, whilst simultaneously addressing those factors which may contribute towards explaining such differences.

Our main hypothesis is that transnational solidarity is strongly determined by the structure and resources of the organisations we interviewed, regardless of their field of activity. Usually, organisational resources are personnel and finances (Kriesi, 2007). Considering that solidarity and collective action require sharing of resources, coordination of individual activities, provision of incentives and sanctions (Hirsch, 1986), we can expect that organisational resources are a key condition to engaging in campaigns across borders.

Secondly, we postulate that the very policy domain can influence TSOs' approaches and their level of networking and transnationalism. Indeed, solidarity is domain bound (Warren, 2001). In particular, we hypothesise that collaboration ties in the disability field are less widespread compared to other issue-fields, with a trend towards collaboration among associations caring for similar disabilities and/or membership of the same national or international umbrella to which they belong.. Indeed, as stressed by Schianchi (2014), the nature of Italy's welfare state – weak and particularistic – and its way of conceiving disability as a set of physical infirmities has shaped the ways in which disabled

persons' organisations in Italy have framed their claims and actions. Consequently, disability organisations in Italy have tended either to represent fragmented subsets of people with disabilities or to form large federations that, while they reflect a more wide-ranging understanding of disability, have left some categories of people with disabilities feeling excluded or under-represented.

We will analyse all these aspects by focusing on the three main dimensions that our questionnaire investigates: campaigns/events; associational ecologies; political and social (networks) embeddedness. In this regard, the structure of the report is as follows: Section two deals with events and campaigns as opportunities of organised solidarity and shows how interviewees perceive their own and their organisation's engagement in transnational solidarity; section three shows the associational ecologies of solidarity, by analysing organisational traits across the three sectors; section four deals with solidarity as an interactive process, looking at infra-organisational relationships and relationships between TSOs and political institutions across the three issue-fields; a concluding section follows.

Events and Campaigns as opportunities for organised solidarity

In this section, we are interested in analysing how people report their involvement in transnational solidarity actions, focusing on events and campaigns as opportunities for organised solidarity. First, we will analyse the degree of transnationalism and how organisations connect at a transnational level. In this regard, we will explore whether there is a different narrative of involvement across the three sectors and if there is a different narrative of engagement between the national campaign/involvement level and the transnational one. Secondly, we will focus on reasons and benefits for participating/organising the campaigns our interviewees describe and the challenges they face, looking at differences and similarities across the three sectors.

Degree and patterns of transnational engagement

The first aspect we explored in our interviews deals with the type of events and campaigns that had been organised by our TSOs through partnerships and collaborations with other organisations in order to better support the target groups of this research (refugees/asylum seekers/migrants, unemployed, people with disabilities). In particular, we were interested in interviewees' perception of their own and their organisation's engagement in transnational solidarity.

In terms of transnational campaigns, the majority of interviewed TSOs were quite involved at the transnational level. However, we interviewed organisations across the whole spectrum: from high to low (and even almost absent) frequency of involvement at the transnational level, with little difference among the three sectors, except for migration TSOs that are very active beyond national borders. According to our interviewees, what is more relevant for engaging in transnational action is the structure and the resources of the organisations, rather than the field of activity. International collaborations are more likely among formalised and big TSOs:

> "[…] *we are not very active in these campaigns for lack of human resources. We are a small association*."

(Interviewee 6)

In the migration field, NGOs (especially well-known international NGOs such as Save the Children, Amnesty International, Doctors without Borders, etc.) and religious organisations (Caritas Europa, Caritas Internationalis, National Caritas, Sant'Egidio Community, etc.) are the most important international partners of interviewed Italian TSOs. Conversely, at the national level, their main partners are not only volunteer associations, social promotion associations, NGOs, unions and religious organisations, but also informal networks and social movements. Thus, at the national and local level we find a larger variety of partnerships that gets rarefied at the international level. In the process of transnationalisation there is a loss of variability in terms of partnership.

The scarce difference in the level of transnational partnerships among the three fields does not mean that there are no differences in how transnational engagement occurs in the three sectors, with a sharp dissimilarity between disability and the other two fields. Most of the TSOs in the disability field are active at the local level, while identifying as branches of national organisations. At the local level, they develop collaborative relationships with other disability non-profit/NGO/voluntary organisations. In addition, most of these TSOs are connected either to an Italian-based network (e.g. FAND-Federation of National Associations of Disabled Persons, FISH-Italian Federation for the Overcoming of Handicap, Italian Disability Forum), or to an international one.

This was a predictable result, given our selection criteria. Transnational umbrella bodies are very often European (e.g. EURORDIS-the European Organisation for Rare Diseases, ENIL-the European Network on Independent Living, AAATE-the Association for the Advancement of Assistive Technology in Europe, EASPD-the European Association of Service Providers for Persons with Disabilities, EASPD-the European Down Syndrome Association, EDF-the European Deaf Federation), but they can also be international, i.e. beyond the borders of the EU (e.g. Inclusion International, Down Syndrome International).

It is through these networks that all TSOs in the disability field have been somehow involved in events both at the national and international levels to raise awareness of disability. Most of them are European or International awareness days (e.g. the International Day of the Deaf) dealing with a specific kind of disability, and this is the result of the strong specialisation within the disability field in Italy. This latter point is consistent with studies on disabled persons' organisations in Italy (Schianchi, 2014) and is in line with findings of the Italian report (Maggini and Federico, 2016) for the second Work Package (WP2) of the TransSOL project. Moreover, once again through the European or International networks they belong to, most of the TSOs are also involved in transnational advocacy campaigns to support the rights of people with (specific) disabilities. However, two TSOs have been involved in raising awareness and lobbying campaigns dealing with the broader issue of independent living. This occurred because the abovementioned TSOs are organisations that do not deal with a specific kind of disability: One is a non-profit organisation and the other is a network dealing with the topic of independent living. Some TSOs have stressed how the focus of their local activities often originates from the work done in Europe, where actions are more oriented towards dissemination and communication:

"*With respect to national campaigns, at the European level, we work more through social media and on the web***."**
(Interviewee 27)

Dissimilarly, TSOs in the migration and unemployment field carry out national and international campaigns not mainly through their umbrella organisation as in the field of disability, but through collaboration with more diverse partners (e.g. NGOs, NPOs, social cooperatives, trade unions) dealing not exclusively with migration or unemployment issues. This occurs because in these fields the interviewed TSOs encompass also associations of social and cultural promotion, social cooperatives and religious organisations carrying out solidarity activities towards different target groups (including the disabled and disadvantaged people in general). The higher variability of interviewed organisations is mirrored in a more diverse spectrum of campaigns carried out by TSOs in the migration and unemployment fields, that cover a certain variety of issues, apart from migration and unemployment issues (e.g. referenda on environmentalist issues, anti-Mafia caravans, European projects on the inclusion methods of disadvantaged people, theatre workshops in schools for the disabled, etc.).

This does not signify that migration organisations are not involved in European and international networks. On the contrary, they participate in a number of networks: e.g. the European Network against Statelessness, IRCT-International Rehabilitation Council for torture victims, EAPN-the European anti-poverty network, Caritas Europa, Caritas Internationalis, the European Civic Forum, the Euro-Mediterranean Network for Human Rights, the MigrEurop Association, and the Solidar International Network. Through these networks, TSOs are involved in dissemination, communication, raising awareness and advocacy campaigns, exchanges of information and best practices. Some of the organisations have also experienced transnational cooperation via projects funded by the European Union and have therefore got some first-hand experience of "transnationalism in action", with satisfactory results.

This positive involvement of migration TSOs in international actions does not occur at the expense of national or local level action. In this regard, there was a clear theme emerging: Many migration TSOs were very well connected at a local level. Indeed, some of the organisations we spoke to had been engaged with mobilising local people and organisations to ensure that refugees would be welcomed upon arrival in their town. Therefore, it was often the local context which shaped the landscape for partnerships for many of the TSOs we spoke to and this was evident even when these organisations were in some way linked with a national-level organisation. There were two umbrella organisations with branches across the country which were involved in developing lobbying activities for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, yet despite being geographically spread across Italy, they still maintained the importance of local level partnerships. Therefore, to a certain extent, the field of migration in Italy appears to be populated with organisations which focus at the local level even when the TSOs themselves were part of broader, national and international movements, although it was clear that the national and international level networks were an important focal point for information sharing, advocacy and awareness raising campaigns:

"*We participated in campaigns with Caritas Europa and with UNHCR for the reception of refugees and advocacy against certain choices made by certain states (such as building walls,*

border closure, etc.) ….European and international campaigns are less capillary; basically, they are second-level awareness raising campaigns for associations that have to work locally and have relations with fellow citizens and assisted people."
(Interviewee 29)

"At international level we have collaborated with IRCT, RCT in Copenhagen, the First Levi Centre in Paris, CINTRAS of Santiago, and the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture. The main activities are: Awareness raising, exchange of information and best practices."
(Interviewee 6)

In the unemployment sector, we registered a certain degree of variability depending on the TSO's nature, with a clear distinction between social cooperatives and non-profit/volunteer organisations on the one hand, and trade unions and a national network dealing with poverty issues on the other. The former are involved especially at the local level through concrete actions and projects funded by public grants or by foundations in sectors like promotion to work, social-health mediation, housing, and so forth. Except for two TSOs, which hosted TSOs from other countries to work on specific projects, their involvement at the international level occurs only indirectly for raising awareness activities, meetings and conferences through umbrella organisations/networks to which they belong: :

"*Through our collaboration with the Cilap/EAPN Italy we have participated in a series of international meetings on the theme of the fight against poverty and on the topic of job placement, but they have never led to real transnational campaigns."*
(Interviewee 24)

National collaborations also occur only through dissemination/ awareness raising events to exchange good practices and networking.

Conversely and perhaps unsurprisingly, the trade unions we spoke to were well connected to unions who operated in similar fields (e.g. public and/or private sector) both at the national and international level, and either the interviewees themselves or their colleagues were actively involved in the work of platforms such as the Alliance against Poverty in Italy. Moreover, each of the interviewed trade unions were members of European and international trade union federations such as the ETUC (the European Trade Union Confederation) and the ITUC (the International Trade Union Confederation). In addition, interviewees explained that they are used to building partnerships with diverse organisations, such as NGOs or religious organisations, to improve the effectiveness of their activity, especially in the case of campaigns going beyond the unemployment/work sector (they named a number of these: campaigns on social security, immigration, collective bargaining, self-sufficiency, in support of a new law on citizenship and the *ius soli*, fundraising for the victims of earthquakes in Italy, a campaign against female genital mutilation, campaigns against precariousness, campaigns against the gender wage gap).
At the international level, one trade union has campaigned against domestic violence and violence at work; another has helped refugees in Syria through fundraising. In addition, one interviewee explained that she had frequent contact with colleagues in Europe and recounted a recent meeting

in Lampedusa where a number of Mediterranean trade unions and representatives of various religions shared experiences and information.

In a similar way, a national network belonging to the EAPN (the European Anti-Poverty Network) has been directly involved in advocacy and awareness raising campaigns both at the national and international level. At the national level, this TSO has been involved in an anti-poverty campaign and in a project in favour of the minimum income. Such national campaigns are strongly linked to the following international campaigns and actions: The European campaign of ENIM (the European Minimum Income Network) for an Adequate Minimum Income; the EAPN campaign to allocate 20% of the social fund to fight poverty; a campaign for accessibility to water as a human right; lobbying candidates during the last European elections for a formal commitment to minimum income and the "Banning Poverty" campaign. The latter is an international campaign launched in 2013 to outlaw poverty and ban IMF and the World Bank. Regarding the latter point, however, the interviewee told us:

> "*Organisations from countries such as Chile, Argentina and the Philippines have joined this campaign. These countries have been severely affected by the interventions of these international institutions. It is a radical campaign, whereas we are less radical, because we are realistic and in favour of reforming the IMF and the World Bank.*"
> (Interviewee 3)

Finally, just in the field of unemployment and migration we interviewed TSOs collaborating with international partners through EU-funded projects. The feedback on this specific type of partnership is not exclusively positive: While some described EU funding as 'crucial', other interviewees explained that although they had previously received EU funding, they had since given up.

Campaigns and partnerships: reasons, benefits and challenges

When asked about the reasons for being connected to other organisations and carrying out joint campaigns, almost all of the TSOs regardless of their field mentioned the possibility of having their voices heard more effectively. Joining transnational campaigns allow TSOs to be heard by policymakers and the media, and, especially for 'niche-focused' or small TSOs, it is also a matter of resources and costs. They simply do not have the human or economic resources available, for instance, to attend multiple policy discussion fora or policy making arenas and therefore they rely on their umbrella organisation to undertake this work for them. These arguments are also used to explain their membership of EU-wide umbrellas and networks. Sometimes collaborations at the European or international level are easier than at the national level:

> "*In Italy, it is very difficult to carry out a campaign because it is important to first reach the media. This entails hard work. There is the problem of capturing the attention of the public opinion. At the European level, the network we belong to is funded by European Commission programmes and there are more resources*."
> (Interviewee 3)

In the field of disability this phenomenon is exacerbated by two additional factors. First, the main challenge to campaigning in Italy is ensuring people with disabilities free movement:

> "*In fact, campaigns often fail due to logistical difficulties: the disabled must travel along with caregivers and this is an economic cost; it is also difficult to use public transportation or find accessible hotels. […] I've realised that some countries are a bit further ahead of us because they have better mobility and more accessible public transport., Even Spain is better in this regard.*"
> (Interviewee 26)

Second, the disability sector is characterised by strong fragmentation, with many TSOs specialised in specific diseases. This leads some associations to avoid partnerships at the local level, to preserve their scarce resources, and to care for their own beneficiaries.

In the migration field, collaboration among associations seems good, whereas the biggest difficulties are related to the political context (for instance, the hostility of some populist parties) and to the mass media system. When the media offer too much room for ideological/political positions on migration issues and little room for expert opinion, as stressed by an interviewee from an association focusing on legal aspects of immigration, networking and mutual help between organisations is considered a useful tool to strengthen their position. From the literature on group cohesiveness, we know that social scientists have explained this phenomenon in different ways. For instance highlighting the importance of a deep sense of "we-ness", or belonging to a group as a whole (Bollen and Hoyle, 1990), and the role of external competition and threats (Thompson and Rapkin, 1981; *Rempel and Fisher, 1997*). Similarly, we can hypothesise that political polarisation over an issue such as immigration creates the sense of belonging to the same group in different organisations struggling for the same cause (usually opposed to other social actors), and this, in turn, increases the likelihood of organisations forming coalitions to strengthen their role/voice/capacity.

TSOs in the unemployment field seem to be those facing more difficulties to develop collaborations at the national level. Indeed, one interviewee said that conflicts may arise over budget issues, for fear of competition and because some organisations are much too centred on their own leaders. Two other interviewees stressed that in Italy, some organisations of the third sector are too linked to the defence of their own backyard and to the pursuit of business (and the power that stems from it), and that it is difficult to coordinate different players because those who have higher economic resources or a media reputation can prevail. In this regard, it should be noted that some TSOs (a network and some cooperatives) reported difficulty collaborating with trade unions concerning disagreements on some issues:

> "*We campaigned for a minimum wage. This goal is difficult to reach because trade unions are against a law on minimum wage*".
> (Interviewee 3)

When asked about the benefits of cooperation at the international level, all TSOs mentioned the possibility of exchanging experiences and practices, although one migration TSO explicitly told us that transnational collaborations/campaigns"…*are often a waste of time. Among European partners,*

there is no awareness of the problems associated with the current migrant flow. When you do not know the reality, it is difficult to find a synthesis" (Interviewee 12).

Interviewees also reiterated the importance of being part of larger discussions and awareness-raising campaigns in order to be involved in transnational/global processes. Others pointed to the beneficial effects of transnational cooperation, not only to strengthen fundraising capacities, but also to assist in mobilising and training volunteers. Networking is also perceived as useful in overcoming economic constraints and avoiding "…wars between the poor". In this regard, the crisis can be a catalyst for these forms of cooperation, as stressed by a representative of a consortium of social cooperatives (Interviewee 1).

When asked about the challenges of such transnational collaboration, the majority stressed they did not have any relevant conflict with other organisations and often the problems they deal with are similar to those they face at national level. Nevertheless, some TSOs pointed to the diversity of contexts across Europe as posing a problem to long-term collaboration and proper exchange. Others mentioned linguistic barriers among the challenging issues of transnational collaboration. Finally, a few reported the costs of participation in EU projects in terms of the bureaucratic burden which was considered too high for smaller TSOs. Across the trade unions, the idea of acting in concert with international partners was perceived as particularly beneficial for lobbying efforts. Nevertheless, a divergent voice mentioned the difficulty due to the heterogeneity of the European trade union world. For example, unions from Eastern Europe are reluctant actors as regards immigration. In addition, ineffective campaigns are often carried out. Another interviewee stressed how "…*problems at the European level may be similar, but approaches are often different. The ETUC has little impact on labour market policies in Europe*" (Interviewee 22).

Finally, not all interviewed TSOs agreed that these collaborations are a form of solidarity. While some stressed how mutual learning based on shared experience and knowledge with contemporaries in other countries creates a sort of solidarity "umbrella" that provides concrete help for the needy, others did not consider these collaborations a form of solidarity, but rather as simple tools and a means to pursue specific goals.

The associational ecology of solidarity

This section deals with associational ecologies of solidarity. In this regard, we will explore the following aspects: First, we will analyse the different organisational traits across the three sectors; secondly, we will look at the similarities or differences in the activities carried out by organisations across the three sectors; thirdly, we will investigate if there is any evidence that organisations expand their activities beyond their primary field of engagement and if there is any organisational pattern visible as regards transnational engagement; finally, we will explore if organisational resources are a key-condition to engage in campaigns across borders.

Most of the TSOs we interviewed are formal organisations as captured by our indicators through the questionnaire. Indeed, all TSOs have a board and a president, and almost all (29 out of 30) have a written constitution and a general assembly. Furthermore, 27 TSOs have a secretary, 25 have committees/work groups on specific issues, 24 have a treasurer and 22 have a chair person in

addition to a president). In addition, for 25 TSOs, there is a formal requirement (e.g. paying membership fees, being registered as disabled/unemployed/refugee-asylum seeker, etc.) to be able to join the organisation and half have an annual budget of more than 500,000 euros (with only five TSOs operating on a budget less than 50,000 euro). A little less than half have a spokesperson (14 out of 30), an international office and 15 or more full time paid staff persons (13 out of 30). There are not huge differences across the three sectors, apart from the fact that organisations with fewer resources (with a budget below 50,000 euros) and with no paid staff are concentrated in the areas of unemployment and disability. This can be explained by the fact that the refugee crisis has triggered public authorities in financing TSOs' projects to manage the reception of refugees.[22]

Looking at main activities carried out by TSOs to achieve their aims (see Table 1), Italian civil society organisations across the three fields are definitely characterised by a non-contentious approach (70%[23] of TSOs do not mobilise members through protest and 63% do not mobilise members through direct actions). Most of these organisations are service-oriented (90% provide services either to members or to other subjects) and involved in awareness raising actions (93%). Similarly, lobbying and participation in policy making processes are particularly widespread (77% and 80%, respectively). A high percentage (63%) of TSOs is also engaged with fundraising actions.

As regards the level of action, most of the TSOs carry out actions at the national level to achieve their aims. Interestingly, protests are the least transnational (only 3% of TSOs). This is not in line with the literature on growing transnational protests, for instance because of the refugee crisis (Ataç, Rygiel and Stierl, 2016), but it can be explained by our sample's characteristics: most of the interviewed TSOs are non-profit organisations, cooperatives, trade unions, religious organisations with a pragmatic approach, whereas there are no alternative grassroots movements with a contentious approach. Direct actions and services to members are not particularly widespread at the international level, either (17%). Similar percentages are shown by fundraising (23%) and services to others (27%). One third of TSOs is involved in legal consultations/policymaking processes at the international level. The most international actions are awareness raising actions (40%) and lobbying (50%). Finally, it should be noted that most of the TSOs do not carry out the aforementioned actions exclusively at the international level, but also at the national one.

To sum up, there seems to be two different focuses: on the one hand, awareness raising campaigning and lobbying target groups; on the other hand, delivering services directly to the beneficiaries. This is consistent with the division between advocacy and service organisations that has been stressed by scholarly writing in the unemployment sector: "…civil society organisations (CSOs) […] have become key policy-implementers, especially in employment policies inspired by activation measures (Defourny and Nyssens, 2017), or, in the classic advocacy tradition of civil society. CSOs have been vocal actors in calling for different policies and for the respect of specific social and economic rights (Baglioni 2010)" (Baglioni and Giugni, 2014: 1).

[22] In 2016, Italy used over 20% of ODA (Official Development Assistance) for refugee costs (http://www.oecd.org/development/development-aid-rises-again-in-2016-but-flows-to-poorest-countries-dip.htm).

[23] The reader should interpret these percentages keeping in mind that our analysis is based on a small sample of organisations, without any aim to generalise results to the entire population of existing organisations in Italy.

Furthermore, there are no significant differences between the three sectors as far as main activities are concerned. In fact, service provisions, raising awareness actions, lobbying and participation in policy making processes are particularly widespread across all sectors, with TSOs in the migration field showing the greatest equilibrium between national and international levels of action.

Nevertheless, there are some noteworthy differences between fields: At the international level, 10% of the TSOs in the unemployment field have engaged with protest and demonstrations, whereas this type of (international) action is completely absent within the other two fields; direct actions are completely absent among unemployment TSOs and are not widespread among migration-related TSOs, whereas 70% of disabled TSOs resorted to this kind of action, especially at the national level; finally, fundraising activities are widespread especially among disability TSOs (80% of them resorted to fundraising) and among migration TSOs (60%), whereas half of the unemployment TSOs resorted to fundraising; the latter, moreover, has been carried out at an international level especially by migration TSOs (half of them), whereas no unemployment TSOs and a minority of disability TSOs (20%) made use of fundraising at the international level.

We can argue that only unemployment TSOs resorted to international protests because large-scale collective actions require high levels of organisational resources. In this regard, national trade unions are well equipped, whereas smaller TSOs of the other two-issue fields have fewer organisational resources and strongly rely on fundraising for financing their projects, as previously mentioned. Furthermore, we could speculate that disability TSOs at the international level resort to direct actions (e.g. online petitions) as a form of mobilisation that is less demanding in terms of organisational resources, exploiting the national and international umbrella organisations they belong to.

Table 1: Main actions used by organisations in order to reach their aims (at national and/or transnational level, across three fields)

Main actions among those listed below used by the organisation in order to reach its aims? (%)	**No**	**Yes**	
		Nationally	***Transnationally***
Mobilising members through protest, demonstrations			
Migration field (N=10)	70	30	0
Unemployment field (N=10)	70	30	10
Disability field (N=10)	70	30	0
Total (N=30)	70	30	3
Mobilising members through direct actions			
Migration field (N=10)	60	40	30
Unemployment field (N=10)	100	0	0
Disability field (N=10)	30	70	20
Total (N=30)	63	37	17
Political education of citizens / raising awareness			
Migration field (N=10)	10	90	60
Unemployment field (N=10)	10	90	30
Disability field (N=10)	0	100	30
Total (N=30)	7	93	40
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions			
Migration field (N=10)	30	60	50

Unemployment field (N=10)	30	70	50
Disability field (N=10)	10	90	50
Total (N=30)	23	73	50
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc.)			
Migration field (N=10)	20	80	30
Unemployment field (N=10)	10	90	10
Disability field (N=10)	0	100	10
Total (N=30)	10	90	17
Services to others (e.g. clients)			
Migration field (N=10)	0	90	50
Unemployment field (N=10)	10	90	10
Disability field (N=10)	20	80	20
Total (N=30)	10	87	27
Fundraising			
Migration field (N=10)	40	60	50
Unemployment field (N=10)	50	50	0
Disability field (N=10)	20	80	20
Total (N=30)	37	63	23
Participation in legal consultations / policy making processes			
Migration field (N=10)	30	70	50
Unemployment field (N=10)	20	80	30
Disability field (N=10)	10	90	20
Total (N=30)	20	80	33
Other			
Migration field (N=10)	100	0	0
Unemployment field (N=10)	80	10	10
Disability field (N=10)	100	0	0
Total (N=30)	93	3	3

Further evidence that emerges from our interviews is that many unemployment TSOs expand their activities beyond their primary field of engagement as regards awareness raising campaigns, lobbying and services provision. This can be explained by the fact that in the unemployment field there are trade unions, social cooperatives and anti-poverty networks dealing not only with the unemployed, but also with other vulnerable groups within society such as migrants and the disabled. The broader the mission of the organisation, the broader the spectrum of actions. A certain amount of migration-related organisations (especially social cooperatives and religious organisations) are also engaged in solidarity actions towards the disabled and/or the unemployed, for the very same reasons we have just mentioned. Conversely, disability TSOs focus almost exclusively on their field of engagement. In addition, many disability TSOs are sectoral associations focused on a specific kind of disability. This can cause competition for scarce resources, in a sort of "war among the poor". Once again, this latter point confirms findings of the WP2 Italian report (Maggini and Federico, 2016).

As we have seen, most of the TSOs we interviewed are service oriented. Indeed, 29 out of 30 TSOs provide some kind of service. Looking at the type and frequency of service provision in the last two years (see Table 2), we notice that providing assistance to help beneficiaries access welfare benefits (gain equitable access to health care, education etc.), assistance for non-material issues (e.g.

emotional, interpersonal, etc.), assistance in education services and in employment seeking are the most widespread and frequent types of service provision.

Indeed, as regards access to the welfare system, 93% of TSOs say they often provide this service and none says "never". After access to the welfare system, the most frequent service is assistance for non-material issues (79%), followed by assistance in education services (72%) and assistance in employment seeking (65%). Conversely, financial support is absolutely the least frequent service (72% say "never"), followed by assistance in debt counselling (69%), provision of in-kind support (59%) and assistance in housing and sheltering (55%). These data show how TSOs in Italy offer a crucial complementary component to welfare state action and at a time of economic crisis and austerity, such complementary welfare activities have proven to be crucial in enforcing at least some of the social and civil rights to which disadvantaged groups are entitled (Baglioni and Giugni, 2014). In this regard, it should be emphasised that on the one hand, the Italian welfare system remains largely characterised by 'particularistic-clientelistic' welfare provisions and by social policies targeted at specific categories of recipients, in the absence of a coherent and universalistic system of social security (Ferrera, 1996); on the other, the entire Italian constitutional design is anchored on the principle of subsidiarity, which postulates a close interconnectedness between the action of the state and the free engagement of the people in the fulfilment of rights. The crossbreeding between the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity leads to a system where the state configures rights and defines the modalities for the enforcement of those rights by setting standards. Civil society participates by realising the rights and may go further by directing its energy towards expanding and enriching the quality and quantity of those rights.

These patterns are generally confirmed if we look at services delivered by organisations across the three sectors. Nevertheless, there are some noteworthy differences between fields; in particular between the migration field and the other two fields. Migration-related TSOs resort more frequently to assistance in housing and sheltering, financial support, in-kind support, legal assistance, assistance in education services, assistance in employment seeking. Curiously, 80% of migration TSOs resort to assistance in employment seeking, a percentage much higher than the share of TSOs within the unemployment field (67%), which should consider this service as their "core business". Furthermore, half of TSOs within the migration field often provides in-kind support and assistance in housing and sheltering, whereas the majority of TSOs within the other two sectors seldom or never provide these services. Legal assistance is also a frequent service provided by migrant TSOs (70%), whereas in the unemployment field the majority of TSOs seldom or never provides this type of service. However, it should be noted that legal assistance is also a fairly widespread service in the field of disability, involving 50% of TSOs.

Finally, it has been confirmed that financial support is not widespread among TSOs across the three fields. No organisation within the unemployment and disability fields frequently provides this type of service, whereas 20% of TSOs in the migration field often provide financial support.

To sum up, in the migration field, TSOs focus heavily on contributing towards meeting the urgent needs of migrants/refugees, perhaps unsurprisingly given the pressure exacerbated by the refugee

crisis on reception facilities and on national and local public services.[24] Public authorities have involved civil society organisations in the provision of vital services, usually delivered by state or local agencies, thus signalling the fundamental role played by TSOs in securing and guaranteeing migrants/refugees/asylum seekers' fundamental human rights (Ambrosini, 2013a; 2013b), such as the right to a home and a dignified life (as stressed by the importance of in-kind support and assistance in housing and sheltering), the right to work (as highlighted by the importance of assistance in employment seeking) and civil rights (as stressed by the importance of legal assistance).

Table 2: Type and frequency of service provision in the last two years (across three fields)

Service Type/Field	**Frequency (%)**				
	Often	***Seldom***	***Never***	***DK/NA***	***Total (%)***
Providing assistance in housing and sheltering					
Migration field (N=10)	50	20	30	0	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	22	22	56	0	100
Disability field (N=10)	20	0	80	0	100
Total (N=29)	31	14	55	0	100
Providing assistance in employment seeking					
Migration field (N=10)	80	10	10	0	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	67	11	22	0	100
Disability field (N=10)	50	20	30	0	100
Total (N=29)	65	14	21	0	100
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (health care, education etc.)					
Migration field (N=10)	100	0	0	0	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	78	22	0	0	100
Disability field (N=10)	100	0	0	0	100
Total (N=29)	93	7	0	0	100
Providing financial support					
Migration field (N=10)	20	10	70	0	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	0	33	67	0	100
Disability field (N=10)	0	20	80	0	100
Total (N=29)	7	21	72	0	100
Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.)					
Migration field (N=10)	50	10	40	0	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	33	11	56	0	100
Disability field (N=10)	10	10	80	0	100
Total (N=29)	31	10	59	0	100
Providing legal assistance					
Migration field (N=10)	70	30	0	0	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	44	11	44	0	100
Disability field (N=10)	50	10	40	0	100

[24] For an overlook of the impact of the refugee crisis on local public social services in Europe, see Montero and Baltruks (2016) and OECD (2017).

Total (N=29)	55	17	28	0	100
Providing assistance in education services					
Migration field (N=10)	100	0	0	0	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	56	11	33	0	100
Disability field (N=10)	60	10	30	0	100
Total (N=29)	72	7	21	0	100
Providing assistance in debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)					
Migration field (N=10)	20	10	70	0	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	22	11	67	0	100
Disability field (N=10)	20	10	70	0	100
Total (N=29)	21	10	69	0	100
Providing assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.)					
Migration field (N=10)	80	10	10	0	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	78	11	11	0	100
Disability field (N=10)	80	10	10	0	100
Total (N=29)	79	11	10	0	100
Other					
Migration field (N=10)	10	0	0	90	100
Unemployment field (N=9)	0	0	0	100	100
Disability field (N=10)	10	0	0	90	100
Total (N=29)	7	0	0	93	100

As previously mentioned, most of the TSOs we interviewed are both help/service oriented and advocacy/policy-oriented TSOs. This is consistent with the results in Table 3, showing the main reasons why people join solidarity organisations: 73% of interviewees say people join their organisation to share values/political ideas and 70% for altruistic reasons. . Around half of interviewees report social contacts as their main reason, whereas fewer than a quarter join for legal/judiciary support (23%) or for political support (17%). Finally, joining an organisation for financial support is negligible.

Table 3: Why people join solidarity organisations

Reason for joining	**%**
For political support	17
For financial support	0
For legal/judiciary support	23
For social contacts	47
Altruism (helping people)	70
Shared political ideas/values	73
Other	37

N=30

As regards the transnational engagement of the TSOs we interviewed, previously we had mentioned that in each sector, only a minority of TSOs has an international office, especially among disability organisations (only three of them have this kind of office). Nonetheless, even without a specialised international office, most of the TSOs (17 out of 30) are active at the transnational level and half of them at the EU level. Unsurprisingly, TSOs in the migration sector are the most active beyond national borders (7 out of 10 are active at the transnational level and six out of 10 at the EU level). In close second place are unemployment TSOs (six of them are active at the transnational level), whereas five TSOs in the disability field are active at the EU level. This overall high level of involvement in international actions does not occur at the expense of national or local levels of action. Indeed, 23 TSOs are active at the national and local level, and 20 at the regional level. This means that various levels of action are often complementary, as shown by the fact that organisations which are the most active at the international level (i.e. TSOs in the migration field) are also the most active at the local level. This is consistent with the pattern we discussed above regarding the type of services provided by migration-related TSOs: the latter not only carry out national and international campaign for migrants' civil and political rights, but also focus on contributing towards meeting the urgent needs of migrants/refugees, occurring at the local level, for instance managing reception centres. Indeed, some migration TSOs are involved in the System of Protection for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) that ensure "integrated reception" activities for asylum seekers and people entitled to international protection. The SPRAR Central Service was established by the Ministry of Interior – Department of Immigration and Civil Liberties - entrusting the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) with these services.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, many of the TSOs we interviewed (especially in the disability field) are local branches of national organisations or federations, which in turn are part of well-established international (especially European) networks (13 out of 24 TSOs belonging to networks are active at transnational level). Thus, these TSOs are active at the international level in an indirect way: these organisations are used to engage transnationally through activities of umbrella organisations they belong to.

Solidarity requires pooling of resources, coordination of individual activities, provision of incentives and sanctions (Hirsch, 1986). Usually, organisational resources are personnel and finances (Kriesi, 2007). Therefore, organisational resources can be considered a key-condition to engage in campaigns across borders, but is that still the case? Are any organisational patterns discernible? According to the results of our interview, it is apparent that organisational resources are very important to engage in transnational actions. In particular, the richest and most formalised Italian TSOs are those most often engaged transnationally, consistent with what we had already observed in the second section. Indeed, 10 out of 13 TSOs with 15 or more full-time paid staff (and 8 out of 12 TSOs with 15 or more part -time paid staff) are transnationally engaged. Moreover, 11 TSOs out of 15 with an annual budget of more than 500,000 euros are involved in actions both inside and outside the EU.

Solidarity as an interactive process: political and social embeddedness

The final dimension we want to analyse deals with infra-organisational relationships and relationships between TSOs and political institutions. Concerning the infra-organisational

relationships, we focus on the TSOs network embeddedness and relational patterns, in line with the analysis of the organisational dimensions of Schmitter and Streeck's (1999). In this section, we will use social network approaches to better understand with whom TSOs collaborate, and the variety of forms these networks of relationships could take. In particular, we will perform a descriptive analysis of the collaboration relationships between the associations interviewed in each field, studying some node traits (at the TSOs level) and network traits (at the field level). Concerning the relationships between TSOs and political institutions, we will portray how organisations connect with political institutions, looking in particular at the arenas where organisations have participated in decision-making processes.

Inter-organisational traits of Italian solidarity organisations

Concerning the infra-organisational relationships, we rely on social network analysis (SNA) (Otte and Rousseau, 2002; Laat et al., 2007) allowing us to account for the pattern of interactions between the associations focusing on the systems of relations of the collective action process (Diani 2013; Diani and McAdam, 2003).

The overall analysis of the networks is focused on three matrices of collaborations, one per field. All three matrices are binary (1,0). SNA has been done after the symmetrisation of the data. We have assumed that the collaboration ties between the interviewed TSOs are reciprocal, even though there might by a risk of overrepresentation of links. We have also controlled for the in-degree links per association before applying the symmetrise transformation of the data. In addition, all matrices analysed are uni-mode and uni-plex – single type of nodes (one set of nodes) and a single type of relationship.

As a first step, SNA has produced as output three graphs informing about the variety and depth of relationships within each issue-field (see Figure 1, Figure 2 and Figure 3). These graphs represent networked structures in terms of *nodes* (TSOs or institutions within the network) and the *ties* or *links* (collaboration relationships) that connect them. These networks are visualised through diagrams in which nodes are represented as squares and links are represented as lines connecting the nodes which are reciprocal and undirected. In this case, we are dealing with links of collaboration, i.e. organisations (or institutions) with which our interviewed TSOs have collaborated in projects or events in the last two years.

The first point we have to stress is that the field with the highest number of collaborations between TSOs corresponds to migration (see Figure 1), whereas the disability organisations pertain to the most fragmented field (see Figure 2). This means that in the disability field, collaborations among TSOs are less widespread compared to the other two fields, confirming once again what we have stressed in previous sections. In the disability field, there is a strong thematic specialisation of disability TSOs, with a trend towards collaborations with associations caring for similar disabilities and therefore with the risk of particularism. Indeed, most of the TSOs have collaborated with TSOs that are members of the same national umbrella they belong to (e.g. members of the FISH-Italian Federation for the Overcoming of Handicap) or have collaborated with the national or European umbrella they belong to (e.g. Third Sector Forum, COORDOWN, European Down Syndrome Association, European Disability Forum, European Network on Independent Living, Eurodiaconia).

Rarely do these associations collaborate with organisations which are not part of the same umbrella organisation or deal with a completely different kind of disability. Furthermore, only one TSO among those mentioned by (two) interviewed TSOs, is an organisation dealing not exclusively with disability, and not included in our database of disability organisations. Therefore, in the disability field, ties within large federations seem to be a form of 'bonding' social capital (Putnam, 2000; Patulny and Svendsen, 2007), rather than a form of 'bridging' social capital. Essentially, bonding networks are described as connecting 'people who are like one another in important respects' while bridging networks link 'people who are unlike one another' (Putnam and Goss, 2002: 11). Indeed, these Italian networks and federations have left some categories of people with disabilities feeling excluded or under-represented (Schiachi, 2014).

These graphs also inform us about the particularities of the sectors regarding links towards institutional actors. The unemployment field has the lowest number of links toward institutional actors, whereas the other two fields have almost the same number of links toward institutional actors, predominantly with regional or sub-regional institutional actors. In particular, the most mentioned institutions in the disability field are local health companies and regional or local health departments. This is not surprising: In Italy, regional and local government levels are those responsible for disability services. However, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, a local sport and youth policies department, and a local agency for personal services are also mentioned, reflecting the variety of issues dealt with and the services offered by interviewed organisations that provide not only medical/rehabilitative services to the disabled, but also services concerning their socio-inclusion and job placement. Regarding the migration field, it is not surprising that regions, municipalities and local prefectures are among the cited institutions, given that they deal directly with the management of the refugee crisis.

Figure 1: Network of collaborations among organisations within the migration field

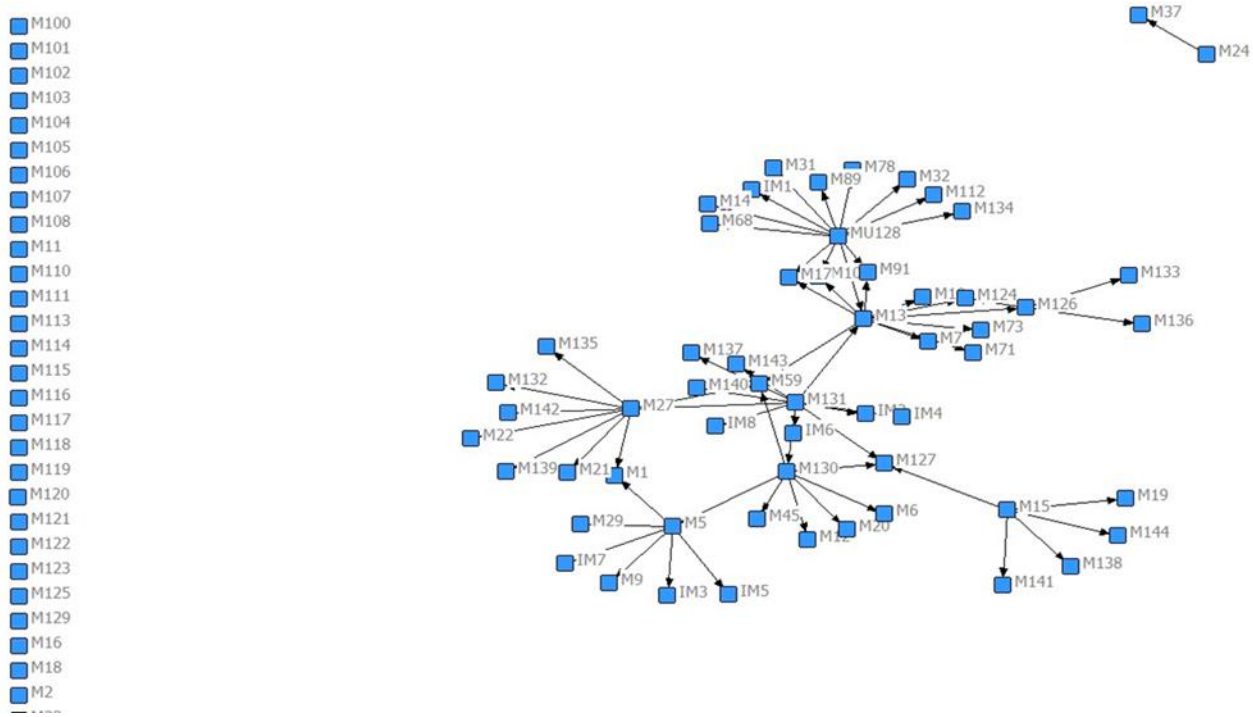


Figure 2: Network of collaborations among organisations within the disability field

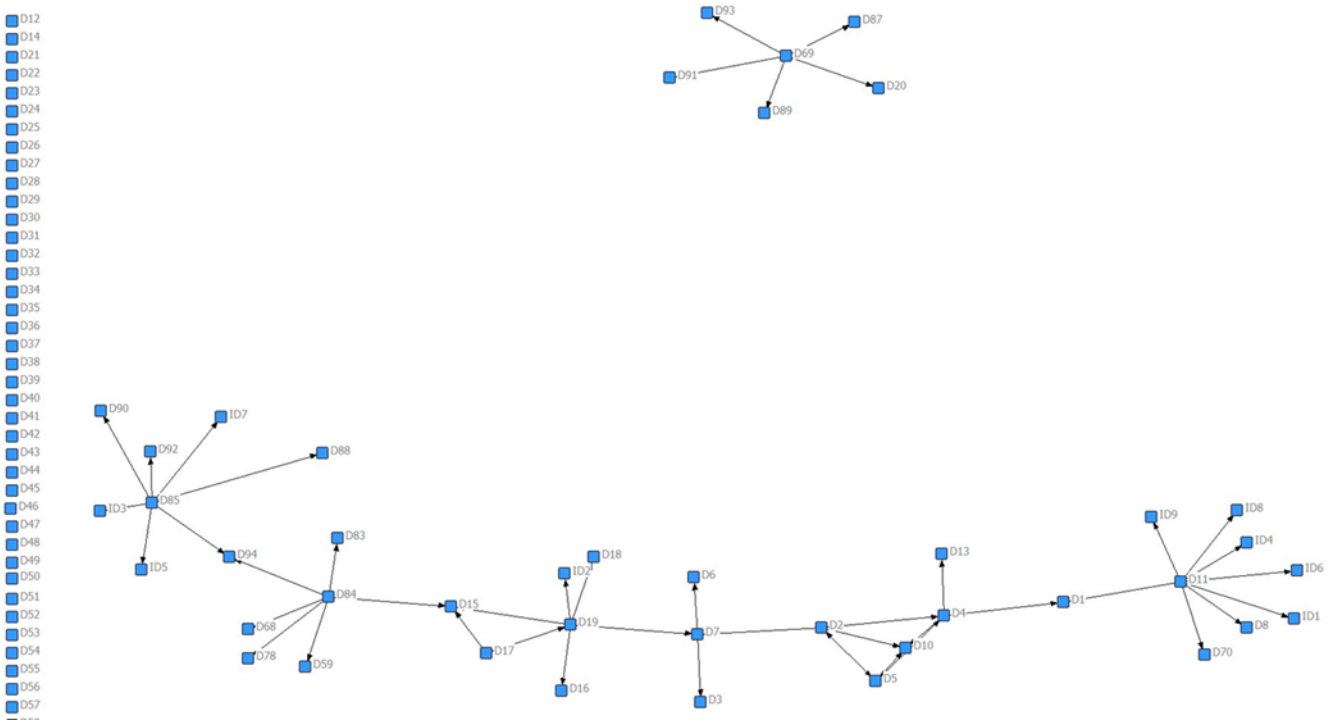
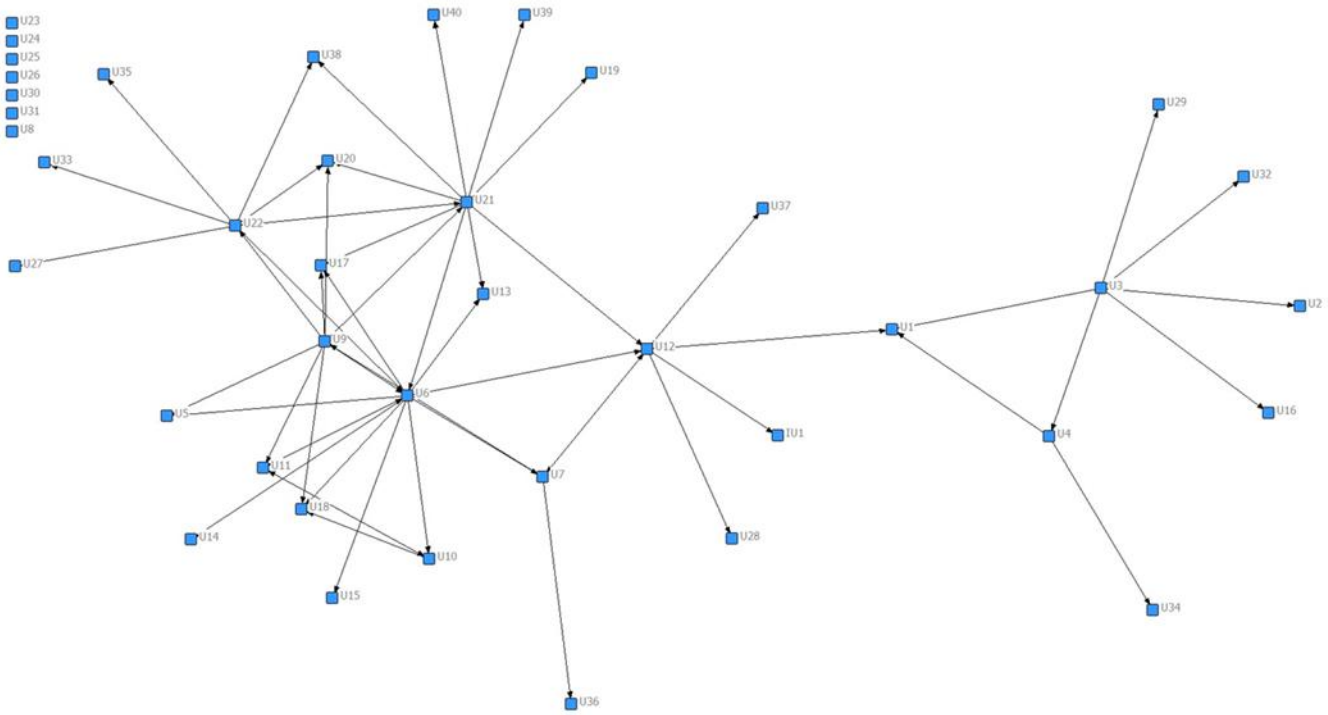


Figure 3: Network of collaborations among organisations within the unemployment field



Concerning the individual nodes features, we focused on centrality, which is a property of a node's position in the network. It stands for the contribution a node gives to the network it belongs to, but also for the advantages it may derive from being in a certain position (power influence). It is not connected to who a node is (its attributes) but, more likely, where it stands. It accounts for prominence and influence, as the extent to which a node is involved in relationships with others (Wasserman and Faust, 1994: 173). As a centrality measure, we used degree centrality that counts how many collaboration links a node (i.e. a TSO) has, thus signalling the extent to which a TSO is involved in relationships with other organisations. We have two versions of the measure: in and out-degree centrality. These measures refer to the number of links that lead into (in-degree) or out (out-degree) of the node. In-links are given by other nodes in the network, while out-links are determined by the node itself. It is useful in assessing a node's importance within the network. A node is important if there are many other nodes that link to it, or if it links to many other nodes. If actors receive many ties (high in-degree centrality), they are often said to be prominent, or to have high prestige. Indeed, many other actors seek to direct ties to them, and this may indicate their popularity. Actors who state collaboration with many other actors (high out-degree centrality) are often said to be influential actors because they are able to exchange with many others. We used un-symmetrised data for the centrality measures to capture the differences between the two types of measures. As expected, the range of minimal and maximal numbers of ties received and given by an actor significantly differ. We observed that the range (minimum and maximum) of the nodes out-degree centrality for all three networks is much larger than the in-degree nodes' range, especially in the migration field. This means that in all the fields (especially in the migration sector) the number of influential TSOs who have collaborated with many other organisations (out-degree centrality) is larger than the number of prominent TSOs named by several interviewees for collaboration ties (in-degree centrality). This is somewhat normal, as people tend to name organisations they collaborate with and the latter are usually more than one actor. In addition, our interviewees mentioned that they have collaborated with several organisations that we had not included in the database through our mapping. However, the fact that in all the fields the in-degree range is more diverse than the out-degree range might signal that the networks lack popular actors (or that we did not map those popular actors). Indeed, the in-degree range is a measure of popularity: TSOs receive a high number of links because they are considered as prominent, crucial, etc.

However, each issue-field shows its peculiarities. As mentioned previously, the disability field shows the lowest number of collaboration ties. Nevertheless, there are a few organisations that have been mentioned by several interviewees, showing a shared network of collaboration: The most-mentioned organisations showing a certain in-degree centrality (i.e. prominent TSOs receiving the highest number of collaboration links) within the network are organisations which are all part of the same national umbrellas, and a European network dealing with independent living. This means that these organisations are somehow the point of focus of other organisations.

Concerning the migration area, previously we saw that it has the highest number of collaboration ties. Among the organisations we included in our sample, those showing the best out-degree centrality within the migration network are the following: A non-profit association dealing with victims of torture, a local branch of Caritas, a non-profit national association focusing on legal aspects of immigration and a national left-wing umbrella association of cultural and social promotion with a capillary structure of local branches all over the country. Conversely, the best in-degree

centrality is shown by two TSOs we included in our database which we did not interview: They are a national trade union and the Italian section of an international NGO dealing with international cooperation, intercultural dialogue and sustainable development.

The number of collaboration ties in the unemployment sector is in an intermediate position between the migration sector and the disability sector. Organisations showing both in-degree and out-degree centrality within the network, are TSOs we included in our sample: Among them, there are not only national organisations such as two trade unions and a network dealing with poverty, but also a social cooperative and a non-profit organisation that despite being local, have close ties with local and national consortia and networks they belong to. Similarly, a consortium of social cooperatives shows a certain out-degree centrality.

Furthermore, some TSOs mentioned collaborations with TSOs which were not included in the unemployment database, being TSOs that deal especially with migrants: Namely, two religious organisations, the Italian section of an international NGO and a regional non-profit organisation. This confirms what we saw in the previous section: TSOs in the unemployment field expand their activities beyond their primary field of engagement, given that trade unions, social cooperatives and anti-poverty networks deal not only with the unemployed/workers, but also with other vulnerable groups within society, such as migrants.

To measure the overall level of connectedness of the networks, we used several measures (see Table 4), for instance the aforementioned number of ties; however, to capture the cohesion of a network, it is important to look at its density[25]. The density of the network structure per field is very low, less than 1%. This means that the portion of the potential ties in our networks that are actual ties in each field is minimal.[26] In other words, TSOs are weakly connected and thus they need long paths to communicate/collaborate. That being said, of all three sectors the unemployment field has the highest density and the lowest number of isolated nodes, meaning that TSOs within this field are better connected compared to other fields. With regard to the component analysis, we highlight that apart from the isolated nodes (i.e. TSOs that do not show collaboration ties), the unemployment field is connected in one large component, while the other two fields have two components. Components are portions of the network that are disconnected from each other. When all the actors are connected as one component, it means that all the nodes/TSOs are reachable and consequently collaborations do not break. Small components tend to be redundant as collaboration ties only pass through these and do not get any link from other sources. The largest component for disability has 36 nodes and has 35% of the nodes in it, whereas the largest component for migration has 56 nodes and has 37% of the nodes in it. Conversely, the largest (and only) component for unemployment contains 34 nodes, which represent 83% of nodes. This means that in the unemployment field, collaboration ties do not break because there are TSOs that bridge the network and thus have key positions to transmit the communications between subgroups. In

[25] A network's density refers to the connections between participants/organisations. It is the ratio of the number of edges/connections in the network over the total number of possible edges/connections between all pairs of nodes. A density of 100% is the greatest density in the system.

[26] We are aware of the limitations of our networks because of the small number of interviewees per field. We complemented our map strategy of closed list recall of organisations per field with an open recall of other partners in which organisations named their five most important partners that were not included in our database. In future analysis, we will confront these as the most relevant actors in the field identified by the interviewees (which we will contact as well).

particular, a European network of social enterprises has a key position because it connects different consortia of social cooperatives with an individual social cooperative, which in turn has ties with prominent and influential TSOs (namely, a trade union and an anti-poverty network). This is also evidence of the extent of the collaborative ties of social cooperatives in Italy and a window onto the variety of organisations they work with.

In addition, unemployment organisations are the most embedded in a centralised network. Centralisation[27] refers to the extent by which a network is dominated by a single node. The higher the score, the more centralised the network. For more accurate interpretative purposes, we decided to remove the isolated nodes from each network and we focused our attention on the connected components. We are interested in describing how much the connected structures are dominated by particular actors: the higher the centralisation, the fewer actors stand at the core of a network. In the case of the unemployment graph, centralisation is 32% of a perfect star network of the same size (theoretical maximum). For the migration network, the overall centralisation is 20%, and for the disability network, it is 15%. Thus, we could conclude that the unemployment field has a higher degree of inequality, as actors' power in this network is more dependent on positional advantages than on the other issue-fields, especially the disability one. In other words, in the unemployment field, the power of individual TSOs varies rather substantially, and this can be explained by the particularities of this sector: The unemployment field has connected structures which are dominated mostly by unions' organisations. The latter have significant organisational resources and thus capabilities to dominate networks, signalling how organisational resources are a key-condition to develop partnerships.

Table 4: Social network analysis measures

	Disability	Unemployment	Migration
Size (number of nodes)	103	41	152
Isolates	61 nodes	7 nodes	94 nodes
Components (without counting isolated nodes)	2 components	1 component	2 components
Largest component	36 nodes	34 nodes	56 nodes
Number of ties	88	102	128
Density	0.008	0.062	0.006
Centralisation	0.15	0.32	0.20

To sum up, comparing the three issue-fields, the importance of organisational resources to develop ties among organisations is confirmed: Indeed, the central nodes within the analysed networks of collaborations and consequently the key players in each issue field are formal and institutionalised national associations or umbrellas (or at least local organisations with a formalised structure which are part of local and national consortia/networks).

[27] The Freeman graph centralisation measures express the degree of inequality or variance in a network as a percentage of that of a perfect star network of the same size. The star network is the most centralised or most unequal possible network for any number of actors (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005).

Relationships between Italian solidarity organisations and political institutions

Concerning the relationships between TSOs and political institutions, we also asked our interviewees about arenas where organisations have been called to participate or have participated in decision-making processes within the last three years (see Table 5) to portray how organisations connect with political institutions. On average, 53% of interviewees say their organisations have been called to participate and 52% actually participated in decision-making processes. Therefore, the majority of our TSOs has been involved in some form of institutional consultation and almost all those that were invited to participate actually did so, showing a collaborative approach towards public institutions.

The degree of involvement in policy-making processes, however, varies hugely according to the arena we consider. Indeed, only 13% of our TSOs participated as permanent members of an EU body (e.g. Economic and Social Affairs committee; Social Business Europe; etc.), and still a minority (47%), albeit consistent, participated as an organisation consulted during specific policy procedures at the EU level (European Parliament and European Commission consultations, etc.). Similarly, 40% of our organisations participated as permanent members of national policy-making procedures, without any difference between issue-fields. Conversely, TSOs participated largely in specific policy making procedures at national level and in some kind of decision making procedure at subnational (i.e. regional and/or local) level. Indeed, 70% of TSOs participated as an organisation consulted during specific policy making procedures at the national level, 63% as a permanent member of sub-national policy making procedures, and 80% as an organisation consulted during specific policy making procedures at the sub-national level (here, one unemployment TSO was invited to participate, but finally did not). This finding is consistent with the fact that TSOs of our sample are particularly active at the local level, especially those in the disability field. This signals that governance works quite well at local/subnational level in Italy, too. Since the 1990s, there has been a significant devolution of functions to regions in the field of social services and labour market policies, which has radically changed the relationship between central government, regional governments, and local governments according to the principle of subsidiarity. Therefore, it is clear that a multi-level governance system affects the field of social policies, leading some scholars to state that Italy has moved from a 'welfare state' to 'welfare regions' (Ferrera, 2008). Consequently, it is not surprising that the Italian civil society organisations we interviewed are particularly involved in policy making procedures at subnational level, considering that actions of civil society organisations are usually interwoven with the features of political-institutional contexts (Warren, 2001; Skocpol, Ganz and Munson, 2000).

All TSOs in the disability field have been consulted during specific policy making procedures at the sub-national level, whereas none has been a permanent member of an EU body. Moreover, only 30% of them were consulted during specific policy making procedures at the EU level, whereas half of the unemployment TSOs and 60% of the migration TSOs were.

We can attempt to explain this low degree of involvement of disability TSOs in consultations at the EU level by reiterating the fact that most of the TSOs we interviewed are either local associations or local/regional branches of national organisations or federations, and these TSOs are active at the EU level mostly in an indirect way through the European networks/federations their national

organisations or federations belong to. Conversely, disability TSOs show a strong institutional network at the local level, being organisations that deal mainly with service delivery at the local level.

It is not surprising that TSOs who are most involved in *ad hoc* consultations at the EU level are migration TSOs. They deal with a clear international issue and are interested in changing policies at the EU level. Nonetheless, their activities are not limited to policies and awareness raising. Providing help/services to meet the urgent needs of migrants/refugees and, for instance, managing reception centres lead migration TSOs to build strong institutional networks at the local level. Furthermore, their participation in EU policy making occurs only through specific consultation (e.g. at the European Parliament), but not through permanent EU bodies (only 10% of migration TSOs participated in such bodies).

On the contrary, unemployment TSOs are the most involved in permanent bodies of consultation at the EU level. This point can be explained by the fact that two out of three TSOs we are talking about are trade unions which are actively involved in lobbying and in policy making at the EU level as members of the ETUC (the European Trade Union Confederation). The other TSO that participated in permanent EU bodies or fora of discussion is a consortium of social cooperatives that is an active member of the European Network of Social Integration Enterprises (the ENSIE). The latter is also focused on lobbying/advocacy, and is particularly active at the EU level having several EU partners. Once again, this point confirms the importance of organisational resources for transnational involvement, with trade unions and consortia of cooperatives among the most formalised and richest Italian TSOs of our sample.

To sum up, our respondents, regardless of the issue-field, are inclined to collaborate with public authorities, primarily municipalities and regions. For instance, they participate in tenders funded by local authorities aimed at providing social services, training, job placement, and they are part of local discussion fora, bargaining tables.

In general, our interviewees claim to have good relations with local institutions, with a few, interesting exceptions regarding the migration area in particular. Here, according to our interviews, help-oriented TSOs show a more collaborative approach towards public institutions, whereas policy-oriented TSOs have more conflictual relations. The quality of the relationship with public authorities heavily depends on the authorities' political connotation. The two most political TSOs tend to have conflictual relations with right-wing authorities or parties.

Having good relations with public institutions is not surprising for TSOs within the disability and unemployment area. Indeed, most of them, not only those help-oriented, but also those policy-oriented and involved in lobbying and advocacy campaigns, are not heavily politicised and have a pragmatic and collaborative approach. Interestingly, the trade unions have both collaborative and conflictual relationships with political institutions, and this is in line with the traditional approach followed by these unions. Indeed, they are "traditional" trade unions without an explicit connotation in political-ideological terms, though their agendas are closely tied to democracy and social justice.

Table 5: Arenas where organisations have been called to participate or have participated in decision-making processes within the last three years (across three fields)

	a. Has been called		b. Participated	
	No (%)	**Yes (%)**	**No (%)**	**Yes (%)**
1. As a permanent member of an EU body (e.g. Economic and Social Affairs committee; Social Business Europe; etc.)				
Migration field (N=10)	90	10	90	10
Unemployment field (N=10)	70	30	70	30
Disability field (N=10)	100	0	100	0
Total (N=30)	87	13	87	13
2. *As an organisation consulted during specific policy procedures (EP and EC consultations, etc.)*				
Migration field (N=10)	40	60	40	60
Unemployment field (N=10)	50	50	50	50
Disability field (N=10)	70	30	70	30
Total (N=30)	53	47	53	47
3. *As a permanent member of national policy making procedures*				
Migration field (N=10)	60	40	60	40
Unemployment field (N=10)	60	40	60	40
Disability field (N=10)	60	40	60	40
Total (N=30)	60	40	60	40
4. *As an organisation consulted during specific policy making procedures at national level*				
Migration field (N=10)	20	80	20	80
Unemployment field (N=10)	40	60	40	60
Disability field (N=10)	30	70	30	70
Total (N=30)	30	70	30	70
5. *As a permanent member of sub-national policy making procedures*				
Migration field (N=10)	40	60	40	60
Unemployment field (N=10)	30	70	30	70
Disability field (N=10)	40	60	40	60
Total (N=30)	37	63	37	63
6. *As an organisation consulted during specific policy making procedures at sub-national level*				
Migration field (N=10)	20	80	20	80
Unemployment field (N=10)	30	70	40	60
Disability field (N=10)	0	100	0	100
Total (N=30)	17	83	20	80
Total Average (N=30)	47	53	48	52

Conclusion

Our analysis has focused on the various types of events and campaigns through partnerships and collaborations that the TSOs have developed in order to better support the target groups of this research (refugees/asylum seekers/migrants, unemployed, people with disabilities), on

interviewees' perception of their organisation's engagement in transnational solidarity, on associational ecologies of solidarity and, finally, on infra-organisational relationships and relationships between TSOs and political institutions.

Results of interviews clearly show the differences and similarities of approaches, type of solidarity provided, perceptions of transnational engagement, activities and organisational traits across the three sectors.

In terms of transnational campaigns, we found through the course of our interviews that the TSOs appeared to run along a spectrum of some (the majority) who were quite involved at the transnational level to others who were barely involved in transnational collaborations. From this point of view, there is not a significant difference among the three sectors, although as was foreseeable, international involvement is more widespread in the migration sector. In fact, the interviews confirm our principal hypothesis: That organisational features are very important to engage in transnational actions, given that the most formalised and richest Italian TSOs, are those mostly engaged transnationally, regardless of the issue-field. Indeed, most of the TSOs we interviewed are formal and institutionalised and (consequently) most of them are active at the transnational level, and half of them at the EU level. Organisational resources are also important to develop collaboration ties among organisations: indeed, as shown by the network analysis, the central players in each issue-field are formal and institutionalised national associations or umbrella organisations (or at least local organisations with a formalised structure which are part of local and national consortia/networks). Collective actions, indeed, require organisational resources (Hirsch, 1986), usually in the form of personnel and finances (Kriesi, 2007).

When asked about the reasons for being connected to other organisations and carrying out joint campaigns, almost all of the TSOs, regardless of their field, mentioned the possibility of having their voices heard more effectively. These arguments are also used to explain their membership of EU-wide umbrellas and networks.

Another interesting result that emerges from the analysis is that the overall high level of involvement in international actions does not occur at the expense of national or local levels of action, but various levels of action are often complementary, as shown by the fact that the organisations which are the most active at the international level (i.e. TSOs in the migration field) are also the most active at the local level. This is consistent with the type of services provided by migration-related TSOs: The latter not only carry out national and international campaigns for migrants' civil and political rights, but also focus on contributing towards meeting the urgent needs of migrants/refugees, and this occurs at the local level, for instance managing reception centres.

Looking at main activities carried out by TSOs to achieve their aims, there seemed to be two different paths which these TSOs took: On the one hand, a focus on awareness raising campaigning and lobbying target groups; on the other hand, organisations which were involved in delivering services directly to their beneficiaries. As for this latter point, all the TSOs we interviewed (except one) provide some kind of service and in this regard, most of the TSOs across the three fields are definitely characterised by a non-contentious and pragmatic approach. Consistently with this latter point, most of the TSOs have been involved in some form of institutional consultation (especially at

national and sub-national level) and most of our respondents, regardless of the issue-field, are inclined to collaborate with public authorities, primarily municipalities and regions. This finding is consistent with the fact that our sample's TSOs are particularly active at the local level.

Looking at the type and frequency of service provision in the last two years, we can note that providing assistance to access the welfare system (health care, education etc.), assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.), assistance in education services and in employment seeking are the most frequent types of service provision among TSOs. These data confirm that TSOs can offer a crucial complementary component to welfare state action and in times of economic crisis and austerity, such complementary welfare activities have proven to be crucial in enforcing at least some of the social and civil rights to which disadvantaged groups are entitled (Baglioni and Giugni, 2014).

Despite the aforementioned similarities, our data confirm also our second hypothesis, that solidarity attitudes, practices, and actions are strongly influenced by the policy domain the TSOs are active in (Warren, 2001). This is confirmed in particular by the fact that, as we hypothesised in accordance to the literature (Schianchi, 2014), collaboration ties in the disability field are less widespread compared to the other issue-fields, with a trend towards collaborations among associations caring for similar disabilities and/or being members of the same national or international umbrella they belong to.

Furthermore, regarding services delivered by organisations across the three sectors, a clear distinction between the migration field and the other two fields emerges: compared to TSOs in the other two fields, migration-related TSOs provide more frequent assistance in housing and shelter, financial support, in-kind support, legal assistance, assistance in education services, and even assistance in employment seeking. This means that in the migration field, given the pressure exacerbated by the refugee crisis on reception facilities and on national and local public services, civil society organisations have been involved by public authorities in the provision of vital services usually delivered by state or local agencies. As stressed by the literature (Ambrosini, 2013a; 2013b), this latter point signals the fundamental role played by TSOs in securing and guaranteeing migrants/refugees/asylum seekers' fundamental human rights, such as the right to a home and a dignified life, the right to work and civil rights.

Other evidence that emerges from our interviews and from the network analysis is that many TSOs in the unemployment field expand their activities beyond their primary field of engagement as regards awareness raising campaigns, lobbying and services provision. This can be explained by the fact that in the unemployment field, there are trade unions, social cooperatives and anti-poverty networks dealing not only with unemployed, but also with other vulnerable groups within society such as migrants and people with disability. Similarly, a certain number of migration-related organisations (especially social cooperatives and religious organisations) are also engaged in solidarity actions towards the disabled and/or the unemployed. We might be tempted to assume that a broader scope mission would entail a larger organisation's network and more frequent collaborations with partner organisations. However, we learn from the literature (Alexander, 1995: 317) that the relationship between mission scope and network characteristics is more complicated than a simple observation, since the way the mission scale and type affect the collaboration

network in both quantity and quality is complex and multifaceted. Our sample is too small to inquire in such complexity, and further, more in-depth research is required to draw reasonable conclusions. Yet we cannot abstain from observing that this seems an interesting analytical perspective.

References

Alexander, E. R. (1995). *How organizations act together: Interorganizational coordination in theory and practice*. Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach Publishers.

Ambrosini, M. (2013a). "Fighting discrimination and exclusion: Civil society and immigration policies in Italy". *Migration Letters 10*(3): 313.

Ambrosini, M. (2013b). "Immigration in Italy: Between economic acceptance and political rejection". *Journal of international migration and integration 14*(1): 175-194.

Ataç, I, Rygiel, K., and Stierl, M. (2016). "Introduction: The Contentious Politics of Refugee and Migrant Protest and Solidarity Movements: Remaking Citizenship from the Margins." *Citizenship Studies 20*(5): 527-544.

Baglioni, S. (2010). "The role of civil society actors in the contentious politics of unemployment". In M. Giugni (ed.) *The Contentious Politics of Unemployment in Europe* (pp. 127-151). UK: Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Baglioni, S., and Giugni, M. (2014). "Civil Society, Unemployment and Precarity in Europe: An Introduction". In S. Baglioni and M. Giugni (eds.) *Civil Society Organisations, Unemployment, and Precarity in Europe. Between Service and Policy* (pp. 1-10). Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Bollen, K. A., and Hoyle, R. H. (1990). "Perceived cohesion: a conceptual and empirical examination". *Social Forces, 69*(2): 479–504

Defourny, J., and Nyssens, M. (2010). "Conceptions of social enterprise and social entrepreneurship in Europe and the United States: Convergences and divergences". *Journal of social entrepreneurship*, *1*(1): 32-53.

Diani, M. (2013). "Networks and social movements". *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of social and political movements*.

Diani, M., and McAdam, D. (Eds.). (2003). *Social movements and networks: Relational approaches to collective action*. Oxford University Press.

Ferrera, M. (1996). "The 'Southern model' of welfare in social Europe". *Journal of European social policy*, 6: 17-37.

Ferrera, M. (2008). “Dal welfare state alle welfare regions: la riconfigurazione parziale della protezione sociale in Europa”. *Rivista delle politiche sociali*, 3: 17–49.
Hanneman, R. A., and Riddle, M. (2005). *Introduction to social network methods*. Riverside, CA: University of California.

Hirsch, E. L. (1986). “The Creation of Political Solidarity in Social Movement Organisations”. *The Sociological Quarterly, 27*(3): 373–387

Kriesi, H. (2007). “Organisational Resources: Personnel and Finances,” in W. Maloney and S. Rossteutcher (eds), *Social Capital and Associations in European Democracies*, London: Routledge.

Laat, M., Lally, V., Lipponen, L., and Simons, R.-J. (2007). “Investigating patterns of interaction in networked learning and computer-supported collaborative learning: A role for Social Network Analysis”. *International Journal of Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning, 2*(1): 87–103.

Maggini, N. and Federico, V. (2016). “Chapter 8 Italy”, in “Innovative practices of transnational solidarity”, Report for the Work Package n. 2 of the research project “TransSOL – European paths to transnational solidarity at times of crisis: Conditions, forms, role models and policy responses”, November 2016: 203-225.

Montero, A. L., and Baltruks, D. (2106). “The impact of the refugee crisis on local public social services in Europe”, The European Social Network Briefing Paper, United Kingdom.
OECD (2017). “Who bears the cost of integrating refugees?”. *Migration Policy Debates n. 13*, Paris: OECD Publishing.

Otte, E., and Rousseau, R. (2002). “Social network analysis: a powerful strategy, also for the information sciences”. *Journal of Information Science, 28*(6)*:* 441–453.

Patulny, R.V. and Svendsen, G.L.H. (2007) “Exploring the social capital grid: bonding, bridging, qualitative, quantitative”. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 27*(1/2): 32–51.
Putnam, R.D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Putnam, R.D., and Goss, K.A. (2002). ‘Introduction’, in R. Putnam (ed.) *Democracies in Flux. The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society* (pp. 1–19). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rempel, M. W., and Fisher, R. J. (1997). “Perceived Threat, Cohesion, and Group Problem Solving in Intergroup Conflict”. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, *8*(3): 216–234

Schianchi, M. (2014). “Associations of people with disabilities in Italy: A short history”. *Modern Italy, 19*(2): 121-133.

Schmidt, C. (2014). “The analysis of Semi-structured Interviews”, in U. Flick, E. von Kardoff, and I. Steinke (eds.) *A companion to qualitative research* (pp. 253-258). London: Sage.

Schmitter, P. C., and Streeck, W. (1999). “The organization of business interests: Studying the associative action of business in advanced industrial societies”, MPIfG discussion paper, No. 99/1.

Skocpol, T., Ganz, M., and Munson, Z. (2000). “A nation of organizers: The institutional origins of civic voluntarism in the United States”. *American Political Science Review*, *94*(3): 527-546.

Thompson, W. R., and Rapkin, D. P. (1981). “Collaboration, Consensus, and Détente: The External Threat-Bloc Cohesion Hypothesis”. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 25*(4): 615–637

Warren, M. E. (2001). *Democracy and association*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wasserman, S., and Faust, K. (1994). *Social network analysis: Methods and applications* (Vol. 8). Cambridge university press.

Transnational solidarity in Polish civil society

Klaudyna Szczupak and Janina Petelczyc (University of Warsaw)

Introduction

This report is based on the findings from 30 structured interviews with representatives from transnational solidarity organisations (TSOs) located in Poland in the fields of migration (10), disability (10) and unemployment (10). For the most part, the organisations we interviewed were foundations, associations or unions. The organisations were based in Poland, mostly in Warsaw, however we also included organisations from Łódź, Otwock, Gdańsk, Głosków, Marki, Bystra. Our respondents took on many roles in these organisations, from presidents/leaders/directors of the organisation, to project coordinators, legal experts, spokespeople or secretaries. The summary of our findings is presented in this report. The first part of the report provides general findings about the types of events and campaigns that our organisations participated in and the conflicts they encountered. There appeared to be general hesitancy with regards to questions about participation in national and international campaigns among some of our respondents, however, when prompted, they did recall some campaign participation. They provided a variety of different work at both levels (transnationally and nationally) however, there was some doubt regarding whether this work could be referred to as "campaign work". Overall, participants said that they were happy with the cooperation on both levels and that few problems were encountered. Furthermore, almost all participants understood their work as a form of solidarity. The second part of the report shows the associational ecology of solidarity and provides such information about our organisations as "introductory information about organisations", "main activities and strategies" and "membership composition".

Events and Campaigns as Opportunities of Organised Solidarity

Participation in National and International Campaigns

One of the questions we asked during our interviews was about the level of involvement in national and international campaigns. During our interviews with migration-asylum TSOs, the initial answer was often that these organisations were not involved in any campaigns. However, after being further prompted, some organisations did elaborate; organisations were initially hesitant to answer this question. Some of our respondents said that they had been involved in many projects which were similar in nature to the idea of "campaigns", however, they would not refer to them as campaigns. One respondent said that:

> *"…I'm not sure if this could be called a campaign but we took part in events associated with the 'Solidarity with Migrants Day'"* (ID 200).

Another respondent said:

"*…we do a lot of things but most of them are not so much "campaigns" as involvement in certain forms of monitoring along with other organisations"* (ID 214).

Out of the organisations we interviewed, fewer than half said that they have not been involved in any national or international campaigns or that they do not recall any recent involvement in campaigns. One respondent said that they cannot lead or participate in campaigns because of their legal status. This organisation was a German Foundation with a branch in Poland. In Germany, organisations lead and organise many campaigns, however, the role of its branch in Poland is to support other organisations which lead campaigns instead of directly being engaged in them. A second organisation, when prompted and further asked about their involvement in international campaigns began to explain that recently their involvement in campaigns is limited and that they do not want to provide false information. Furthermore, the representative of the TSO said that:

"*…it depends on our definition of campaigns"* (ID 191).

Finally, one organisation clearly stated that they are part of a network but are not involved and do not plan on being involved in campaigns because their actions are more ad hoc. The remaining organisations, which did report involvement in national and international campaigns, mostly underlined that these campaigns were informational and that their main goals were to raise awareness. The main aims of our migration TSOs were: to educate migrants about their rights, to raise awareness in the public sphere about the problems of migrants in this country, to raise awareness about the global migration crisis, to advocate individual rights and anti- discriminative laws, etc. In general, over half of our TSOs were able to elaborate on their participation in campaigns and provide the main goals of these campaigns. They mentioned that the aims, strategies and reasons for joining both national and international campaigns were similar, however, fewer organisations s took part in international than national campaigns.

Respondents who represented TSOs working in the field of disabilities often said that they took part in campaigns both nationally and internationally. Only a few TSOs said that they had not been involved in any national campaigns and international campaigns. Again reoccurring in the field of disabilities was the problem of defining "campaign"; one respondent said that they had been involved in a campaign called EUROPLAN (a European project whose aim is to spread knowledge within member states about rare diseases) but then quickly underlined that this was a project, not a campaign. One respondent said that: "*…campaigns are usually understood as large projects with the media involved and such"* (ID 197).

They went on to add that they are not interested in these types of events. The respondent said that their main goal is promoting healthy lifestyles for children mainly with heart diseases, as well as advocating for prenatal tests. A second organisation said that they do not participate in campaigns because this is not the goal of their organisation; furthermore, that campaign participation is very hard for them for the simple reason that all their members are in wheelchairs. Another respondent said that the reason they do not participate in campaigns is because they focus strictly on one type of "rare disease" and there are no campaigns specifically geared towards it. Out of the organisations that participated in campaigns, most of them stated that the main theme of their campaigns was

access to health care services, as well as providing information, raising awareness and educating people about diseases and disabilities. In comparison to TSOs belonging to the other two fields, organisations in this field often provided very similar answers when asked about national and international campaigns. For example, a few organisations mentioned that at the national level, they have been involved in a national day for Rare Diseases and when asked about their campaign involvement at the international level, they mentioned the same event, however in a larger international context. This suggests that our disability TSOs' national campaigns are cooperating with international campaigns. One thing that distinguished the campaigns in which our disability TSOs were engaged from the other two groups of organisations, was that the beneficiaries of these campaigns were primarily at the national level.

Similarly, respondents from TSOs working in the field of unemployment were unsure what can and what cannot be considered a campaign; they often invoked different forms of cooperation and projects with other organisations with similar goals to those of campaigns. These organisations participated in campaigns with a much broader variety of themes both nationally and internationally. The main reason for such a diversity of campaigns is the fact that a huge part of interviewed organisations consisted of trade unions and cooperatives that have in their statutes more than just one purpose, and often consider society as a system of connected vessels. In this context, Polish organisations do not differ in relation to others in this field. In times of economic crises and a diminishing role of labour organisations, trade unions as well as other socio-occupational organisations change their role and try to reinvent themselves. Traditional roles are unsuitable to the current context (Costa, 2016). Therefore, they assume that in order to fight against unemployment every other field needs to be well developed. Some of the recurring themes of national campaigns for our unemployment TSOs were: for youth in the labour market, against poverty, trade without exploitation, against the reform of public education (stating that this reform threatens Polish teachers because it may lead to their unemployment), for the rights of Ukrainian workers in Poland, Black Protest (for women's rights), against the rise of racism, for better legislation for cooperatives, anti-human trafficking, lowering the retirement age, increase of minimum wage, introduction of European equal minimum salary, etc. The themes of national and international campaigns were similar, however. Campaigns in the country were more often concentrated on the process of democratisation, defence of human rights and the fight against racism, especially after the 2015 election when the new government began to rule. Interviewed organisations in this area are also a good example of intersections of different fields. For example, the campaign for workers' rights for Ukrainian migrants in Poland answers to the needs of workers, the unemployed and migrants, as well. Some of the organisations conducted activities in favour of Polish workers in foreign countries which shows that simple divisions into a category of "the vulnerable" may be insufficient.

There is no doubt that some differences and similarities exist between engagement in campaigns across our three sectors, as well as at the national and international level. One very important, common finding across all levels of analysis was that there was definitely a hesitancy with regards to defining whether or not specific actions and events could be regarded as campaigns. This was the case across all three sectors and at both levels. Often, there was some confusion about whether specific events that organisations organised and took part in were projects or whether they were campaigns. When it comes to the aims, strategies and reasons for joining, most of our TSOs had

similar answers. The most popular aim of campaigns at all levels was raising awareness, educating and providing information about current problems and issues. In all three cases, national campaign involvement seemed to be more common and active than involvement in international campaigns, however, most TSOs active at the national level were also active at the international level. As mentioned earlier, both migration and unemployment TSOs had campaigns addressing the issues and needs of beneficiaries who were not polish (Ukrainian workers in Poland, refugees, international aid), and TSOs in the field of disability focused more on the needs of Polish patients. Furthermore, at all levels and across all sectors, respondents stated that they were involved in campaigns along with other NGOs, umbrella organisations, network organisations (such as EURORDIS, EDRi, ORPHAN), as well as public institutions and actors.

Campaign Involvement – Challenges and Conflicts

We asked organisations to elaborate on their involvement in campaigns and describe any challenges or conflicts they encountered, as well as any differences they saw at the national and international level. Respondents from organisations in the field of migration said that their experiences were positive overall, and that work went smoothly at both the national level and international level. Many of the organisations had no problems or conflicts. They did, however, mention that similar to all types of events, there are definitely aspects that could and should be worked on. One organisation mentioned that although there were no conflicts or problems, they tried to stay away from national campaigns because national campaigns tended to be politicised and the organisation wanted to remain apolitical. Two of our organisations stated that one problem they saw with national campaigns was that some organisations working in the field of migration were not capable of cooperating with others, and that they tried to gear campaigns in a way that would maximize their own gains even if this was at the cost of caring about the interests of beneficiaries. The problem of competitiveness is connected with political problem, after the parliamentary election of 2015 won by the Law and Justice Party may be interpreted as a continuation of an ideological division among Polish civil society organisations, as described by Bassoli and Theiss (2014). One organisation stated:

> *After the election in 2015, we have fewer members and workers. The whole sector is eradicated. There is no motivation to act. And there are people with whom we do not want to work anymore. The propositions of support from government are a parody. There is now also more competition than cooperation - because we are all applying for the same, much lower, means. Antagonism has begun (*ID 206).

Some respondents said that there are TSOs which are more concerned with publicity than the wellbeing of their beneficiaries. One major difference that organisations showed between national and international cooperation was that the nature of campaigns is very different nationally and internationally. The problems they face at the national and international levels are completely different and therefore, the focus of the same campaigns, organised and led by the same organisations at different levels adopt different aims and methods. Furthermore, international organisations with which our TSOs have cooperated were sometimes older and bigger and have

greater workloads and more tasks. One respondent said that when cooperating with international organisations:

> "…*you use one tongue and you have similar experiences, which allows for greater mutual understanding"* (ID217).

Similarly, to migration TSOs, organisations in the field of disability had positive overall experiences with international and national cooperation. Many of the researched TSOs said that they have had many positive experiences at the national and international levels, and that everyone is eager and willing to cooperate to reach their common goal. Furthermore, one organisation mentioned that:

> "… *Everything we do is in the interest of people who take part in them [the campaigns] and we want to avoid any problems or conflicts"* (ID199).

Of course, organisations did mention some minor misunderstandings and conflicts, however, they said these were nothing serious. When asked about conflicts and cooperation at the international level, and how it compared to the national level, many provided various reasons for these differences across the two levels. One of the main differences was that Poland is further behind when it comes to the disability sector, with regards to things such as treatment, diagnosis and health care, and is closed to new problems and campaigns at the national level, and has to deal with issues and problems that other European countries have already identified and overcome. One organisation mentioned that campaigns at the national level provide more ad hoc help to sick children, as opposed to international campaigns which, according to the respondent, provide no help at all. A further organisation said that national campaigns focus mainly on sharing knowledge and exchanging information while international campaigns provide financial and technical help and support. Yet another organisation stated that when it comes to international campaigns, everything is already laid out and prepared, while for national campaigns, it is up to the organisation to prepare and organise everything. Furthermore, there is little financial help available for informational campaigns which aim to raise awareness, and when the funding is different nationally and internationally, so are the cooperation and types of problems and conflicts that arise.

Cooperation has both good and bad sides for the TSOs working in the field of unemployment and the labour market. Almost all of the TSOs participate in different projects with other organisations and they are satisfied when evaluating it by means of accomplished goals. Our interviewees mentioned that:

> *"…When acting for particular purposes and ideas, there is no problem and experiences are good,* or *we cooperate without any problem, as the idea of helping people in need (poor, unemployed, homeless) is the most important"* (ID 205).

It is interesting that these TSOs are cooperating with many differentiated organisations with diverse roots like: Other organisations, co-ops, foundations, trade unions, associations of teachers, parents, private and public schools and political parties. However, the problems that were evoked could be divided into three. The first is sense of underestimation:

"…There is conviction about the superiority of companies over social co-ops, and the mainstream of organisations do not like social cooperatives. There is also the cleavage between the "old" cooperatives and new social cooperatives" (ID 183).

The second source of conflicts at the national level is different vision of strategies:

"…Our organisations' actions have different strategies, different opinions on various matters, especially regarding politics. But when the purpose is common, cooperation is good, or *there are small conflicts when it comes to budgets or selection"* (ID 204).

The third, and biggest problem mentioned by TSOs was political conflicts after the election of 2015:

*But since the new government came into power relations have been more complicated, and people and organisations are more divided into supporters and opponents. This government has divided society. Therefore, cooperation is now more challenging. Creating a coalition for workers and unemployed persons' rights is difficult. With one organisation we have an open conflict; there is no more possibility of cooperating (*ID 185).

Another interviewed stated:

"The election in Poland in 2015 started deep divisions and made it impossible to cooperate with organisations that had worked together before" (ID 190).

It is particularly interesting that this organisation, which was most often referred to as one with which it is no longer possible to work – is the one that finds cooperation more easily now than before:

"…Before [2015 –JP] the problems were bigger; every organisation wanted its ideas to be implemented as well as every organisation wanted to subordinate agenda to its own wishes. Right now we are starting discussions on the easiest, most basic things [like pay rises] on which all the cooperating parties agree" (ID 204).

Cooperation at the international level was regarded in general as positive, and organisations felt that they were treated as equal partners.

"…There is no problem and no conflicts in international cooperation. All the organisations with which we cooperate share the same values and we support each other" (ID 201).

However, there are also problems at this level. Firstly, a number of the organisations found that they are too small and are not treated as real partners. Moreover, the distance between organisations makes this cooperation more symbolic than real. One of the respondents pointed out that:

"…There are some cultural differences in the international cooperation" (ID 190).

Representatives of this CSO stressed different traditions and some ideological divergences between its organisation and others. For example, they do not support labour organisations in non-democratic countries, because democracy for them is more important and treated as a starting point for labour rights:

> *"…Because we find that it is counterproductive. When we support them, we support those governments. It is not the labour rights, unemployment protection but democracy that is a key value that starts everything"* (ID 190).

Another complained about the length of the process:

> *"…It takes six or seven years after starting to cooperate to finish the issue"* (ID 204).

Looking at organisations' involvement in campaigns, we have found that more than half of the TSOs in each policy field are involved in campaigns (seven in the field of migration, six in the field of disability and eight in the field of unemployment). However, the description of campaigns provided by organisations suggests that in most cases, they had a relatively limited scope. Organisations dealing with migration issues pointed to such campaigns, as: Solidarity with Migrants Day, 60th Anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, "Together in Europe", antidiscrimination campaigns or informational campaigns. In a similar manner, the organisations active in the field of unemployment gave such examples, as: "trade without exploitation campaign", "campaign to lower retirement age", EAPN campaign (indicated by two organisations).

In conclusion, cooperation across the three sectors, as well as across the two levels, was described by our TSOs as relatively positive. However, the TSOs working in the field of unemployment ambivalently evaluated cooperation at national and international level. From the one side it was perceived as smooth, especially when the organisations had the same goals, purposes, but some political problems occurred at the national level (also mentioned by migrants' organisations). At the international level for unemployment and for disability, TSOs assessed cooperation somewhat better. On the one hand, it is easier because political divisions do not exist and European organisations are already aware of health problems and issues that particular to Poland. However, the interviewees reported that they perceive the cooperation manner in international networks as not always based on partnership and the equal voice of all organisations. Some respondents pointed to their own experiences of being treated with supremacy, and maintain that some cultural differences between organisations from various countries make them hesitant to engage in international cooperation.

Solidarity

In Poland, solidarity is primarily associated with the "Solidarity" social movement and trade union that strongly contributed to the democratic transition of the country in 1989 (Kubik 2010). However, after 1989, the dominance of neoliberal policies and the growing political divisions in the country started to differ significantly from what the opposition to the communist era had hoped (Shields, 2003). Moreover, the notion of solidarity has been used by different sides of the political barricade, making its current definition somewhat opaque. Thus, when we asked our organisations whether

they saw their work as a form of solidarity, the answers varied. In general, organisations dealing with migration view their engagement in national and transnational cooperation as a form of solidarity, however, they raised some concerns. Organisations mentioned that they need to work together to fight for equal rights and to ensure their own rights because in this way everyone can be in solidarity with each other. Organisations understand solidarity as a form of partnership, a form of expressing common interests and common ideals and working together to achieve goals and common values along with other actors and people. One respondent said that:

> *"…We try to work strongly with other partners because the more of us there are, the more someone can see our actions and hear our voices"* (ID 202).

One organisation mentioned that although on the one hand, they believe that their actions are a form of solidarity, on the other hand, it is a matter of wanting and needing social change and raising awareness about social problems. This organisation also pointed to the idea that if social problems are highlighted and attention is directed to them by many actors and organisations, they benefit from

> *"…strength in numbers"* (ID 217).

One respondent stated that the term "solidarity" is very enigmatic and that they definitely would not refer to their actions as expressing solidarity:

> *"…We are not signing our names under a social problem; we are fighting this social problem" (explanation because the quote was hard to translate/transcribe directly: the organisation is actively dealing with the social problem and not just accepting its existence)* (ID 203).

When it comes to organisations dealing with disabilities almost all of our organisations said that they viewed their actions and engagement in campaigns as a form of solidarity. They mentioned that they are a group of actors from institutions and organisations that are facing the same or similar health problems. Together, they are able to share knowledge, help each other and act together to support each other. Individuals involved in these TSO were almost always personally affected by some sort of disability or health problem, and consequently they understood the needs of their beneficiaries and members. Organisations from this field further understood solidarity as a form of cooperation with medical institutions. They underlined the importance of solidarity because through cooperation they could accomplish more:

> "*If we were all dispersed and working on our own, it would be much harder to accomplish anything"* (ID 199).

For TSOs working in the field of unemployment and the labour market, "solidarity" is an important value. Almost all of the organisations mentioned it, which can be explained twofold. Firstly, our group of organisations researched in the field of unemployment included labour unions which made explicit reference to the heritage of "Solidarity" labour union (Krzemiński 2010). Secondly, in this field we could observe a strong presence of an approach which is wide-spread among Polish

organisations and is characterised as a "communitarian style" by Gliński (2006). It entails explicit reference to values of mutual help, solidarity and shared identity.

> *"…The idea of social cooperatives grows out of the idea of solidarity (...)Our slogan is 'Solidarity instead of exploitation'. Solidarity is not only a right but also a responsibility"* (ID 183).

Notwithstanding, there is no solidarity without cooperation. As one TSO stated:

> "…*Solidarity is a basic and important value, but without cooperation it cannot be fully realised"* (ID 184).

Therefore, TSOs are engaging in different cooperation in order to be more solidaristic with the weakest persons on the labour market. Even for those organisations that do not enumerate "solidarity" as a principal purpose, it was a default value:

> *Among seven most important principles and values that are subscribed to in the organisation constitution, there is no "solidarity" but it is not official because without solidarity there will be no organisation. It is a default value. People are here to help others; therefore, we can speak about solidarity even though it is not explicitly mentioned* (ID 188).

Only one TSO denied solidarity as a value on which its actions and cooperation is based saying that:

It is not solidarity that is most important. We are a religious organisation that appreciates the significance of every person's life. Each person is special, created by God, we cannot let him or her suffer. Our slogan is: "Soup-Soap-Salvation (ID 196).

Almost all of the TSOs across three sectors, to at least some extent, understood engagement in campaigns and cooperation with various different actors and institutions as a form of solidarity. There were some voices which negated that the term solidarity was an appropriate one, however this was seldom the case. In general, a clear consensus about these actions being called a form of solidarity was definitely the case for TSOs dealing with disabilities and unemployment.

The Associational Ecology of Solidarity

Introductory information about the organisations

There were no significant differences across our three sectors and across the two levels when it comes to the year when organisations were founded. The oldest organisation in our sample was founded in 1905 and has worked in the field of disability, while the youngest organisation was founded in 2015 and has worked in the field of migration. The only thing that stood out among all of our organisations was that the three oldest ones were all in the field of unemployment. Other than

that, no pattern was found between the organisation start date and the sector in which these organisations were active.

We asked our organisations about whether they were an umbrella network, a member of a federation of organisation, a member of a national organisation or a member of a network. The results are shown in Table 1. While very few of our organisations in the field of migration belong to the first three categories, eight out of ten of them said that they were members of networks. In contrast, only one organisation in each of the two remaining fields were members of networks. In total, most organisations said that they belong to a federation of organisations.

Table 1: **Are you an organisation or a group?**

	An umbrella organisation	A member of a federation of organisations	A member of a national organisation	A member of a network
Migration	0	2	0	8
Unemployment	5	4	4	1
Disability	2	8	4	1
Total	7	14	8	10

N=30

The most popular geographical level on which our organisations were active was the national level. A summary of our findings can be found in Table 2. Our migration organisations were more active on broader levels and their activity was lower for more regional/local levels. Unemployment organisations' activities, on the other hand, were relatively similar across all geographical areas. However, the most popular level of activity for our disability TSOs was the national level. This is a re recurring theme for our disability TSOs because the beneficiaries of their actions are on the whole Polish patients or Polish people diagnosed with various disabilities.

Table 2: **In which of these geographical areas is your organisation /group active?**

	At transnational level	At the European Union level	At the national level	At the regional level	At the local level
Migration	8	9	7	5	6
Unemployment	8	8	9	9	7
Disability	4	6	10	2	4
Total	20	23	26	16	17

N=30

Main Activities and Strategies

We asked organisations about their main actions used to reach their aims. Overall, the most popular action used by our organisations was "Interest representation/Lobbying institutions" (93%). At the national level "Fundraising" (95%) was one of the most popular actions, closely followed by "Interest representation/Lobbying institutions" (93%) and "Participation in legal consultations/policy-making

processes" (90%). At the transnational level, on the other hand, the overall level of activity was much lower for all activities listed. Transnationally, the most common action used to reach organisational aims was "Interest representation/ Lobbying institutions" (53%). See Table 3 for more information.

Due to the fact that organisations were asked to provide information on all the actions they use to reach their aims, we also asked respondents to tell us which action they use most frequently, within their organisation nationally and internationally. The most common answer in the national category was "Services to members" and "Participation in legal consultations/policy-making processes" in the transnational category. This finding was the same for each of our three sectors, separately. The only difference was that at the transnational level, our migrations' TSOs frequently cited "Political education of citizens/ awareness raising" as one of their main actions. Research, development and education, as well as care for others and promotion of history and democracy were among the answers respondents provided for "other".

Table 3: Main actions among those listed below used by the organisation in order to reach its aims? (%)

	YES	
	Nationally	**Trans nationally**
Mobilising members through protest, demonstrations	43	27
Mobilising members through direct actions	67	33
Political education of citizens/ awareness raising	80	30
Interest representation/ Lobbying institutions	93	53
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc.)	87	17
Services to others (e.g. clients)	47	10
Fundraising	95	30
Participation in legal consultations/policy-making processes	90	43
Other	20	13

N= 30

As presented in Table 4, researched Polish organisations were relatively often engaged in such activities as: Organising intellectual events (28 organisations were organising them at national and 19 at transnational level), educational activities (25 organisations were organising them at national and 13 at transnational level), and management or implementation of public programmes (which was done by 21 organisations at national and 12 at transnational level). Most Polish TSOs, if engaged in organising these activities at national level, have been doing them frequently – at least twice a year. Religious and political events, on the other hand, are not organised at any level by at least 2/3 of the researched organisations.

All the activities we have asked about in question 13 were organised more frequently at national than at transnational level. Looking only at transnational activities which are organised at least twice a year we can see that 12 organisations are involved in preparing intellectual events, 9 – educational events, 5 social events, 5 – political events and 5 – managing of public programmes. It needs to be emphasised that overall, these activities are organised mainly by the same group of TSOs with the 'core' of three large organisations in the field of migration and one sizeable organisation in the field of labour/unemployment issues.

Table 4: **How frequently has your organisation engaged in the following activities in the last two years?**

activities	**monthly**		**2-5 times a year**		**yearly**		**never**	
	nationally	trans-nat.	nationally	trans-nat.	nationally	trans-nat.	nationally	trans-nat.
1. Organise cultural events (concerts, exhibitions, performances, etc.)	2	1	13	1	6	8	10	18
2. Organise social events (parties, meals, fairs, dances, trips, etc.)	4	0	8	5	6	3	12	19
3. Organise intellectual events (lectures, debates, conferences, etc.)	10	4	13	8	3	5	2	11
4. Organise political events (lobbying, demonstrations, public meetings, strikes, etc.)	6	0	5	5	3	1	17	21
5. Organise educational activities (visits to museums, courses, etc.)	9	0	11	9	6	2	5	17
6. Organise sport and leisure activities (competitions, fitness courses, etc.)	4	0	6	1	6	1	13	26
7. Organise religious activities (pilgrimages, prayers, etc.)	4	0	5	1	1	0	19	26
8. Management or implementation of public programmes (social, educational cultural, etc.)?	5	3	14	2	2	3	9	18

N=30

The researched TSOs turned out to follow general pattern observed in the Polish third sector of a high engagement in providing social services, in particular in the field of activation services and social assistance (Leś et al., 2016). Twenty-four out of all interviewed organisations stated that they do provide services. We then asked respondents of those 24 organisations to elaborate on the types of services their organisation provides. "Providing legal assistance" and "Providing assistance in education services" were among the most often provided services for our organisations. Table 5 provides a summary of our findings. Some organisations provided services which were not captured

by our questionnaire. Some of these additional services were trainings, psychiatric and psychotherapeutic help, networking of organisations and support for sports' clubs.

Table 5: **How frequently has your organisation provided any of the following services in the last two years?**

Service Type	**Frequency (%)**				
	Often	**Seldom**	**Never**	**DK/NA**	**Total (%)**
Providing assistance in housing and shelter	25	21	54	0	100
Providing assistance in employment seeking	46	25	29	0	100
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (health care, education, etc.)	63	8	29	0	100
Providing financial support	29	29	42	0	100
Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.)	46	12	42	0	100
Providing legal assistance	79	21	0	0	100
Providing assistance in education services	79	13	8	0	100
Providing assistance in debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)	21	29	50	0	100
Providing assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.)	50	8	34	8	100
Other	8	8	0	84	100

N=30

The majority of our organisations which provided services stated that overall, there were more than 1,000 persons (beneficiaries) who obtained their services in the last year. In the field of migration and unemployment, close to half of the organisations had more than 1,000 beneficiaries, and in the field of disability alone, there was only one organisation with more than 1,000 beneficiaries in the last year (Table 6). We further asked if beneficiaries had to meet a required criterion to obtain such services. Twelve of our organisations said that a required criterion is present and the remaining 12 said that there was no required criterion for their beneficiaries to obtain services. In the field of migration, half of the organisations had required criterions. In the disability sector, only one organisation had required criterions and in the unemployment sector, seven out of nine organisations had required criterions for their beneficiaries. We further asked organisations to provide the required criterion their beneficiaries had to fulfil. One organisation stated that this was their "income level", two said that it was "inclusion in public programmes", one organisation said it was "citizenship" and one other stated "age". "Religion" was never chosen as a criterion for access to services. Amongst answers not provided by our questionnaire, respondents added various answers for each of the three sectors. For unemployment, the main criterion was: place of residence, membership in a trade union or social cooperative, having labour market problems and inclusion in public programmes. For migration, some of the required criterion was citizenship, being a migrant or being classified as a victim of human trafficking. Our one organisation in the disability

sector, which had a required criterion for obtaining services said that this criterion was being diagnosed with a specific disease or being a family member of a person with such a diagnosis.

Table 6: How many persons (beneficiaries) overall obtained such services in the last year?

	No beneficiaries	Less than 100	Less than 500	Less than 1000	More than 1000
Migration	0	2	2	0	4
Unemployment	0	1	2	2	4
Disability	0	2	1	3	1
Total	0	5	5	5	9

N=30

We asked our respondents about the structures of their organisations and their formal documents. Twenty-eight of our organisations had a constitution. The two that did not were organisations working in the field of unemployment. Furthermore, all of our organisations had a leader/president/chair person. Out of the 12 organisations that had international officers, seven of those organisations were organisations that worked in the field of unemployment. Unemployment organisations also most commonly had a board, and a treasurer. Migration organisations had a general assembly least often. When asked about how members of the board are chosen by organisations, more than half of our organisations choose a board from among their members. [28] The largest number of board members which one of our organisations has was 100, while the smallest board was composed of three members. Each board was composed of men and women, but only a few organisations had board members who were migrants, asylum seekers, disabled people or unemployed. In general, TSOs in the field of disability were more likely to have disabled board members and similarly, TSOs in the field of migration were more likely to have board members who were migrants. Two out of our 18 organisations stated that the distribution of people within their board was a result of an explicit policy (quota) of the organisation.

[28] One important thing to note is that some of our organisations were foundations while others were associations. In Poland, a legal distinction exists between the two, and legal acts which dictate the mandatory structures of each of the two types of organisation. The term "board" in Polish translates into two possible terms: "rada" and "zarząd". While a "rada" is only optional for both Associations and Foundations, a "zarząd" is a mandatory organ for all Foundations. In our questionnaire, we adapted the translation "rada" and we did not collect data about the characteristics of "zarząd".

Table 7: **Does your organisation have…?**

	Yes	No
A board	18	12
A Leader/President/ Chairperson*	30	0
A secretary	11	19
A spokesperson	12	18
A treasurer	19	11
A general assembly	21	9
Committees/work groups on specific issues	19	11
An international officer	12	18

N=30

* In Polish, these three terms translate into the same role, which is why for our national report we have eliminated the distinction between the three.

Membership Composition

We asked our respondents if their organisations have a record of their members- individual affiliates. Out of our 30 TSOs, 21 kept records of their members-individual affiliates and were able to give us a number, 6 organisations stated that they do not keep track of their members and 3 gave no answer. The reason for their lack of response was that, according to legal requirements for foundations functioning in Poland, foundations in Poland do not have "members". For organisations that stated that they keep a record of their members, the organisation with the least number of members had 11 members, while 600,000 members was the largest number of members provided by a labour union. All organisations that had large membership numbers – in the hundreds of thousands – were labour unions. We also asked organisations to tell us why, according to them, people join their organisation. The most popular answer overall was "For helping/assisting people" followed by "For social contacts", "For political support" came in last place. For more detailed results, please see Table 7. Organisations were also allowed to provide "other" answers. Amongst other reasons were: For complex care for the whole family, for work protection, for prestige, for rights' protection, for self -help and for exchange of knowledge, information and experience, to build knowledge and information, to develop, to share experiences, to voice the needs of patients. About half of our organisations had formal requirements for membership and the most often occurring requirement was "Paying membership fees", but other requirements included: Signing a membership declaration, knowing a foreign language, being an employee in a specific field (lawyer, teacher, etc.).

Table 8: **According to your experience, why do people join your organisation?**

	Migration	Unemployment	Disability	Total
For political support	2	1	0	3
For financial support	1	2	2	5
For legal/judiciary support	2	6	3	11
For social contacts	2	8	4	14
For helping-assisting people	6	7	6	19
Other	8	8	5	21

N=30

We also asked organisations about paid staff and volunteers. Twenty-five of our organisations had full-time staff, while the maximum number of full-time employees provided by one of our organisations was 4,150 people, the most occurring answer was seven full-time workers. Eighteen of our organisations had staff working part time, and the maximum number of employees was 4,150 workers, the most frequent answer was three part-time workers. Respondents were asked what share of their work in percentages is done by volunteers. Twenty-six organisations relied on volunteer work out of which five relied only on volunteer work. The average percent of reliance on volunteer work across our organisations was 40%. Across the three sectors, all of our disability TSOs relied on the work of volunteers, nine of our migrations TSOs and only five of our unemployment TSOs. Among the organisations which did rely on the help of volunteers, an average of 29% of the work of migration TSOs, 51% of the work of unemployment TSOs, and 50% of the work of disability TSOs was done by volunteers.

Size, Facilities and Finances

Only five organisations said that since 2010, their organisation has experienced a severe retrenchment of funding or available sources. Thirteen organisations experienced limited retrenchment, and twelve organisations said that they did not experience retrenchment. Table 8 presents the retrenchment statistics across the three sectors.

Table 9: Since 2010, has your organisation experienced a retrenchment in funding or available resources?

	Migration	Unemployment	Disability	Total
No retrenchment	4	3	5	12
Limited retrenchment	3	6	4	13
Severe retrenchment	3	1	1	5

N=30

When it comes to finances, we wanted to know what the most recent annual operating budgets were. Table 10 provides details about the operating budgets across our three sectors.

Table 10: Could you please tell us what the more recent annual operating budget of your organisation was using the scale below?

	Migration	Unemployment	Disability
Less than € 50,000	1	1	4
Less than €100,000	1	0	2
Less than €200,000	0	0	1
Less than €500,000	3	1	0
More than €500, 000	3	3	2
DK	1	4	0
Refusal	1	1	1

N=30

We were interested in knowing about the financial sources of organisations' budgets and we asked respondents to indicate from a provided list of sources which ones contribute to their budget. The most relevant source of funding for our organisations was not provided in our list and when asked, respondents mentioned sources such as: 1% donated during annual tax returns by citizens, donations from other larger organisations, and donations from local and regional governments. This reveals the specificity of the researched TSOs, as studies on civil society organisations in Poland show that local government funds are major funding sources of the third sector (Nałęcz et al., 2015). Contrary to these findings, 23 organisations in our sample stated that financing from federation or umbrella organisations was irrelevant for their budgets. Fairly relevant were donations from individuals and returns from fund- raising events.

Table 11: **Could you tell us about your financial source by indicating from the list below how each source contributes to your budget**?

	Irrele-vant	Fairly Relevant	Very Relevant
Returns from fund raising (events, sales of goods/services, etc.)	10	14	6
Membership fees	15	7	8
Donations from individuals	6	15	9
Sponsorship from companies/firms	13	11	6
Finance from federation or umbrella organisations	23	4	3
Grants from national government	12	7	11
EU grants	10	10	10
Other sources	2	3	12

N=30

Solidarity as an Interactive Process: Political and Social Embeddedness

In line with the analysis of the organisational dimensions, we have also focused on the inter-organisational setting of the organisations in each field, which we have measured through the TSOs' network embeddedness and relational patterns. We use social network approaches to better understand how the associations get and give information, with whom they collaborate, and the variety of forms these networks of relationships could take. SNA allows us to account for the pattern of interactions between the associations. In this section, we will perform a descriptive analysis of the collaborative relationships between the associations interviewed in each field, studying some nodal traits (at the TSOs' level) and network traits (at the field level).

Data and Methods

As presented in Table 12, we mapped the organizations which operate in Poland in the field of disability, unemployment and migration, and which have the features of transnational solidarity organisations. The method we used was through the following hub websites (www. ngo.pl; www.eapn.eu; www.eurordis.org; and www.ecre.org) and snowballing. We aimed at including in our sample the big, key-players in each field which unfortunately was hindered by many refusals from the organisations we contacted. Finally, we conducted 30 interviews with TSO organisations (10 per field) which included a block of questions about the cooperation networks with other organisations.

Table 12: **SNA map per field**

	Disability	Unemployment	Migration
Mapped organisations	54	48	69
Mapped institutions	32	20	38
Contacted organisations	18	16	19
Interviewed organisations	10	10	10

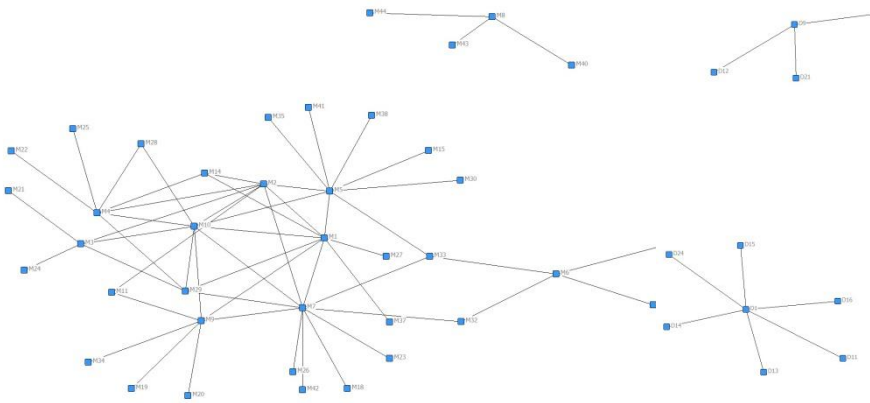
The overall analysis of the following section is focused on three matrices of collaboration, one per field. All three matrices are binary (1,0). The analysis of the networks has been done after the symmetrisation of the data. We have assumed that the collaboration ties between the interviewed TSOs are reciprocal, even though there might by a risk of overrepresentation of links. All matrices analysed are uni-mode and uni-plex – single types of node (one set of nodes) and a single type of relationship.

TSOs' networks in the field of migration, unemployment and disability – the overview

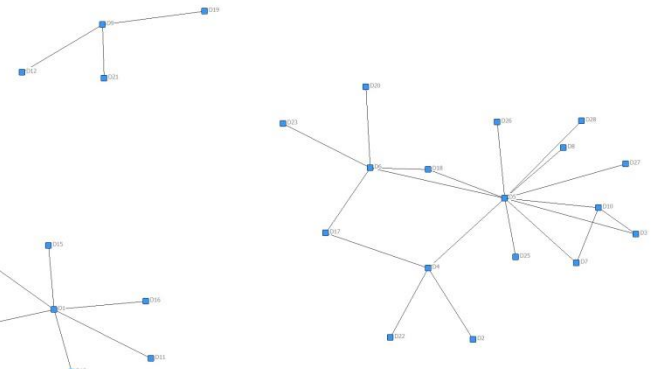
Figure 1 (below) presents a general structure of cooperation between organisations in our three researched fields. Each graph represents an issue-field network structure, with nodes (institutions and organisations within the field) and ties (relationships of cooperation between the organisations in the last two years). The diagram visualisation shows nodes as squares and collaborative ties as lines connecting the nodes which are reciprocal and undirected. As observed in Figure 1 below, the field with the highest number of collaborations between the associations corresponds to migration. Moreover, we can see that the network in the field of disability is most fragmented. This is consistent with the qualitative data collected in WP2 and the data presented in the former part of this report. Our interviewees emphasized the presence of smaller coalitions of organisations, built around specific needs of people with certain disabilities, or in certain age groups.

Figure 1**: Networks of collaborations per field**

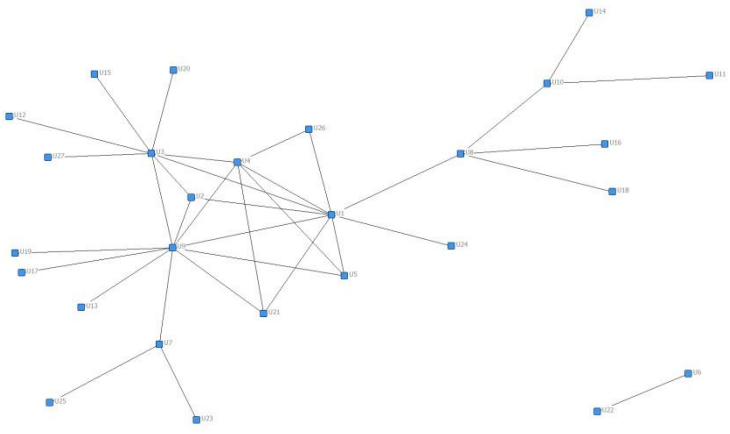
1. Migration



2. Disability



3. Unemployment



Overall, the level of connectedness of the researched networks is low. Collaboration among TSOs is highest in the field of unemployment, with the proportion of existing ties of all possible ties equaling 1.6% whereas in the field of disability, it is only 0.8%.

Table 13: Networks' main features – the comparison

	Disability	Unemployment	Migration
Size (number of nodes)	86	68	107
Number of ties	58	72	118
Components (without counting isolated nodes)	3 components	2 components	2 components
Largest component	17 nodes	25 nodes	35 nodes
Density	0.008	0.016	0.010
Centralisation[29]	0.35	0.17	0.08

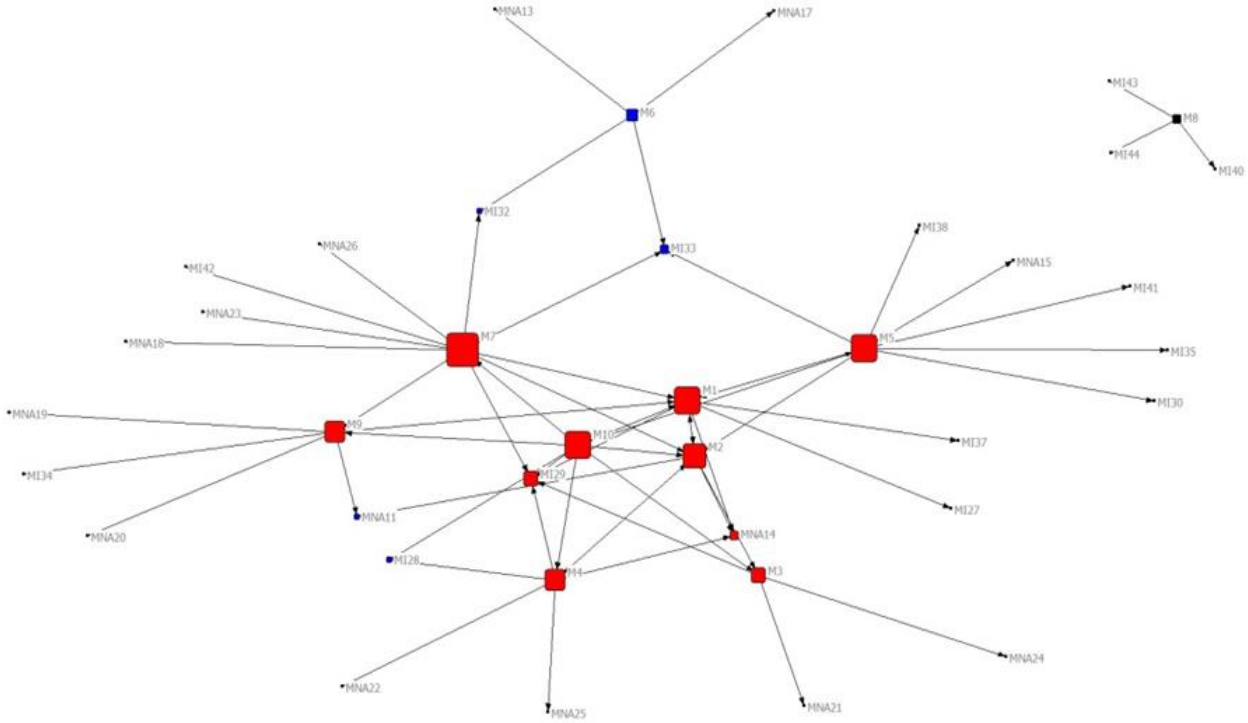
Migration field

The network of researched TSOs which operate in the field of migration consists of 107 nodes. Eight out of ten interviewed organisations (except for nodes M6 and M8) are relatively well interconnected and belong to one k-core (red colour on the second graph). However, only two reciprocal ties are present in the network (M1-M2 and M2-M4). An umbrella organisation working in the field of migration also belongs to the k-core, marked in red. (MNI 14, not interviewed), and the local government of capital city. Migration organisations seem to be interlinked at the regional level, large municipality or region being a sphere in which integration policies are implemented. This is consistent with the fact that the smaller components on the graph (top right corner) depict cooperation structures in one of the geographical regions, too. Moreover, it needs to be emphasised that the approach towards migration or even ideological affiliation of organisations in the k-core depicted in red seems to be relatively homogenous. Their understanding of solidarity is inclusive and outreaching. In contrast, the second k-core (blue) consists of a relatively conservative and charitable organisation, as well as three national-level institutions. Overall, the cooperation of the researched organisations with public institutions is relatively low. There are 14 public institutions which researched TSOs pointed to, but only three of them were named by at least two organisations.

Looking at the centrality of the nodes, we can see that four researched organisations (M7, M1, M5 and M 10) reveal a high number of outcoming and incoming ties. These TSOs belong to non-governmental key-players in the field of migration in the country, having relatively good resources,

being well recognised in the field, and having well-established cooperation patterns. These features characterise in particular three actors with the highest number of outcoming ties: M10 (12 ties), M7 (10 ties) and M5 (8 ties). The actors with the highest indegree level were two TSOs which possess specific legal knowledge and organisational skills in the field (M1 – 7 incoming ties and M2 – 6 incoming ties), as well as municipal government (M5 – 8 incoming ties).

Figure 2: Migration field (nodes' size according to centrality; nodes' colour according to k-core)



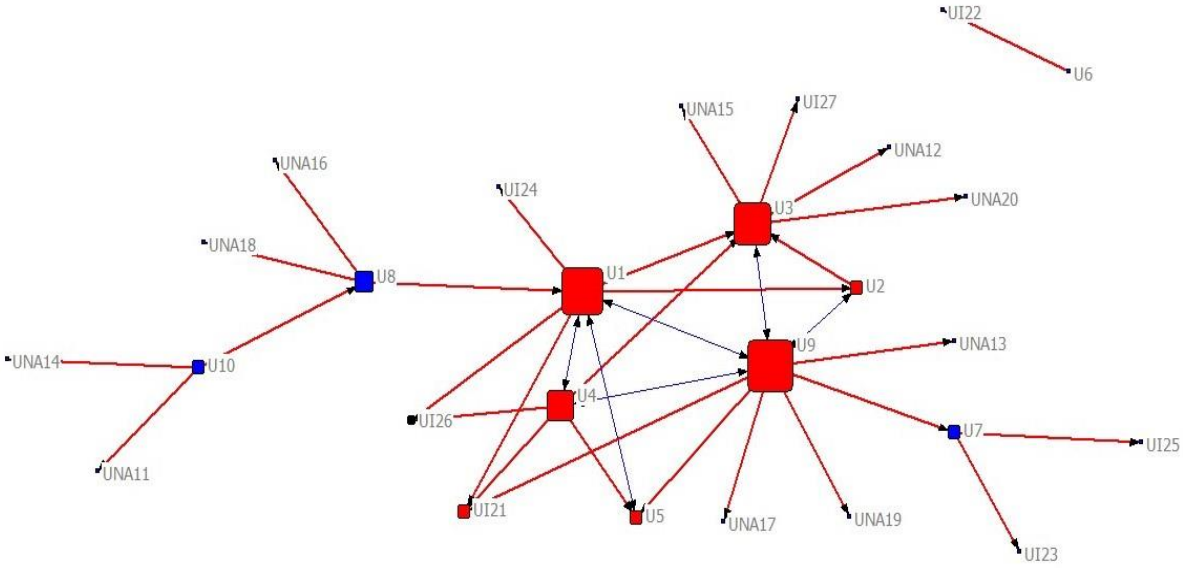
Unemployment field

In the unemployment field, we have found 68 nodes. Similarly, to the field of migration, a large share of the researched TSOs are interlinked. As presented in Figure 3, there are direct ties among our interviewees U1, U2, U3, U4, U5 and U9. In fact, the unemployment field in our study is characterised by the highest share of reciprocal relations – there are reciprocal linkages between U1 and U9, U9 and U3, U9 and U2, U1 and U5, U9 and U4 (depicted with a blue line in Figure 3) which results in a clique among interviewees: U1, U4 and U9. The high level of interconnectness among the aforementioned TSOs may be explained by the fact that all of them are national-level labour unions which share relatively similar goals and approaches to the issues of labour rights, unemployment and precarity. Apart from the biggest national labour unions, in the k-core depicted in red, there is also one fund interviewed by us (U9) and a ministry which three interviewees pointed to (UI21).

Similarly, to the field of migration, we can observe that in the second k-core (depicted in blue) there are two social alliances (U6 and U9), and two charitable organisations (U7 and U10) whose understanding of solidarity in the field significantly differs from the one represented by labour unions. With one exception (UI 21), the national-level institutions are relatively weakly connected to the network, most of them being pendants on the graph.

Three TSOs – labour unions: U9, U1 and U3 have central positions in the network. The number of outcoming ties is the highest for a big fund and simultaneously a think-tank, U9 (11 ties), and two umbrella labour unions: U1 and U4 (8 and 6 outcoming ties, respectively). The indegree level is equal for U9, U1 and U3 (four incoming ties).

Figure 3: Unemployment field (nodes' size according to centrality; nodes' colour according to k-core, colour by reciprocity)

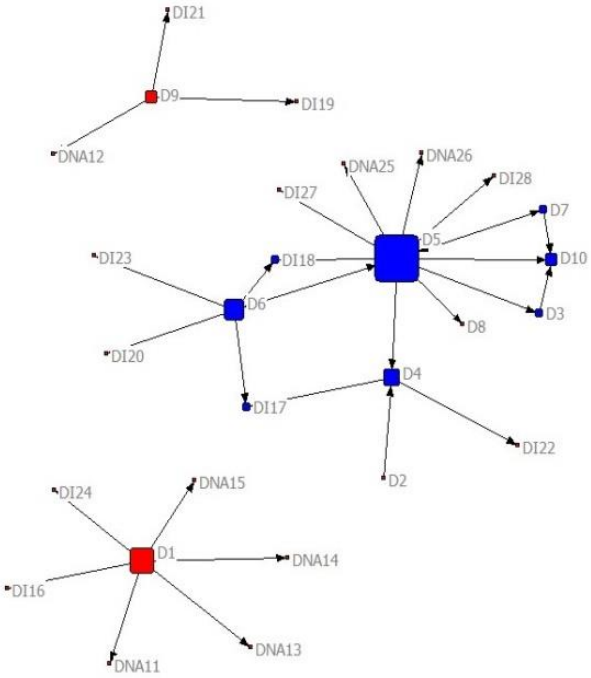


Disability field

As noted, the field of disability is fragmented in comparison to the migration and unemployment fields. The largest component consists of 17 nodes and encompasses mainly five large TSOs which deal with rare physical diseases (D5, D6, D4, D 8 and D9), whereas D5 is an umbrella organisation working in the field of rare diseases. There are only two reciprocal ties in the network, between D5 and D6, as well as between D5 and D7 organisations. The component with the central position of D1 is formed around the organisation which helps people with mental illnesses, whereas the component build around organisation D9 depicts a regional part of the network. Thus, both the regionalisation of disability policy and the diversity of goals and the specificity of organisations' work contributes to fragmentation of the network.

The TSOs with the highest number of outcoming ties are: The aforementioned umbrella organisation (D5, 11 outcoming ties), and the two keyplayers in the field of disability issues (D1 and D6, 6 and 5 outcoming ties, respectively). Overall, the indegree level is very low in the researched network – TSO 10 receives ten incoming ties, D4 and D 5 – two incoming ties. Similarly, two national institutions – the ministry and the national fund for rehabilitation, are pointed at by two interviewed organisations.

Figure 4: Disability field (nodes' size according to centrality; nodes' colour according to k-core)



Conclusion

The sample of transnational solidarity organisations researched in Poland encompassed very diverse organisations. Not only do they operate in three different policy sectors, but they also differ significantly in terms of size, resources and the level of internationalisation. Overall, the most distant subgroups were: On the one hand - small organisations working in the field of disability which employ a handful of persons, and on the other hand – the biggest national labour unions. Thus, the different outcomes for the three comparing policy fields need to be interpreted in the context of our case selection, which nevertheless may mirror organisational structures of each of the three fields.

Looking at organisations' involvement in campaigns, we have found that more than half of the TSOs in each policy field are involved in campaigns (seven in the field of migration, six in the field of disability, and eight in the field of unemployment). However, the description of campaigns provided by organisations suggests that in most cases, they were the actions of a relatively limited scope. Thus, in cases of migration and unemployment policy fields the understanding of a campaign was

close to advocacy of certain political issues, or taking part in series of protests on policy changes. Rarely were specific international campaigns named. It needs to be noted that in these two sub-samples, engagement cross-cutting issues were visible. This results from the fact that the migration and unemployment organisations we interviewed were relatively often engaged in actions for substantial social and political reforms in Poland (either supporting or opposing them) which extend sectorial policy issues. Such matters encompass: The reform of public education, proposed law on full ban of abortion, discrimination issues, or the institutional relations between government and civil society. The organisations active in the field of disability differed in this regard from organisations in the two other fields. The examples of campaigns they mentioned encompassed mainly: Health promotion campaigns, awareness-raising campaigns about rare diseases, and campaigns to improve the care of the elderly.

An interesting finding is the general declaration of our respondents that international campaigns significantly differ from national ones. Further similarities between TSOs working in the field of migration and in the field of unemployment have also occurred in regard to the campaigns' perception. In both sub-samples, the interviewees underlined that political conflict and general politicisation of the third sector in Poland, in particular after the election of 2015, significantly undermined the possibilities of broader cooperation. Competition and antagonism are more apparent. Thus, as many organisations emphasised –cooperation has become relatively easier at transnational level. This is due to more explicit shared values, less politicisation and overall more mutual understanding. In contrast, the organisations active in the field of disabilities, underlined that it is somewhat more difficult for them to engage in transnational campaigns than in national ones because of lower public expenditure on diagnosis and treatment of disabilities in Poland than in many other European countries. This leads to a situation which is perceived by our respondents as remaining behind foreign partners in terms of professionalism and aptitude to cooperate.

Most of our respondents have admitted that they recognise their organization's activity as practicing solidarity. However, different definitions of solidarity were apparent. Overall, among the organisations active in the field of migration, own actions were seen as examples of solidarity because they contribute to empowerment, granting a voice to the needy as well as advocacy for migrants' interests. In this case solidarity was primarily understood as standing for migrants' rights. In contrast, the representatives of the organisations which work for people with disabilities emphasised the common identity of the organisations in the field as well as some common identity of their members. Finally, organisations working in the field of unemployment, including labour unions, have often admitted that solidarity – mainly understood as mutual support - is one of their core values. Apart from these standpoints, a handful of organisations denied acting for solidarity purposes – usually either because of employing charitable or pragmatic-technical approach.

Analysis of organisations' activities has revealed their most frequent actions conducted at national level, as: Interest representation, providing services and political lobbying, whereas at transnational level it was: Interest representation/lobbying and legal consultations/policymaking. Moreover, intellectual and educational activities were most often organised, as well as the management of public programmes. Although all researched organisations were involved in international actions, overall we may interpret their level of engagement in transnational activities as moderate. All mentioned actions and activities were organised by the interviewed organisations much more frequently at the national level than at the transnational level. In addition, we could distinguish a

subgroup of five organisations, consisting of migration organisations and labour unions who were engaged in the most common type of transnational activities, whereas the remaining organisations were only involved in certain transnational actions.

Although some organisations indicated a growth of difficulties in their work, due to the growing level of political conflict in the country, overall the financial situation of the organisations has not significantly deteriorated in recent years. Most of the interviewees claimed they have not experienced retrenchments and most of the organisations were primarily financed thanks to a national system of 1% tax deduction which can be transferred to civil society organisations.

References

Bassoli, M., Theiss, M. (2014), Inheriting Divisions? The Role of catholic and Leftist Affiliation in Local Cooperation Networks: The Case of Italy and Poland? in Baglioni, S. & Giugni, M. G. (Eds.). (2014). Civil society organizations, unemployment and precarity in Europe. Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan, pp.175-2014

Costa A. C., Estanque E. (2016) Trade Unions and Social Movements at the Crossroads: a Portuguese View, in Grote, Jurgen R. & Wagemann, Claudius (Eds.) Social Movements and Organized Labour, Passions and Interests. Farnham: Ashgate Publishers

Gliński, P. (2006), Style działań organizacji pozarządowych w Polsce. Grupy interesu czy pożytku publicznego? [The action modes of civil society organisations in Poland. The interest groups or public good providers?], IFiS PAN, Warsaw

Krzemiński, I (2010), Solidarność – doświadczenie i pamięć ["Solidarity" – the experience and the memory]. Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, Gdańsk

Kubik (2010), The power of symbols against the symbols of power. The rise of solidarity and the fall of socialism in Poland, Pennsylvania State University

Leś, E., Nałęcz, S., Pieliński, P. (2016), Factors of Growths and Obstacles for Third Sector in Poland. Conclusions from TSI Research. Third Sector Impact. IPS UW, Warsaw

Nałęcz, S., Leś, E., Pieliński, B. (2015), Poland: A New Model of Government–Nonprofit

Relations for the East? Voluntas, 26, pp. 2351–2378

Shield S. (2007), From socialist Solidarity to neo-populist neoliberalisation? The paradoxes of Poland's post-communist transition, Capital&Class, Vol 31, Issue 3, 2007

Organisational transnational solidarity in Switzerland

Eva Fernandez and Tristan Boursier (University of Geneva)

Introduction

This report examines thirty semi-structured interviews conducted in Switzerland with transnational solidarity organisations (TSOs) across three sectors: unemployment, disability and migration. The in-depth analysis following these interviews seeks to unveil the key characteristics of the solidarity organisations based in this country, by focusing on their campaigns, events, associational ecologies and how they are embedded within organisational networks.

The TSO sample was drawn separately for each sector, 81organisations working on migration, 48organisations on disability and 40organisations on unemployment. The mapping was conducted in a two-step process. First, it combined the extracted organisations from major transnational campaigns and events in each sector at the European level; second, it targeted the umbrella organisations presented in these events and campaigns. Thenceforward from the previous Workpackage 2, the mapping was complemented with the TSOs umbrellas mapped at the national level. The TSOs were listed and randomised per field and based on that. a 10-organisation sample for each sector was drawn. Due to the top-down approach of this analysis, and the inquiry into the organisations' network embeddedness, mainly high-profile members of the associations were targeted as they were able to provide further insight into the external collaborative relationships of the TSOs. Lastly, the TSOs selected are based on the three largest linguistic regions of the country (Swiss-German, Swiss-Romande and Swiss-Italian), and located in the most densely populated Cantons with major international centres (Geneva, Zurich, Lausanne, Bale, Lugano), with relevant proportions of migrant populations and unemployed people.

Half of the contacted TSOs were created before 1989, nine were founded before 1955 and the oldest one was founded in 1901. A third of the organisations founded before 1989 considered themselves as inter-sectorial, helping the disadvantaged, poor and vulnerable people. The other two thirds of these associations correspond to unions and federal disability associations. The most recent TSO was founded in 2014 in the disability sector. The majority of the associations consider campaigns and events as crucial practices for achieving their goals. All of the TSOs interviewed, with the exception of one, are actively engaged in campaigns and events at both the transnational and national levels.

Contacting protocol and questionnaire

The TSOs were initially contacted via e-mail followed by telephone within a 4-month period (March–June 2017). Almost half of the TSOs contacted explicitly refused our request or did not respond to it. The highest rate of refusal corresponded to the disability sector while the unemployment sector was the most responsive. Most of the TSOs that refused to participate invoked their lack of resources and time, while in other studies of our project, most associations who refused to participate stated

they did not correspond to the transnational perspective of our research. Only one third of the thirty interviews were tape recorded, after previous consent was obtained. Two thirds of the interviews were conducted via Skype or over the phone and one third were face-to-face interviews. Each interview lasted an hour on average, the longest interview lasted around an hour and thirty-five minutes. Only one interview was conducted completely by chat as the interviewee had a hearing disorder. With regards to the questionnaire, various TSOs within the three fields highlighted difficulties when answering the direct beneficiaries' questions, specifically when the TSO was an umbrella organisation composed of organisational members and not individual ones.

Events and Campaigns as opportunities of organised solidarity

As expected within all three sectors, campaign and events' activities are key instruments to promote TSOs' objectives. These activities are performed at four levels: Transnationally, nationally, regionally and locally. However, regional and national campaigns are the most common ones. This is mainly a consequence of the country's political structure, linguistic cleavages and recent public funding retrenchments. In particular, TSOs within the unemployment and disability sectors have strongly voiced-out the drastic cuts and policy changes they have been subjected to. Within these two sectors, we have found the highest involvement in national campaigns. These associations have converged in mobilisation against the disability law revisions (DI revision 5 & 6), in several initiatives to insured social schemes (AVS+) and to limit fiscal flexibility (against Tax Reform III). On the other hand, migration organisations are highly represented at the local and regional level, promoting campaigns targeting the integration and inclusion of migrant populations.

In the Swiss case, we observed that migration issues are transversal compared to the other two sectors. Unemployment and disability TSOs commonly mobilise issues concerning refugees and migrant populations. Unemployment TSOs have highlighted the challenge of temporal workers' status, as well as campaigning against the mass immigration initiative of the UDC party. Migration within the unemployment sector is perceived as both an internal and external mobilising concern, an issue which is key to the labour market. Migrants in Switzerland represent 24.6% (2015) of the country's total population, and more than two thirds of the migrant population in the country are highly qualified and of suitable working age. In this sense, migrant workers have been integrated into the domestic labour force, though in some quarters they are considered an external pressure. In the disability sector, however, migration is observed as a charity/solidarity concerning mainly situations outside the national arena, or too far from their daily reality.

Campaigns and events at the EU level and beyond

With respect to Swiss TSOs' relationships with their EU partners, the TSOs maintain a high number of bilateral commitments/agreements and a low involvement in the EU-level transnational campaigns and events. Most of the TSOs take an "observer position" in the transnational campaigns and meetings. Some of the TSOs also complained of the indirect impact of European policies on the Swiss solidarity policies. Various TSOs claimed that the Swiss federal government implemented some of the EU policies a few years after their adoption and implementation across the EU member states.

This point was confirmed in particular for the TSOs working in the migration sector, and less predominantly in the disability one:

> "Transnational cooperation is strongly focused on Brussels and Switzerland is not legitimate to talk in Brussels" (Interview N.2 Migration).

The TSOs' participation at the EU level is very complex; each sector has its own particularities. In the disability field, we noticed very strong country bilateral relationships through foundations in Austria, Spain, Germany or the Netherlands. This type of cooperation was mainly found when approaching TSOs focused on rare disease. The participation of the disability organisations in EU-TSO umbrellas is mainly captured by The European Network on Independent Living (ENIL), European Fragile X network, European Blind Union and Rare Diseases Europe (EURORDIS). In contrast, very few EU-TSOs were designated as partners to collaborate within the migration sector: The Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM) and the European Alliance 2050. The particularity of the migration sector is due to a convergence of various issues (e.g. food security, development aid, climate refugees, etc.), and has had an impact on the profile of TSOs oriented towards development and cooperation, who thus consider themselves as inter-sectorial. On the other hand, the unemployment sector contains the highest number of EU-TSO umbrella collaborations with a high proportion of union federations: European Transport Workers' Federation; European Network of Social Integration Enterprises (ENSIE); Semester Alliance; European Social Workers' Union; European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). In addition, the TSOs' European collaboration in the sector of unemployment also includes a considerable number of bilateral agreements with Austrian, French and German associations. These types of bilateral agreements respond to the pressures and challenges of daily cross-border workers that cantons such as Geneva, Ticino, Basel and others have to face. Furthermore, this sector stands out due its transversal focus on migration which is clearly outlined in the latest European Union Migrant Net platform of the ETUC.

Transnational practices for most of the interviewed TSOs are constituted by congress or general committee assemblies of their umbrella organisation. In some cases, campaigning and participating in transnational events is distant, thus they act indirectly through their membership to other umbrella TSOs. In addition, collaborations are first and foremost developed with sister organisations; this is especially the case for the organisations oriented towards development and cooperation, which are service-oriented, as well.

Narratives of involvement across the three sectors

The TSOs involved across the three sectors engage in service-oriented (e.g. direct service provision and material help support) and policy-oriented (e.g. consulting, lobbying, and advocacy) solidarity practices. Most of the interviewed TSOs within the disability and unemployment sector engage in policy-oriented practices, while migration ones engage in both types of practice. The difference between these solidarity practices stands on the scope and scale of the TSOs. An important portion of the migration organisations' scope targets development aid issues, focusing on vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. In addition, these organisations also engage in practices to integrate these populations at the national and local levels. As a result, some of the provision of goods and services

are situated locally, within activities seeking to enhance endogenous development and provide emergency aid and/or material support through local solidarity networks in the beneficiaries' country of residence. Whereas in the disability and unemployment fields, the organisations' scope targets social policy outcomes at the national level, using the transnational level to leverage their voice.

When we questioned TSOs about their solidarity narratives, cooperation stands as form, an instrument and a step towards solidarity between organisations. Several TSOs view cooperation as an indirect form of solidarity, especially in the migration sector, where the provision of goods is a key practice. TSOs in the migration sector pointed out that solidarity should be a service-oriented and direct-action practices. Through cooperation, organisations indirectly increase the impact of their solidarity actions in the field. However, for various TSOs in the disability sector, cooperation is not conceived as an indirect form of solidarity, but as solidarity in itself, since cooperation represents the path to upstream the needs of their population. This is especially the case for rare disease oriented TSOs in which target populations are very small. The transnational arena is used to increase the population size and to confront national invisibility. In this sense, cooperation is an instrument for the creation and bonding of the group:

> "We choose to develop solidarity over time, based on strong cooperation rather than to build small projects in our corner" (Interview N.1 Disability).

> "We cannot develop solidarity without cooperation… Solidarity is better expressed in concrete actions, on the ground of cooperation" (Interview N.7 Disability).

In this sense, the associations advocating for the visibility and inclusion of people suffering from a rare disease condition are aware of the incumbents of their population numbers, and consider cooperation as an essential tool for their claim making. In contrast, the group bonding based on this kind of solidarity is perceived by migration associations as rare and arduous to develop. Within the migration sector, cooperation stands as an exchange of views and information. Numerous interviewees in the sector agreed on the idea that: "…cooperation aims to improve solidarity and social justice, but cooperation as direct exchange of resources between TSOs is mostly rare" (Interview N.8 Migration).

A common response to this lack of solidaristic engagement between organisations points out the market policies to mobilise resources, which enhance a competitive environment: « "…There is always antagonism, competitive thinking. A sort of market has been established for the various organisations, making it counterproductive, like TSOs measured by contracts, a criterion that hinders any kind of communality. Solidarity should be a common trait among TSOs, but is hard to achieve under these circumstances" (Interview N.9 Unemployment).

Further, the solidarity conception among the interviewed TSOs is strongly described as a relationship, which implies resources sharing and in some cases the redefinition of action frameworks. Actors in the migration sector described solidarity as support between beneficiaries, between beneficiaries and volunteers and/or other social actors. These supportive relationships of solidarity stand when redistribution and sharing programmes become burdensome, and when

acknowledging commonness in the other/s. In particular, TSOs in the unemployment sector showcased a conception of solidarity as horizontal relationships of support through actors in a common struggle: “Cooperation for fighting for a common claim is solidarity to me” (Interview N.4 Unemployment).

Challenges to organisational solidarity practices

The challenges encountered by Swiss solidarity organisations across the three sectors highlight the difficulties and opportunities given by the federal system in the policy arena. For most of the TSOs, the federal structure of the country shapes horizontal and vertical relationships of cooperation between associations. However, it also constitutes a challenge when agglutinating interests or when raising awareness. Influencing policy process at the national level demands a dense network of partnerships. This is a particularly important in the disability field where some associations have low population numbers. To negotiate and liaise on three levels demands important human and social capital resources, therefore small TSOs are encouraged to cooperate and widen their claims in order to attain visibility:

> “Among Cantons, we find a diversity of legal systems, local governments and languages. All of these issues entail sharing knowledge and best practices, when wanting to act with a national vision” (Interview N.3 Unemployment).
>
> “The flexibility for local institutions in the implementation of social policies at three political levels makes cooperation more complex” (Interview N.2 Unemployment).
>
> “It’s very important in a federalist system like the Swiss one, to liaise from canton to canton; networks are really important. However, sometimes the various levels of decision making blame each other, and their interests are divergent” (Interview N.9 Migration).
>
> In addition, TSOs are confronted with relevant differences in power and size, stakeholders’ privileged conversations with TSOs with significant bargain capital:
>
> “Cooperation is not easy at the national level. We work with associations with varied sizes, which challenges our bargaining capacity” (Interview N.7 Disability).
>
> Besides, the process of negotiation with various actors lasts for the whole duration of the policy process: “…decisions take longer because they need to be agreed by all stakeholders” (Interview N.5 Disability).

Ultimately, within the three sectors, the associations critically access the competitive market established in the solidarity field. This market logic pulls organisations to continually redefine their coalitions in the policy arena, impacting aims, objectives, strategies and leadership. An important number of the interviewees suggested that the competition between TSOs to lead the policy process on occasion can be severe because leadership is also an instrument to gain visibility and further funding.

Network embeddedness and challenges

Various associations disclosed their concerns with regards to the duality of aims in their fields. The conflicting scopes between the associations creates difficulties in the search for common identities. For instance, within the disability sector, interviewees showcased two major confronting logics of solidarity: First, a critical orientation of solidarity as charity. Some interviewees perceived charity as an old-fashioned model of solidarity which is disrespectful of human dignity, in contrast to the person model which seeks to enhance autonomy of disabled people. Second, an orientation of solidarity, based on an asymmetric relationship of support to ease the daily struggle of the beneficiaries. In the disability sector, several TSOs confronted the 'charity case issue', the vision of people with disability as charity cases, others just acknowledge it. Similarly, this kind of dissonant logic was also strongly underlined in the migration sector. The beneficiaries here are mainly perceived as 'distant others' in need of support, compared to charity cases:

> "In Switzerland, since disabled people tend to be considered "charity cases", it is difficult to find people who would want to participate in these kinds of organisations, to form a social movement. It has been proven to be a challenge to find people who want to actively engage and not just profit from the organisation's services. There is a lack of common goals and common values. Most of the diagnose-oriented TSOs see themselves as medical cases instead of people who can form movements" (Interview N.8 Disability).

As a consequence, some of the networks of collaboration are very unstable and poorly connected, which proves to be an issue when reaching out to transnational arenas. Participation in the European arena situates Switzerland in a peripheral position and in some cases, is perceived as an obstacle or irrelevant to their needs. As a result, transnational collaborations on several occasions, embody mainly events to celebrate and advocate for the sake of vulnerable communities' visibility through commemorative days, and not to forge a strong common identity. Commemorative days can be understood as an instrument for the creation of collective identities. However, these are perceived by the same actors as distant, with little impact on their daily lives. Not being seen as the product of their political participation but rather as the result of the decision of other actors, severely limits their capacity to agglutinate collective identities:

> "The EU is only a way to constrain our work. We never get funding from Europe and we never want it too" (Interview N.3 Disability).

> "Campaigning at the EU level first demands important resources, and Brussels is a horrible city for disabled people! Not at all accessible for people in wheelchairs (public transportation, buildings, etc." (Interview N.10 Disability).

Associational ecology of Swiss transnational solidarity organisations[30]

We used descriptive statistics to portray the major socio-economic characteristics of the organisations involved in solidarity actions: Their networks, resources, practices, and forms of solidarity promoted. We will focus on the actions performed by the TSOs in each field and provide a first comparative mapping of the solidarity organisation political repertoire (actions, services and strategies to achieve set aims). In this section, we describe the solidary groups studied according to certain criteria. To do so, we follow the scheme proposed by Schmitter and Streeck (1999) for the study of the organisational development of business associations, also adapted by Kriesi (1996) to describe the organisational structure of social movement organisations. This scheme distinguishes between four dimensions: domains, structures, resources, and outputs. Here we focus mainly on the first dimension, domains. This includes aspects such as activities, aims, beneficiaries and scope. Taken together, some of these aspects form the strategy of an organisation.

The organisational strategy combines goals with means to reach those goals, or action repertoires. What are the proposed routes chosen by the Swiss TSOs to reach their aims? (Table 1). At the national scale for all three sectors, raising public awareness is the privileged route, followed closely by direct actions and demonstrations or protest activities. Which suggest a relevant degree of contentiousness in terms of their action repertoire. In addition, at the transnational level, we observe an important degree of contentiousness as almost half of the TSOs have participated in demonstration activities. That said, we need to take into account that we are analysing conventional and unconventional political participation. Also at the transnational scale, lobbying and participation in the policy process are the second most relevant activities for the TSOs. In contrast, material goods and service provision are less relevant at both scales.

Table 1: Main actions used by the organisations to reach their aims

Main actions among those listed below used by the organisation in order to reach its aims? (%)	***No***	***Yes***	
		Nationally	Transnationally
Mobilising members through protest, demonstrations	21	79	45
Mobilising members through direct actions	24	76	17
Political education of citizens / awareness raising	10	90	21
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions	28	69	24
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc.)	34	62	7
Services to others (e.g. clients)	41	55	17
Fundraising	31	66	17
Participation in legal consultations / policy-making processes	41	59	21
Other	90	10	-
N29			

[30] Due to some imputation problems with the data of one unemployment organisation, the statistical analysis was performed on the basis of 29 out 30 cases. However, we have re-contacted the unemployment organisation and they will send us the completed questionnaire by the end of October, 2017.

With regards to the main actives carried out by the organisations to reach their aims, at the national level, we observe some important differences between the sectors. Direct actions are the most popular form of activity in the unemployed sector, while fundraising is very unpopular. In contrast, for the migration and disability sectors, fundraising is one of their key activities. Almost half of all the TSOs in each sector focus on the policy process participation at the national level. However, it is mainly the unemployment TSOs who engage transnationally in this type of activity. In brief, more politically-oriented activities (lobbying, policy making participation and protests/demonstrations) are less often used by Swiss migration TSOs. Likewise, when analysing the geographical scope of the organisations' activities (Table 2), TSOs are mostly active at the national and sub-national levels, whereas transnationally (the EU and outside the EU) TSOs tend to be more active at the EU level. The unemployment associations are the most active across all the geographical levels with a strong presence at the EU level.

Table 2: Geographical areas in which the organisation/group is active

In which of these geographical areas is your organisation/group active:				
	%	**Disability field #**	**Migration field #**	**Unemployment field #**
At transnational (inside and outside EU) level	34	4	3	3
At European Union level	45	4	4	5
At national level	66	7	5	7
At regional level	66	7	5	7
At local level	52	4	5	6

N29

Beyond the activities mentioned before (mobilisation, lobbying, service provision, fundraising and participation in policy making), our analysis also enquires into solidarity- oriented practices. That is, the supply of non-material and material services: Help, support and assistance between groups, help or support to others, and distribution of goods to others. As shown in Table 3, the non-material oriented services (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.) are the most common forms of support, while the material-oriented services (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.) are the least common forms of support between the organisations. In more detail, the provision of material services and goods involves: Sheltering, financial and non-financial aid, assistance in education services is more often provided by the TSOs in the migration sector (Table 4). Most of these services are scarcely provided among the interviewed organisations within the disability and unemployment sectors, except for the supply of financial support which is a relevant solidarity practice in the unemployment sector, as well. Likewise, the migration and disability TSOs frequently provide assistance, such as non-material solidarity practices (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.), while unemployment TSOs engage poorly in this type of service. Still, unemployment and migration TSOs provide legal assistance services more often than the disability TSOs.

Table 3: Type of service provision and frequency

Service Type	Frequency (%)				
	Often	Seldom	Never	DK/NA	Total (%)
Providing assistance in housing and shelter	16	28	44	12	100
Providing assistance in employment seeking	24	36	28	12	100
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (health care, education etc.)	40	16	36	8	100
Providing financial support	24	32	40	4	100
Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.)	16	24	52	8	100
Providing Legal assistance	36	16	40	8	100
Providing assistance in education services	20	24	44	12	100
Providing assistance in debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)	20	24	44	12	100
Providing assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.)	54	13	17	17	100
Other	83.33	-	-	16.67	100

N29

Table 4 Type and frequency of service provision by sector

Service Type	Frequency Disability (%)					Frequency Migration (%)					Frequency Unemployment (%)				
	Often	Seldom	Never	DK/NA	Total	Often	Seldom	Never	DK/NA	Total	Often	Seldom	Never	DK/NA	Total
Providing assistance in housing and shelter	11	22	56	11	100	22	56	11	11	100	14	-	71	14	100
Providing assistance in employment seeking	11	67	11	11	100	44	11	22	22	100	14	29	57	-	100
Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (health care, education etc.)	44	33	22	-	100	56	-	33	11	100	14	14	57	14	100
Providing financial support	22	22	56	-	100	44	22	22	11	100	-	57	43	-	100
Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.)	-	33	67	-	100	33	22	33	11	100	14	14	57	14	100
Providing Legal assistance	11	22	67	-	100	56	11	22	11	100	43	14	29	14	100
Providing assistance in education services	-	44	56	-	100	44	11	22	22	100	14	14	57	14	100
Providing assistance in debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)	11	22	67	-	100	33	22	22	22	100	14	29	43	14	100
Providing assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.)	75	13	13	-	100	78	-	-	22	100	-	29	43	29	100

N29

A second aspect of our analysis on the solidarity practices of the TSOs complements the material and non-material practice analysis with the motivation to engage in this type of practice within the organisations. Table 5 shows that the most common reasons to join the TSOs are political support

and shared political ideals or values. Another relevant reason to join TSOs is an altruistic concern (helping others). This is particularly true for the migration sector where seven out ten organisations indicated this type of motivation. In contrast, shared political values and social contacts/networks are indicated by at least six out of nine unemployment TSOs. In addition, the disability sector was the only sector to claim for the creation of mutual help networks as the reason to join this kind of TSOs (**other reasons for joining:** self-help).

Table 5: Reasons stated to join the TSO

Why people join solidarity organisations (%)	
For political support	55
Shared political ideas/values	52
Altruism (helping people)	41
For financial support	38
Other	24
For social contacts	21
For legal/judiciary support	14
N29	

Beneficiaries are an important aspect when dealing with solidary organisations (Table 6). As we can see, most of the key beneficiaries of the associations being analysed, correspond to their sector populations. This is precisely the case for disability associations. Within the migration and the unemployment field, TSOs have widened their populations beyond their field, referring in the first case to vulnerable populations and in the latter, to one, to an inter-sectorial logic between migrant and unemployed people. Specifically, the organisations focus on four main types of beneficiaries: People with disabilities, unemployed people; migrants (immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers) and poor or economically vulnerable and marginalised people. The migrants and refugees' groups are also an important beneficiary for the unemployment TSOs, as these groups are directly and deeply affected by the problem of unemployment. As highlighted before, the migration field within the unemployment sector is perceived as crucial to the labour market.

Table 6: Type of beneficiaries by sector

Who are the beneficiaries of your organisation?		**Unemployment**	**Disability**	**Migration**
	%	%	%	%
Immigrants / asylums	21	20	-	60
Unemployed people	24	70	-	-
Disabled people	34	-	100	-
Vulnerable populations	21	10		40
Total	100	100	100	100

N29

With regards to the organisational structures and resources of the organisations, we measured the intra-organisational features by looking into the degree of formalisation of the organisations (Table 7). The intra-organisational structure of the analysed TSOs shows that all the TSOs have a board. Also, a large share of TSOs - more than two thirds- count as well a president/leader, a secretary, a general assemble, a treasurer and a committee or work groups. In addition, almost all TSOs have a constitution (28 out of 29). All these factors point to the high degree of formalisation of these organisations which is undifferentiated between the three sectors.

Table 7: Organisations structure

Does your organisation have…?	
	%
A constitution	97
A board	100
Leader / president	86
A chairperson	59
A secretary	86
A spokesperson	59
A treasurer	79
A general assembly	97
Committees / work groups on specific issues	90
An international officer	28

N29

In terms of the resources available to the organisations, we focus on the primary resources such as funding sources within each TSOs (Table 8), and on the secondary resources such as the TSOs' access to decisional arenas (Table 9). As expected, donations, membership fees and national grants are the most relevant sources of TSOs' funding sources. However, the three sectors do not share a common pattern of relevance between the sources; rather the contrast is striking. Donations are very or fairly relevant for all the disability and migration TSOs, but irrelevant for at least half of the unemployment TSOs. Also, an important share of the disability and migration TSOs rely on national grants, yet this is a marginal funding source for the unemployment organisations. Membership fees are mainly relevant for the unemployment TSOs, and EU grants are only highly relevant to one organisation in the migration sector.

Table 8: Organisations sources of funding

The funding sources of solidarity organisations				
Sources of funding (%)	**Irrelevant**	**Fairly relevant**	**Very relevant**	**Total (%)**
Returns from fundraising	24	45	31	100
Membership fees	31	28	41	100
Donations from individuals	14	48	38	100
Sponsorships from companies/firms	66	28	7	100
Finance from federation or umbrella organisation	62	21	17	100
Grants from national government	48	17	34	100
EU grants	85	11	4	100
Other sources	33	22	44	100
N29				

The study of the secondary resources shows that TSOs mainly participate in specific policy-making arenas at national and subnational levels. While the largest share of organisations are called upon for specific consulting processes, only about a third are called as permanent members of national and sub-national policy-making bodies. At the EU level, participation of the TSOs is marginal (only one unemployment organisation has been called and has participated as a permanent member of an EU body). On the other hand, a third of the migration and unemployment organisations have been consulted and have participated during specific policy procedures at the EU level. More precisely, migration organisations have the largest share of access to specific subnational policy-making procedures (six out of ten TSOs), whereas, unemployment and disability organisations have a similar share of access to national policy arenas (twelve out of nineteen TSOs).

Table 9: Organisations' participation in decision-making processes

Arenas where organisations have been called to participate or have participated in decision-making processes within the last three years				
Policy arenas: Calls and participation %	**a. Has been called**		**b. Participated**	
	No	Yes	No/Do not know	Yes
1. As a permanent member of an EU body (e.g. Economic and Social Affairs committee; Social Business Europe; etc.)	97	3	97	3
2. As an organisation consulted during specific policy procedures (EP and EC consultations, etc.)	72	28	79	21
3. As a permanent member of national policy-making procedures	62	38	62	38
4. As an organisation consulted during specific policy -making procedures at national level	41	59	41	59
5. As a permanent member of sub-national policy-making procedures	69	31	69	31
6. As an organisation consulted during specific policy- making procedures at sub-national level	48	52	48	52
N29				

Solidarity as an interactive process: Political and social embeddedness

In line with the analysis of the organisational dimensions of Schmitter and Streeck's (1999), we also focus on the inter-organisational aspects of the organisations in each sector, which we measured through the TSO networks' embeddedness and relational patterns. We use social network approaches to better understand how the associations get and give information, with whom they collaborate, and the variety of forms these networks of relationships could take. Social network analysis (SNA) allows us to account for the patterns of interaction between the associations focusing on the systems of relations of the collective action process (Diani, 2013; 2003). In this section, we will perform a descriptive analysis of the collaboration relationships between the associations interviewed in each field, studying some nodal traits (at the TSO level) and network traits (at the field level).

Data and methods

With regards to the data, we mapped the population of associations operating in the country engaged in transnational solidarity practices in the sectors of unemployment, disability and migration. We used transnational platforms' website registers, which we updated with information from key informants obtained during the report of civil society organisational analysis of transnational solidarity practices in Switzerland (WP2). We drew more information from our first telephone contacts with the TSOs and we sampled a number of associations to be interviewed (30

interviews) weighted by their prominence in the field (Table 10). In total, we mapped 77 organisations working in the disability sector, 68 in the unemployment sector and 112 in the migration sector. From each sector mapping we contacted between 30 and 35 organisations, and we conducted interviews with 10 organisations per sector. In addition, we also mapped institutional actors with whom the organisations collaborate the most. However, we did not conduct interviews with institutional actors in any of the sectors.

Table 10. SNA map per field

	Disability	Unemployment	Migration
Mapped organisations	77	68	112
Mapped institutions	11	12	16
Contacted organisations	30	30	35
Interviewed organisations	10	10	10

The overall analysis of the following section focuses on three matrices of collaborations, one per sector. All three matrices are binary (1,0). The analysis of the networks was done after the symmetrisation of the data: We have assumed that the collaboration ties between the interviewed TSOs are reciprocal, even though there might be risk of an overrepresentation of links. We also verified the in-degree links per association before applying the symmetrise transformation of the data. In addition, all matrices analysed are uni-mode and uni-plex – single types of node (one set of nodes) and a single type of relationship.

Inter-organisational traits of Swiss solidarity organisations

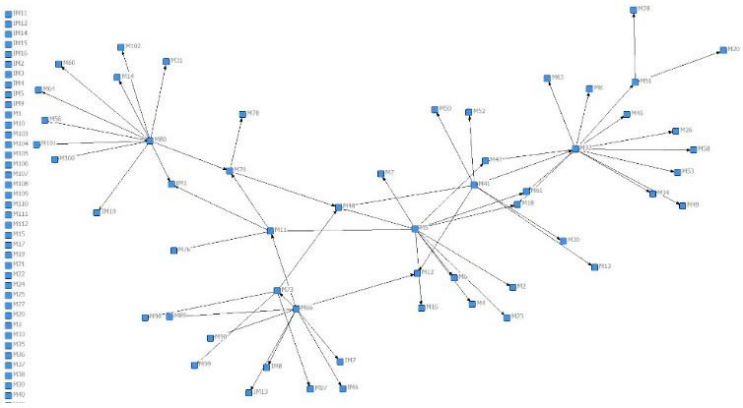
As a first step, we created a graphical output of the associations' collaborations. Each graph represents an issue-field network structure. The graphs count with nodes (organisations or institutions within the field) and ties (collaboration relationships between the organisations in the last two years). The diagram visualisation shows nodes as squares and collaboration ties as lines connecting the nodes which are reciprocal and undirected. As observed in Figure 1 (see below), the sector with the highest number of collaborations between the associations corresponds to migration. Likewise, we observe that the disability organisations pertain to the most fragmented sector. In previous sections, we identified disability organisations as highly specialised in specific medical or health conditions. The sector thematic specialisation impacts the possible collaborations between TSOs. The TSOs working in a sub-issue in the sector of disability rarely share information with organisations dealing with a different kind of disability condition. However, during our interviews, only three associations out of ten clearly stated the problem of the 'within boundaries' definition in the sector.

With regards to the component analysis, we highlight that apart from the isolated nodes, the migration sector is connected in one big component while the other two sectors have several components (Table 11). More precisely, almost 40% of the nodes in the migration and unemployment sectors form part of a connected component, yet for disability only 27 % of the nodes pertain to a connected component. This first overview seems to be in line with our expectations. The disability and unemployment sectors seem to share competing practices and

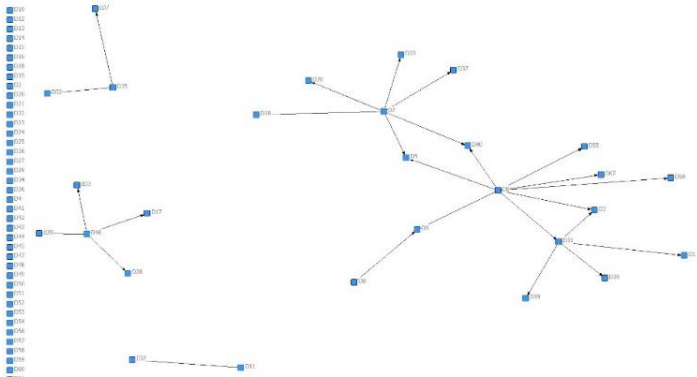
frames between the associations, even though these competing logics are more striking in the disability field, whereas in the migration field, collaboration practices are mostly service- oriented and not politically driven. These graphs also inform us about the particularities of the sectors: The unemployment field has institutional links mainly towards national actors; these links are deployed mostly by union organisations. On the other hand, migration associations have the highest number of links toward institutional actors at all levels, while disability organisations collaborate predominantly with sub-regional institutional actors.

Figure 1: Networks of collaborations per field

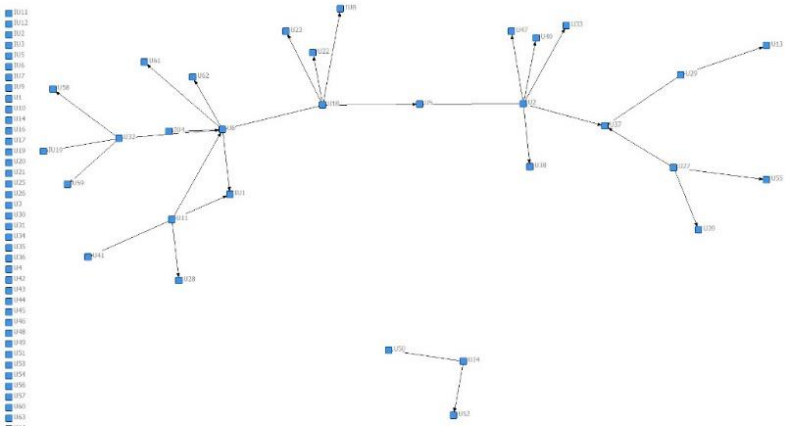
1- Migration



2- Disability



3- Unemployment



To measure the overall level of connectedness of the networks, we use several measures; however, the cohesion of the network structure per field is very low, less than 1%. This means that the proportion of existing ties of all possible ties that are actually present in each field is minimal. The

system of collaboration between the TSOs is poorly developed. That said, of all three sectors, the unemployment field has the highest density and the lowest number of isolated nodes[31].

Table 11.

	Disability	Unemployment	Migration
Size (number of nodes)	88	80	128
Isolates	63 nodes	48 nodes	73 nodes
Components (without counting isolated nodes)	4 components	2 components	1 component
Largest component	15 nodes	29 nodes	55 nodes
Number of ties	46	60	122
Density	0.006	0.009	0.008
Centralisation[32]	0.28	0.14	0.21

In addition, unemployment organisations are the least embedded in a centralised network. Centralisation refers to the extent to which a network is dominated by a single node. The higher the score, the more centralised the network. For more accurate interpretative purposes, we decided to remove the isolated nodes from each network; in this way, we simplified the graphs and focused our attention on the connected components. We are interested in describing how much the connected structures are dominated by particular actors, the higher the centralisation, the fewer actors stand at the core of a network. In the case of disability, the graph centralisation is 28% of a perfect star network of the same size (theoretical maximum). Also for the migration network the overall centralisation is 21%. We could conclude that compared to the unemployment network centralisation, these two fields share a higher degree of inequality, as actors' power in these networks is more dependent on positional advantages than in the unemployment network. In this sense, the actors at the core of disability and migration networks could easily benefit from their positional advantages to control information flow throughout the network.

Concerning the individual nodes' features, we focused on centrality which is a property of a node's position in the network. It stands for the contribution a node gives to the network it belongs to, but also for the advantages it may derive from being in a certain position (power influence). It is not connected to what a node is (its attributes) but, more likely, to where it stands. It accounts for prominence and popularity, as the extent to which a node is involved in relationships with others

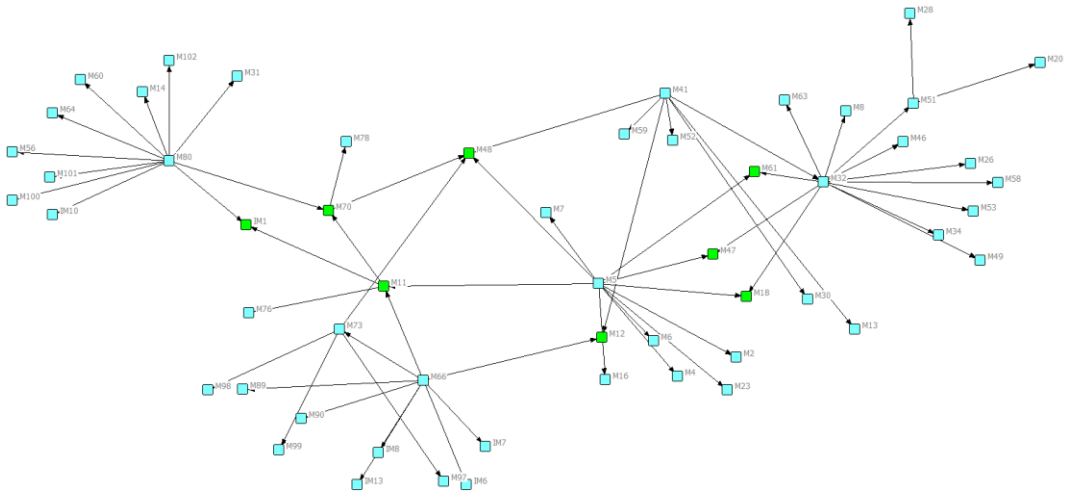
[31] We are aware of the limitations of our networks because of the small number of interviewees per field. We complemented our map strategy of closed list recall of organisations per field with an open recall of alters in which organisations named their five most important alters. In future analysis, we will present these tothe most relevant actors in the field identified by the interviewees, also to be contacted.

[32] "The star network is the most centralised or most unequal possible network for any number of actors (…) Freeman felt that it would be useful to express the degree of variability in the degrees of actors in our observed network as a percentage of that in a star network of the same size. This is how the Freeman graph centralisation measures can be understood: They express the degree of inequality or variance in our network as a percentage of that of a perfect star network of the same size" Robert Hanneman and Mark Riddle. 2005. Introduction to social network methods http://faculty.ucr.edu/~hanneman/nettext/

(Wasserman and Faust 1994:173). Like our centrality measures, we used in- and out-degree centrality. These measures refer to the number of ties a node has received (in-degree) or given (out-degree), it is a simple measure of popularity within the network. As explained previously in this section, we used unsymmetrised data for the centrality measures to capture the differences between the two types of measures. As expected, the range of minimal and maximal numbers of ties received and given by an actor significantly differ. We observed that the range (minimum and maximum) of the nodes in-degree centrality for all three networks is lower than the out-degree nodes' range. The disability out-degree range is four times larger than the in-degree range, while the migration out-degree range is three times larger and the unemployment one is only two times larger than the in-degree centrality range. This is something we were expecting because of the number of interviewed actors, however these differences also pointed out that the actors receiving the highest number of ties are prominent in the sector and in most cases, they do not correspond to the actors deploying the highest number of collaborations (out-degree). The literature has extensively described this issue, as a conceptual definition between power, influence and popularity. In our case, we are just defining the actor's popularity per sector – as actors in-degree.

Within the migration field, the actors with the highest in-degree are mainly federations and development organisation umbrellas whose beneficiaries are not only migrants, but vulnerable groups, as well (Figure 2). The in-degree of these actors indicates that many other actors seek to establish direct ties to them and this may indicate their importance in the field.

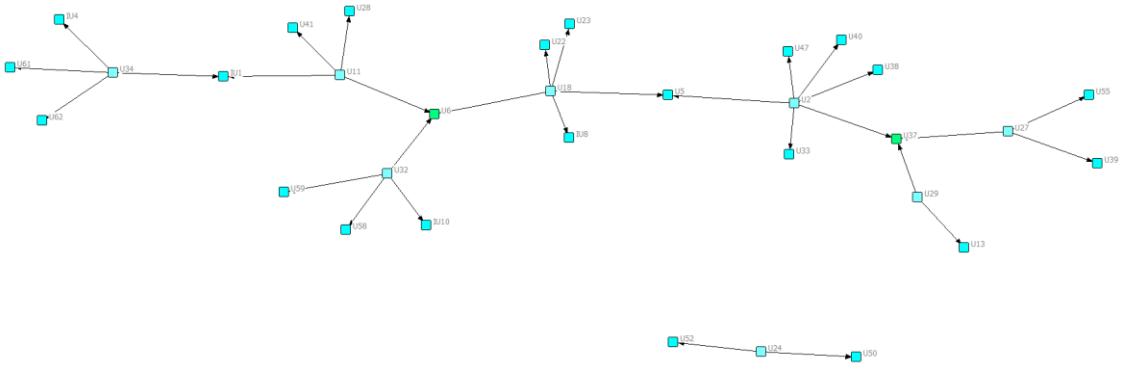
Figure 2 Migration field centrality



In unemployment case (Figure 3), we noticed that none of the actors interviewed received direct ties. In addition, there are two actors with the highest number of in-degree ties which are central to the connectivity of the network. Precisely, these two actors represent two different logics in the field: One is a development aid umbrella organisation, while the other is a federation of unions. In our interviews we spotted how these two types of organisation differ in their solidarity conceptions, as horizontal (commonness) or vertical (charity). The horizontal orientation of solidarity was mainly described in the sector of unemployment by unions, which perceive solidarity as a common stand between workers. The vertical orientation of solidarity in the unemployment sector was mainly

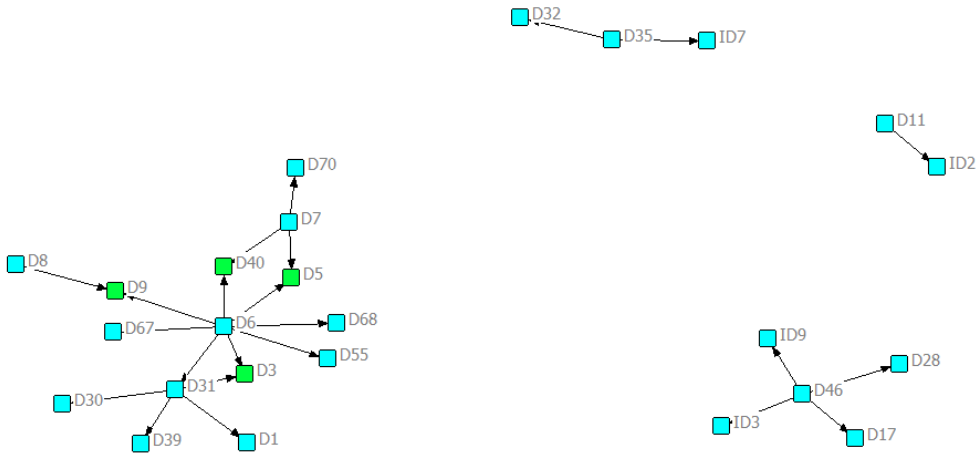
described by development aid organisations which perceive solidarity as giving support to the most vulnerable implying an asymmetric relation between the donor and the beneficiary.

Figure 3 Unemployment field centrality



Finally, with regards to disability, actors' in-degree centrality in the small components is very low. None of the actors receive more than one collaboration tie. However, the larger component shows some very interesting traits of the network (Figure 4). First, the highest in-degree centrality accounts for national organisations with no sub-issue boundary definition; these organisations are not disease-oriented or dependant on a specific type of disability condition. They try to agglutinate diverse issues and seek rights and inclusion of any person with a disability. Second, self-help organisations and disease-oriented federations deploy the highest number of out-degree centrality ties. These two characteristics inform us about the fragmented logic of the sector; organisations working within a sub-issue mainly collaborate with similar alters while loosely collaborating with mayor national organisations. The national organisations, in the best-case scenario, act as bridges between the different sub-field organisations. In contrast, when national organisations cannot be the bridge between sub-issues, the field network breaks into diverse disconnected components.

Figure 4 Disability field centrality



Conclusion

This report has provided a descriptive analysis of the key characteristics of the solidarity organisations based in Switzerland by focusing on campaigns and events, associational ecology and organisational network embeddedness. No doubt, campaigns and event activities are key instruments for the promotion of the TSOs' claims, which are mostly focused at national and regional levels. On the other hand, transnational cooperation is mostly embodied by indirect participation in the organisations under transnational umbrellas. At the EU level, interviewed TSOs maintain an observer's position with scarce bargaining and influential power compared to their European counterparts. The infrequent bridging of Swiss TSOs with EU-TSOs results from the position of Switzerland in the European Union, and from the federal structure of the country. Indeed, the federal system emphasises the necessity for horizontal and vertical relationships to agglutinate diverse interests, actors, and to raise awareness, practices in which TSOs already engage a significant amount of their resources.

Our findings show the difficulty of drawing common patterns across and within the sectors of interest. While organisations working in the disability sector privilege bilateral actions, unemployment TSOs engage in transnational practices as members of transnational union federations. With regards to the TSOs conception of solidarity, we also found important divergences. A twofold solidarity conception: on the one hand, organisations showcase solidarity predominately as charity, which entails vertical and unequal relationships of power; and on the other hand, organisations conceive solidarity as a means to forge common identity on the basis of common values and sharing aims.

The associational ecology analysis based on the adaptation of Schmitter and Streeck's (1999) associational scheme reveals four things. First, organisational strategies are mainly deployed at the national and regional levels. A large set of the strategies relied on demonstrations and protest-oriented activities which suggests an important degree of contentiousness in the claim-making process. It also outlines a high level of politisation in the sectors and thereforeevidence of solidarity as a strongly politised issue. These have also been validated by our inquiry into the most common reasons to join the TSOs, which for numerous respondents corresponds to political reasons, support and sharing political ideas or values. Second, the type of solidarity practices are mainly policy oriented (e.g. consulting, lobbying, and advocacy), even if, in one of the sectors, service-oriented practices (sheltering, financial aid, in-kind support and assistance in education services) are also commonly developed. Third, intersectorial solidarity practices are mainly deployed between migration and unemployment sectors. In the case of unemployment, we observed that their target population also includes vulnerable and marginalised groups. Fourth, the organisational structure and resources of the TSOs seems to be an irrelevant factor when accounting for the differences among these three sectors. Until now, our work does not reveal a common pattern of variation between the resources, the degree of formalisation of TSOs and their engagement in solidarity practices. However, we will need to perform an in-depth analysis into the latter factor, as the scientific literature has often proved the opposite. We might assume that the top-down approach and the transnational inquiry have impacted the profile of the organisations mapped. In this sense, it would appear that differences among the three sectors' organisations are mainly driven by aims and

strategies, while, the organisations share similar structures and resources essential to actively engage transnationally in any of the three sectors.

The second part of our descriptive analysis also revealed salient contrasts of network architecture across the three different sectors, emphasising that solidarity is an interactive process with both political and social dimensions of embeddedness. The disability sector showed the most centralised networking structure, with few TSOs sharing the key positions in the field network. The disability sector's centralisation is due to the high fragmentation and the sub-issues of specialisation in the field. In contrast, the other two sector networks seemed less fragmented. For both sectors, unemployment and migration, the largest component contains most of the connected TSOs. In the case of the migration sector, the network is the only one in which all connected actors are reachable within the same component. This supposes communication advantages since information can circulate throughout the network. Finally, further analysis of the network structures will allow for analysis of the boundary definition in each field, showing how conflicting scopes could translate into fragmented collaboration patterns. More precisely, the network fragmentation or sub-group clustering might discourage solidarity relationships which imply resource sharing, and in some cases the redefinition of frameworks.

Bibliography

Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social network analysis: methods and applications*. Cambridge; New York [etc.]: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Schmitter, P. C., & Streeck, W. (1999). The organization of business interests: Studying the associative action of business in advanced industrial societies: MPIfG discussion paper.

Kriesi, H. (1996). *The organizational structure of new social movements in a political context* (Vol. Comparative perspectives on social movements).

Diani, M. (2013). Networks and social movements. *The Wiley-Blackwell encyclopedia of social and political movements*.

Diani, M. (2003). *Social movements and networks: relational approaches to collective action*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press.

Voices from the front line: organising solidarity in austerity Britain

Tom Montgomery (Glasgow Caledonian University)

Introduction

Our analysis of organised solidarity in the United Kingdom takes place against a background of austerity and socio-economic polarisation but also one of political tumult, not only in terms of the decision by the British people to vote to leave the European Union and the ensuing debate that has followed but also more recently a General Election where the ruling Conservative Party which had expected an increased majority if not a landslide, witnessed the loss of its parliamentary majority and its Prime Minister substantially weakened[33]. The practice of solidarity in the UK also emerges within the context of austerity driven 'welfare reform' that has introduced tougher regulations for those in need of support from the welfare state (Department for Work and Pensions, 2010), particularly disabled people (Garthwaite, 2015). In this same context those out of work have encountered a more punitive welfare regime (Wiggan, 2012) and those in work have experienced employment insecurity (Pennycook et al, 2013) and stagnant wage growth[34]. Moreover, this somewhat polarised environment is further exacerbated by the fallout from a referendum vote to leave the European Union with a campaign that was often characterised by discourses which further stigmatised migrants and refugees (Ferguson, 2016). It is within this challenging environment that the organisations we interviewed to better understand solidarity were located.

Our interviews with solidarity organisations were conducted across the UK, consisting of participants from each of the constituent nations of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Moreover, the organisations were based in a variety of geographic locations ranging from highly urbanised areas to those organisations based in areas, which some interviewees described themselves, as being remote. In our preliminary conversations with organisations we identified those individuals who were best placed to answer our questions and in many cases these individuals held not only extensive knowledge and experience of their own organisations but years of experience in the broader issue field of migration, unemployment or disability. Our focus on key individuals within relevant organisations was sustained throughout despite a difficult environment to recruit participants with a number of organisations responding to our requests with apologies that they were simply too overwhelmed to set aside time to participate. Nevertheless our sampling captured key organisations in each field and reflected the organisational diversity that characterises the UK context and in sum we conducted thirty-two interviews: ten in the field of migration, ten in the field of unemployment and twelve in the field of disability.

Events and Campaigns as opportunities of organized solidarity

Our sample of interviewees from the UK revealed a range of activities across the three fields of migration, unemployment and disability and mirrored to some extent those areas of the existing

[33] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2017-40209282

[34] https://www.tuc.org.uk/economic-issues/uk-near-bottom-global-rankings-real-wage-growth-%E2%80%93-new-tuc-analysis-finds

literature which describe 'multi-organisational fields' (Klandermans, 1992) with a diversity of groups operating in each distinct field. In the field of migration, our interviewees ranged from those based in organisations working on legal issues, areas of social work as well as organisations offering direct practical assistance to families, those offering tailored support and solidarity for specific groups such as women or young people and those organisations utilising cultural activities to integrate refugees and asylum seekers. In the field of unemployment[35] our interviewees reflected those engaged in some of the key contemporary issues in the field such as anti-poverty organisations, solidarity and advice centres, social economy organisations and of course, trade unions. In the field of disability, the organisations we interviewed represented a broad range of views, from those platforms whose remit extended to entire constituent nations of the UK, as well as organisations focused upon specific disabilities, those campaigning on issues of inclusiveness and organisations that provide services to assist disabled people live independent lives. Therefore our interviews reflect a broad range of challenges and opportunities for solidarity organisations in the UK and wide spectrum of practices. Moreover our findings below also relate to analyses that identify how alliances around different issues and fields can at times be marked by varying degrees of cooperation and competition (Rucht, 2004) and although some degree of tension could be detected, this was eclipsed by what seemed to be a shared understanding between some organisations of their role as insiders and outsiders (Maloney et al, 1994) in the policymaking process.

In the interviews we conducted with solidarity organisations across the UK a number of key issues facing vulnerable groups emerged. In the field of migration this ranged from the meeting of basic needs for asylum seekers, the social integration of refugees and migrants (with a particular focus on the challenges facing women and young people) as well as issues of detention facing asylum seekers. In the field of unemployment issues of poverty and inequality were seen to be exacerbated by austerity and welfare reform and the proliferation of insecure and low paid work was matched by legislation that sought to restrict the activities of trade unions. Those organisations operating in the field of disability were navigating an environment where disabled people were still tackling issues of inclusion and accessibility whilst dealing with the impact of welfare reforms that undermined the necessary welfare support required for them to live independent lives. This is of course a cursory insight into the various challenges facing these groups and the organisations which offer solidarity to those at the sharp end of these policies. Our interviews with solidarity organisations therefore shed light not only on their activities but also the broader context within which these activities took place, graphically illustrated by the manager of an advice centre in the midlands, who explained that the work of the centre had moved from advancing the rights of individuals towards what he described as 'crisis work' which often involved referring people to food banks:

> *'over the last two years things have got worse in terms of the impact of welfare cuts so that's where we have been focusing our efforts'* (Interviewee 15)

When examining the activities of organisations a consistent theme which emerged across the three fields was a sense of there being a division of labour between those groups which were reluctant to describe themselves as being involved in campaigning or political action and those which were. For example, some organisations we spoke to recounted activities that could not necessarily be described as 'campaigning' but instead were actions that revolved around the core purpose of the

[35] The term 'unemployment' is used here as a broad description for a field that consists of those organisations engaged in solidarity with those both in work as well as those who are unemployed and precariously employed.

organisation such as a refugee organisation based on the south coast of England who told us that their initiatives were designed around the needs of young asylum seekers and refugees in terms of education and training and in fact political campaigning of any sort was deliberately avoided. Nevertheless the same interviewee emphasised that the organisation worked hard to provide a platform to voice the experiences of young refugees through looser involvement in vehicles such as Refugee Week. This was mirrored by an unemployment organisation we interviewed in Scotland whose representative explained that they were conscious of not being perceived as explicitly political even though they were indeed engaged in influencing policy. Another perspective which reinforced this division of labour between organisations emerged with an interviewee from a disability organisation we spoke to in the north west of England who explained that they had in recent years refocused their efforts more locally but had been involved in broader national campaigns such as challenging the closure of the Independent Living Fund[36], but again the interviewee was keen to stress that they could not be described as a campaigning organisation and instead they supported another local organisation that was much more involved in direct action. Nevertheless this division of labour could not always be described as harmonious (despite most disability organisations uniting around the 'social model of disability', see Barnes and Mercer, 2010) as exemplified by the views expressed by an interviewee from an organisation working on the inclusivity of young people who explained that there were some larger charities with whom she would be unwilling to work with due to their refusal to agree on a shared agenda and highlighted what she viewed as the hypocrisy of some of the statement that emerged from these organisations. The mutli-organisational fields emerging in the course of our analysis therefore present opportunities through the diversity of their activities but also challenges in terms of how these organisations interact. Nevertheless, more acute challenges for solidarity organisations in the UK were a consistent feature of our interviews, none more so than the challenge of scarce resources.

Despite the variety of the organisations we spoke to and the diversity of the approaches that they took, a consistent theme that emerged during our interviews was the shrinking pool of funding available. Indeed one sports focused migrant organisation we spoke to in the north of England revealed that cuts to funding and what he described as a trend towards self-funding mechanisms had significantly impacted the organisation and its opportunities to build recognition with a new generation of young people. This experience resonated with that of an interviewee from a refugee organisation in Yorkshire who explained that resources were thin on the ground and that although this could sometimes create tensions over priorities groups in the region tended to always cooperate but that there were obvious resource challenges yet despite such challenges it would be very difficult for any group including his own to turn away an asylum seeker in need. The challenge of finances was also illustrated by another interviewee, this time from a disability organisation in Wales who provided an insight into how the shrinking pools of funding were not only impacting disabled people and the organisations engage in solidarity with them but were also affecting the alliances and collaborations that these organisations were trying to construct and sustain, adding that partnerships between organisations had really suffered because many had disappeared because, *'the funding for the third sector at the moment is really atrocious to be honest'* (Interviewee 24). Moreover, another interviewee from a disability organisation in the north west offered an insight into how the funding environment had changed against the backdrop of austerity, explaining that

[36] https://www.disabilityrightsuk.org/independent-living-fund

some years ago local authority funding had provided the organisation with the autonomy to pursue their own policy agenda whereas budget cuts meant that:

> *'the local authority contract became more prescriptive…it became a lot more target driven and the policy work then became attached to specific outcomes rather than us calling the shots'* (Interviewee 25)

The issue of resources was also raised by organisations in the field of unemployment and one participant from a solidarity centre stated that he was conscious of maintaining the commitment to the core mission of his organisation warning that other organisations struggling for funding had found themselves doing, *'what the funders want rather what the organisations were originally set up to do'* (Interviewee 17). This view was echoed by an interviewee from an anti-poverty organisation in Scotland who was clear that they were not willing to compromise their values in order to seek financial stability. Nevertheless the challenges of resources that emerged throughout our interviewees was not only financial but also human as one interviewee from a union operating in the public sector echoed the concerns of other trade unions in maintaining and growing their membership. Our interviewee revealed the impact of membership turnover on the campaigning arm of the organisation as many of those who either retired or accepted redundancy against the background of public service cuts not only left the union but took their organising and campaigning experience with them and as a consequence significant resources were now having to be diverted towards developing new union members into organisers.

Despite the challenges of these multi-organisational fields and the contexts within which they are operating, many interviewees were clear that there was an evident sense of solidarity not only between organisations but also between organisations and the wider public. One interviewee from a migrant organisation in the north east of Scotland explained that the focus they placed upon issues of women's rights in particular was in her view a universal concept and that this universal dimension of their work meant that there was a renewed awareness of the different policies which affect women beyond the UK. Unsurprisingly our interviewees from trade unions were clear that solidarity was central to their efforts with one interviewee, a trade union official based in London, describing solidarity as the 'backbone' of the trade union movement and another interviewee from a solidarity centre in the north of England emphasising solidarity between those in and out of work in an era of precarious labour markets. Such views were reinforced in interviews with disability organisations where the importance of building alliances between disabled and non-disabled people was clearly important but so too was solidarity between disabled people themselves who reflected a broad and diverse spectrum of people facing a variety of challenges specific to their condition or disability. This was a point reinforced by our interviewee from a disability network in Scotland who explained that in the last few years his organisation had made a determined effort to reach out to those groups who were 'seldom heard' such as those with mental health issues, those in care homes and black and minority ethnic disabled people.

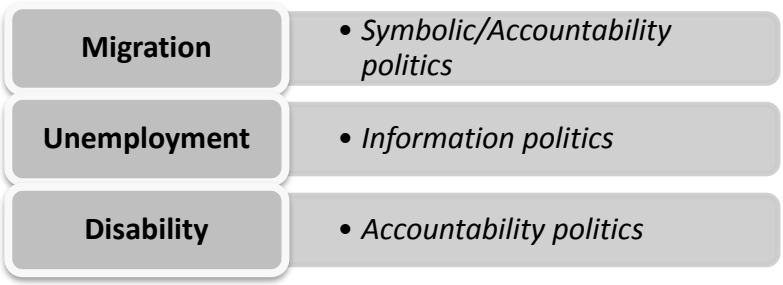
Transnational solidarity in action

To better understand how solidarity is organised at the transnational level we have adopted a conceptual framework outlined by Keck and Sikkink (1999) and developed through their study of transnational advocacy networks. The typology of tactics which they outline; information politics;

symbolic politics; leverage politics; and accountability politics, has resonance with our findings in the interviews we conducted in the UK and its application locates our study within a broader framework of research into transnational activism. In order to illustrate how the framework put forward by Keck and Sikkink resonates with the findings from our interviews we should first of all define their typology further. In terms of 'information politics' Keck and Sikkink describe this in terms of information that is 'politically usable' (1999: 95) and which can be swiftly transported to wherever it will have the greatest impact; 'symbolic politics' is unsurprisingly the use of symbols but also stories and particular actions that enable audiences which are somewhat removed to make sense of a situation; 'accountability politics' are those calls for action to more powerful actors to follow through on policies and promises to which they have committed themselves; and 'leverage politics' where powerful actors are called upon to intervene in a given situation where members of a network are in a weaker position. Our analysis in this section focuses upon the first three of these types of politics which were most germane to our findings.

Although the tactics outlined by Keck and Sikkink (1999) will inevitably be mobilised across all three issue fields by various actors, as Figure 1 illustrates, our interviews revealed that particular tactics emerged more strongly, although not exclusively, from specific issue fields. In the course of our analysis we witnessed the emergence of a form of 'accountability politics' in the field of disability, particularly in regard to efforts by organisations around the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD). In the field of unemployment, we learned of the cross-border information sharing that occurred between trade union activists to boost workers' rights across Europe. Moreover, in the area of migration we found a hybridized field of action, with some organisations involved in defending the rights of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants across borders and others using media, culture and sport as a tool for integration and to highlight the challenges being faced by those in crisis.

Figure 1: The tactics of transnational solidarity



(Source: Keck and Sikkink, 1999)

Transnational solidarity in the field of migration

Despite the ostensibly transnational nature of organising solidarity with refugees, asylum seekers and migrants, the actual degree to which our interviewees described involvement in transnational campaigning and activism varied considerably. For some organisations such as one supporting child migrants, transnational cooperation was not so much defined through any particular campaigns but was instead a part of the everyday work they conducted to ensure the safety and wellbeing of

children across borders and this frequently involved liaising with both governmental and non-governmental organisations, with our interviewee adding that one particular challenge of their work was navigating the differences between systems and practices in the UK and other countries. Nevertheless this form of practical everyday transnational cooperation among migration organisations was unusual among our interviewees. One aspect that did however emerge was a strong symbolic dimension to their work and collaborations. For example one organisation in the north of England we interviewed sought to integrate migrants and refugees into their new home communities through sports. Another organisation we spoke to on the south coast of England conveyed to us an insight into the type of symbolic politics we outlined in the model above. Through an awareness raising campaign they undertook on social media the organisation asked members of the public to share one thing really special to them and that they would take with them if they had to leave their home and become a refugee; the campaign would then include young refugees to share one thing that they brought with them on their journey or something that they wanted to bring but were unable to.

Symbolic politics could also be found in the work of one cultural organisation we spoke to in the south east of England who were heavily involved in promoting Refugee Week in the UK, a series of events which our interviewee described as an opportunity to present positive images in the UK of refugees through arts and culture. The organisation is also quite frequently engaged in transnational collaborations including international projects that had received EU funding including one that involved a large network of cultural organisations in Europe. Our interviewee added that the cultural remit of their organisation was transnational in nature and that the issue of refugees was more salient in other European countries as they were the destination for many of the refugees arriving in Europe. The same interviewee added that he felt that politically this was a period when it was necessary to strengthen transnational relations:

> *'there is a sense of working in solidarity at a time when the UK is retreating from Europe. It feels like it's necessary to make more effort to make connections with Europe'*
> (Interviewee 2)

The future of the UK in the EU did emerge in our interview with an advice centre in the south east of England which had also been involved in various EU funded projects. The interviewee was sceptical that funding for an organisation such as his would be forthcoming from the UK government as an alternative source to the EU given that they were involved in the accountability politics of directly challenging government policies using legal avenues. The interviewee added that Brexit was a concern both in terms of funding as well as the future of EU law, with an additional concern surrounding whether or not the UK would at some point in the future decide to leave the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). Moreover, two other organisations we spoke to had some limited involvement of this type of politics at the transnational level through their support for United Nations campaigns but some organisations indicated no involvement at all, referring to the need to focus on more local and regional level issues and others perceiving the building of transnational cooperation as too time consuming for their organisation. Another organisation in the north of England we spoke to, which sought to integrate refugees through sports, explained that although they maintained their connection to a transnational network combatting racism that they had in fact helped establish, cuts to funding in recent years had severely impacted upon their capacity to be involved at the transnational level. These varied and often looser experiences of transnational

participation corresponds with conclusions found in the existing literature which indicate that at the EU level specifically, activist networks on issues of migration are not particularly well developed and issues such as resources play a part in this but so too does the fact that the issue field at the EU level can be somewhat dominated by NGOs in Brussels that have better developed relationships with the institutions (Guiradon, 2001).

Transnational solidarity in the field of unemployment

Broadly speaking the degree of interaction at the transnational level in the field of unemployment depended upon the organisational type and size. For example, some of the smaller organisations such as an anti-poverty organisation, the advice centre and the solidarity centre had scarce engagement in campaigning at the EU level. Indeed the respondent from the solidarity centre we interviewed was quite sceptical of the value of engaging with European institutions, suggesting that little could be achieved through this mode of activity; nevertheless he added that there was value in meeting people from other organisations who had proved a source of inspiration for new ideas. Another organisation focused on empowering those in poverty had a much stronger link to a broader, transnational movement and indeed received much of it's funding from its sister organisation in another European country and made clear that they focused on poverty in the global north and the global south. One organisation we interviewed which acted as a hub for alternative economy organisations also had much more established links to platforms both at the EU level and beyond Europe however our interviewee explained that these relationships were very loose. Where transnational campaigning was more organised in the employment field was with the trade unions. Each of the trade unions interviewed revealed memberships of well-established European platforms and indeed some of our interviewees held roles which included a focus on developing these transnational links. Indeed one interviewee explained that her trade union had played a central role in nurturing the lobbying activities of some of the transnational trade union platforms but that this was some years ago and that the platforms now had developed their own capacity to campaign and lobby. Nevertheless, despite clearly defined and established transnational links these did not seem to materialise into broad transnational campaigns (see Dribbusch, 2015). During the interviews it became clear that again sector specialisms determined much of the interaction and information sharing across countries, particularly around the inconsistencies of pay and conditions policies of large employers was a more frequent and perhaps crucial activity for our interviewees. These dynamics correspond with findings in the existing literature that cross sectoral or cross industry heterogeneity can present and obstacle to transnational activism (Glassner and Pochet, 2011) and that information sharing appears to be the most frequent type of transnational trade union coordination (Furaker and Bengtsson, 2013). Indeed one interviewee from a large trade union explained that their affiliation to the European Public Services Union (EPSU) represented much of their European efforts and that this affiliation was a useful source of information, particularly on the trajectory of pay in different European countries. The practical implications of this form of information politics also emerged in another interview with a trade union official who provided an example where trade union recognition was being denied to workers in a company within the UK but that the same company offered trade union recognition in Germany and trade unionists there sent, alongside messages of solidarity, information on their conditions which the trade union could use in their negotiations with the company in the UK. The official added that this experience had opened a frequent dialogue between workers in the UK and Germany adding that:

> *'The employers don't like it and are a bit intimidated that we are able to do this and decide that there are certain arguments not worth having. So solidarity is not always going to the barricades, it can be done in more subtle ways'* (Interviewee 16)

Moreover an official from another large trade union also indicated that the processes of information exchange, including through inviting speakers to events, was a very effective method to help develop key arguments and could provide a psychological boost to those workers who are involved in long, drawn out industrial disputes. This same official indicated a degree of scepticism towards other forms of action, in particular organising campaigning such as a pan-European 'day of action' which he deemed problematic because of the difficulty in coordinating this effectively across diverse European contexts. Such conclusions to some extent mirror debates in the extant literature on building a European labour movement characterised by two sides: on the one hand those who believe that Europe has been driven by the agenda of transnational capital and that has triggered protests but the prospects for building any sort of transnational counter movement are limited (Bohle, 2006) and on the other hand those who identify obstacles such as the elite nature of EU integration processes and the attachment of trade unions to the national sphere, but believe they can be overcome (Gajewska, 2008). Of course the UK context is further complicated by the fact that in the near future many EU processes may not carry the same relevance for organisations in the UK once it has exited.

Transnational solidarity in the field of disability

When discussing the degree of transnational activism of disability organisations our interviews revealed something of a dichotomy between organisations that had well established transnational links and connections to networks and those organisations whose transnational campaigning involvement was either very scarce or literally non-existent. For those few disability organisations engaged in transnational involvement, it was clear that the role of motivated individuals within the organisation was crucial. One interviewee from a disease specific charity which had established an international arm had been actively involved in transnational platforms including EURORDIS[37] and had worked to develop collaborations between clinicians in the UK and their contemporaries across the EU. The interviewee added that developing such collaborations brought with it a number of challenges beyond the obvious linguistic and cultural barriers, he explained that it was difficult to bring together different patient organisations across different countries around a common European agenda whilst reassuring them that the aim was not to override their existing work. Another interviewee revealed collaborations with social work organisations in the UK and Nordic countries through an EU funded programme and that a flourishing network was emerging as a consequences of these collaborations but added that such opportunities to build connections tend to be thin on the ground and as a consequence it can be difficult to develop discussions across different contexts. A consistent theme which emerged throughout our interviews when discussing transnational campaigns and collaborations in the field of disability was again the issue of funding. Beyond being involved in some bids for European funding or being subscribed to newsletters from EU level platforms such as the European Network for Independent Living (ENIL), most interviews with disability organisations elicited scarce evidence of strong transnational links. Some interviewees we spoke to referred to the size of their organisations and that such transnational activity was simply

[37] http://www.eurordis.org/

beyond the scope of their activities and that the resources were not in place to conduct such activities. In one case, an interviewee from a disability network in Scotland, echoed the views of others we spoke to by explaining that the relatively scarce transnational activism was not through a lack of desire or willingness, such connections were valued, but that despite being an organisation which in his view was relatively well funded, it was impossible to justify spending so much resources on attending events organised by platforms such as the European Disability Forum (EDF), offering an example of a forthcoming conference in Madrid and explaining that to send a staff member there would wipe out the entire annual expenses budget for that member of staff. The interviewee added that it was still possible to interact via email but emphasised the importance of meetings:

> *'I do think if we were interacting with them face to face more often that we would begin to pick up what were the big issues'* (Interviewee 26)

Despite the obstacles for disability organisations to engage in transnational activism our interviews revealed that a common agenda emerged around which organisations could coalesce, this could reprioritise transnational collaboration particularly when the issues were relevant to a range of disability organisations as exemplified by the involvement of a number of organisations with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD), a vehicle not only for accountability politics but also for the 'boomerang strategy' also set out by Keck and Sikkink (1999) in their same thesis where groups seek international allies to magnify demands made to domestic governments. One interviewee from a disability network in Wales described the process of gathering evidence for the UNCRPD as a crucial part of their work. Indeed it was clear that for another organisation in the south east that the report of the UN Committee would form an important source of lobbying against what she perceived to be a regression of rights for disabled people. An interviewee from a disability network in Scotland added that they had been active on the UN front for the last four or five years and that the weight and authority of being accused of breaching the rights of disabled people had a much greater impact than if such claims were being made solely by disabled people's organisations.

The importance placed by some of our interviewees on the report of the UNCRPD Committee (which scrutinises the implementation of the Convention by governments) was to some extent based on the high media profile given to a previous UN report which highlighted the systematic violations of the human rights of disabled people in the UK (United Nations, 2016). Indeed such efforts to bring the UK Government to account for some of the failures to protect disabled people seem to have again raised awareness of the responsibilities of the government under the UN Convention given a high media profile given to the comments from the UN Committee in September 2017 which stated that the claims by the UK to be a leader in the rights of disabled people brought responsibilities and that austerity had brought about a 'human tragedy'[38] that ignored the vulnerability of disabled people. Such comments clearly have an impact in terms of awareness raising although we need to better appreciate the potential more tangible outcomes that may emerge from this action and from the activities we have identified in our interviews across the three issue fields.

Outcomes of transnational solidarity activism

[38] http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=21993&LangID=E

To assess the influence that organisations have through transnational activism, Keck and Sikkink (1999) outline various goals, including issue creation and agenda setting, that can be achieved by organisations and in terms of the activities outlined above we can say that there is some evidence to suggest that solidarity organisations across the three fields are achieving a degree of success in setting agendas and revealing key issues. However in their thesis Keck and Sikkink also indicate influencing policy change and state behaviour as a key type of outcome and this seems more difficult to identify given that the UK Government seems resilient to change and that although solidarity organisations are often engaged in policy processes that for the UK level at least they hold something of an outsider status and this makes concessions by the Westminster government unlikely. Despite the seeming intransigence of the UK Government, during the course of our interviews it became clear that for those solidarity organisations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland there were more opportunities to shape both the discourse and policymaking processes more easily than at the Westminster level. These findings resonate somewhat with existing research on the process of devolution in the UK which offers some evidence of policy divergence. For example, in Scotland extant research has highlighted how debates about further powers for the Scottish Parliament or even full independence for Scotland have been shaped around calls for fairer and more socially just welfare support (McEwen, 2002; Scott and Wright, 2012; Mooney and Scott, 2015). Nevertheless, the themes emerging from each of our interviews across the three fields of migration, unemployment and disability at least to some extent validate the conclusion reached by Smith (2002) that it is easier for organisations to develop a shared understanding of the issues being faced than constructing a common agenda or action plan to shift the direction of government.

The associational ecology of solidarity

In the section above we outlined how solidarity is mobilised across our three issue fields and how to varying degrees it underpins the everyday work of organisations in the UK as well as the collaborations and alliances they build through campaigns, events and initiatives in order to assist in pursuit of their aims. In our next section we shall explore more thoroughly the shape of organised solidarity in the United Kingdom by examining: i) the motivations for people joining solidarity organisations; ii) the practices of solidarity across our three issue fields; and iii) the resources of solidarity organisations and the pressure such resources have been under since the impact of the financial crisis and the austerity measures which followed.

The motivations for solidarity involvement in the UK

To help us better understand the driving force of solidarity and the motivations for people to become involved in the practice of solidarity across each of our issue fields in the UK, we begin by observing the findings outlined in Table 1 which stem from the following question we put to each of our interviewees: according to your experience, why do people join the organisation?

Table 1: Why people join solidarity organisations

Reason for joining	%
Shared political ideas/values	62.5
Altruism (helping people)	46.9
For social contacts	43.8
For legal support	21.9
For political support	21.9
For financial support	9.4
Other	34.1

N=32

As our findings in Table 1 reveal the most frequent answer provided by our respondents (62.5%) was that people were motivated to become involved with an organisation because of shared values and shared political ideas. Such findings reflect the themes which emerged during the course of interviews across the three issues fields, with a number of interviewees making references not only to shared values but also a shared sense of rights whether that be for rights to access for disabled people, the right to remain for asylum seekers or the employment rights of workers. Our next most frequent answer, is perhaps the most expected among the catalysts for joining an organisation, that is altruism and the motivation to help others (46.9%). The link between altruism and solidarity is one explored in the extant literature (Giugni and Passy, 2001) and although somewhat obvious as a motivation, it is important to note that such altruism takes place with a UK context where there has been a recognition in scholarly work of the impact of stigma towards those in poverty (Jensen and Tyler, 2015) and particularly exclusionary discourses levelled at those within our three key groups, namely the unemployed, disabled people and migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Conversely it is also important to recognise that altruism requires a nuanced perspective as illustrated by the responses of some of our interviewees across different issue fields who were keen to stress the capacity of people to empower themselves and to be treated simply as equals in an unfair system rather than be viewed as needing help.

The number of people joining a solidarity organisation for social contacts (43.8%) reflects more heavily on our findings among migrant organisations with those for example seeking asylum and refuge often arriving in a new country with few contacts and scarce resources to develop friendships and networks without support exacerbated by the fact that asylum seekers can often be dispersed throughout the UK and face severe poverty and isolation (Allsopp et al, 2014). Moreover, our findings reflect the role played by disability organisations in developing the social contacts of disabled people who face not only issues of accessibility but also evidence suggests that for many their personal independence has been compromised and their isolation has been intensified by the cuts to their incomes through welfare reform (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2017). In terms of those seeking legal support (21.9%) such responses were confined to one migrant organisation which offered legal advice and solidarity organisations in the field of employment, such as trade unions. The role of trade unions in offering legal support to their membership is longstanding but this has been gained greater relevance in recent years with the introduction of fees

for employment tribunals (a policy ruled unlawful in July 2017 by the UK Supreme Court[39]) but also the pursuit of landmark court judgements[40] against emerging forms of employment which undermine the rights of workers such as those in the so called 'gig economy' (e.g. those working in a grey area of self-employment for web based companies such as Deliveroo and Uber). Although there were organisations across each issue field where people joined for political support (21.9%) this tended to again be among those in the field of unemployment where our interviewees seemed more at ease with discussing, even emphasising the political involvement of those who joined. This political dimension was also evident among migrant organisations but to a much lesser extent and as a reason for joining the organisation it was scarce among disability organisations. Our least frequent response given by interviewees was that of financial support (9.4%) and although it may seem evident that solidarity organisations would have little capacity to offer financial support let alone advertise it, the extent to which offering such support is so difficult will be outlined later in this report. In terms of those responses which fell outside our categories and were indicated by respondents as 'other', these included a broad range of motivations from having access to events and training, receiving specific health information, or to be involved in decision making processes. Therefore a variety of factors emerged as catalysts for becoming involved in solidarity organisations, but how do the organisations that people are joining in the UK actually practice solidarity? This question is one we deployed across the three issue fields in the UK and our findings are explored in detail below.

The practices of solidarity in the UK

In order that we can comprehend in finer detail the operational practices of solidarity organisations in the UK, we need to understand not only the shape of these actions but also if and how these practices are shaped differently across the three issue fields of migration, unemployment and disability. In Table 2 the practices of those organisations we interviewed are detailed and offer such an insight. The first categories we observe in terms of mobilising members through protest and demonstrations and through direct actions mirror to some extent the dynamics we identified earlier in this report, namely that there is something of a division of labour, either organised or tacit, across each field between those organisations engaged in more political activities and those who are not. We can see specifically in the domain of protest and demonstrations this is an area dominated by those organisations in the field of unemployment with seven of these organisations engaged in such activities at the national level. We cannot be surprised by this finding given not only the political ethos of some unemployment organisations but also the adversarial relationship that trade unions have had with the Conservative Government in the UK since 2010, not only in terms of cuts to public services and sector specific issues but also the attempts by the government to introduce legislation which has sought to restrict trade union activities such as the Trade Union Act (Darlington and Dobson, 2015). The commitment towards repertoires such as protest and demonstration also extends to the transnational level for three unemployment organisations in comparison to no such activities undertaken by the disability and migration organisations we interviewed. How such transnational activities were operationalised was described by one of our interviewees from a large trade union who explained that a campaign by members in the UK against the practice of

[39] https://www.theguardian.com/money/2017/jul/26/union-supreme-court-fees-unfair-dismissal-claims
[40] https://www.judiciary.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/aslam-and-farrar-v-uber-reasons-20161028.pdf

'blacklisting'[41] was challenged by protesting outside the headquarters of the company in question, which was based in another EU country. The interviewee explained that the UK members had been joined by comrades from a sister trade union in the country where the company was headquartered and this received a great deal of media attention and later a capitulation by the company leading to settlements for affected workers. Opportunities to engage in such activities vary across groups for a variety of reasons, for example our findings revealed that activities such as protest and demonstrations are the least engaged in by disability organisations we need to recognise that disabled people can face specific barriers for this type of activism not only in terms of how their illnesses, conditions and disabilities may affect their opportunities to participate, but also the practical implications of travelling long distances to the sites where protests are held if there are accessibility issues with transport.

In terms of other forms of political engagement, we can see from Table 2 that the political education of citizens and raising awareness is a common activity for the solidarity organisations we interviewed across the three issue fields. Broadly speaking we can hypothesise that this awareness raising is perhaps made even more necessary in a political climate where hostilities towards vulnerable groups have been nurtured in the UK whether or not that is through the proliferation of discourses which seek to differentiate between 'hard working families' and 'skivers' (Jensen, 2014), similar discourses which apply to disabled people who require support from the welfare state and have been subjected to rigorous reassessment procedures for benefits, such as the Work Capability Assessment (Wright, 2012; Garthwaite et al, 2014; Baumberg et al, 2015) or those polarising discourses which problematized migration during the period of the referendum to leave the European Union. However political education activities may also take more specific forms and one example of this emerged in an interview with a disability organisation in Scotland who had been involved in seeking and securing funding for a programme to widen access to elected office for disabled people. Although this support involved pragmatic steps to overcome accessibility issues when being involved in political campaigning, it also raised the broader issue of the lack of representation disabled people have in elected office across different levels of government. Securing cross-party support and funding for such initiatives requires an ability to successfully lobby and as Table 2 reveals, somewhat mirroring our findings in the same Table for participation in policy making processes, the disability organisations we interviewed, as well as the unemployment organisations we interviewed, were no strangers to lobbying and representing their interests with eleven of the disability organisations doing so at the national level and all ten of the unemployment organisations also engaged in this activity at the national level. This was less so for migration organisations (five at the national level both for lobbying and for participation in policy processes) however this perhaps once again reflects the diversity of the types of organisations operating in this field with some organisations reluctant to engage in any activities that may be deemed political, whereas others were more keen to pursue this avenue, such as an advice centre in the south east of England that had been involved in making written submissions to House of Commons Select Committees or the refugee organisation in Northern Ireland who had presented a report on the housing issues facing asylum seekers to Parliament, held meetings with politicians and had sought media attention throughout the process.

[41] Where information is collated by employers to identify and discriminate against those individuals involved in trade union activities.

In terms of service delivery, Table 2 reveals this to be a consistent activity of the organisations we interviewed across the three issue fields. For example in terms of services to members this was engaged in at the national level by 8 of the migration organisations, eight of the unemployment organisations and nine of the disability organisations we interviewed. Such services can take a myriad of forms but it became clear during the course of our research that beyond perhaps the more expected elements of some of these services - such as the typical support service offered by a trade union to a member facing difficulties in the workplace - a number of organisations were engaged in offering assistance in accessing state services such as access to healthcare and accessing the welfare state benefits to which they were entitled. For some interviewees the term 'service' jarred somewhat with what they understood as their core mission, for example one anti-poverty organisation we spoke to rejected this label and instead described their work as accompanying people through a crisis. Indeed, this type of emotional support was the type of service that a number of organisations offered and perhaps reflects to some extent the exclusion that some groups have been experiencing in the UK during the period of crisis and austerity. In a number of our interviews it also became clear that even though an organisation may not be involved in the delivery of a specific service they would either know or had an established relationship with an organisation that did and the person would often be signposted to that service, thus revealing the collaborative atmosphere that exists. We shall explore in greater detail in our next section how such collaborations remain in place despite the pressures placed on them by funding issues. Before doing so however, we should point out that Table 2 reveals that eight migration organisations, seven unemployment organisations and five disability organisations are engaged in fundraising activities at the national level, although the impact of this on the broader scope of the financial health of organisations is somewhat more limited than they may wish.

Table 2: Main actions used by organisations in order to reach their aims (at national and/or transnational level, across three fields)

Main actions among those listed below used by the organisation in order to reach its aims? (n)	**No**	**Yes**	
		Nationally	***Transnationally***
Mobilizing members through protest, demonstrations			
Migration field (N=10)	5	5	0
Unemployment field (N=10)	3	7	3
Disability field (N=12)	9	3	0
Total (N=32)	**17**	**15**	**3**
Mobilizing members through direct actions			
Migration field (N=10)	6	4	0
Unemployment field (N=10)	3	7	3
Disability field (N=12)	8	4	0
Total (N=32)	**17**	**15**	**3**
Political education of citizens / raising awareness			
Migration field (N=10)	1	9	1
Unemployment field (N=10)	0	10	2
Disability field (N=12)	2	10	2
Total (N=32)	**3**	**29**	**5**
Interest representation / Lobbying institutions			

Migration field (N=10)	5	5	0
Unemployment field (N=10)	0	10	7
Disability field (N=12)	1	11	2
Total (N=32)	**6**	**26**	**9**
Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc..)			
Migration field (N=10)	2	8	1
Unemployment field (N=10)	2	8	1
Disability field (N=12)	3	9	1
Total (N=32)	**7**	**25**	**3**
Services to others (e.g. clients)			
Migration field (N=10)	2	8	3
Unemployment field (N=10)	5	5	1
Disability field (N=12)	4	8	0
Total (N=32)	**11**	**21**	**4**
Fundraising			
Migration field (N=10)	2	8	4
Unemployment field (N=10)	3	7	2
Disability field (N=12)	7	5	0
Total (N=32)	**12**	**20**	**6**
Participation in legal consultations / policy making processes			
Migration field (N=10)	5	5	2
Unemployment field (N=10)	0	10	4
Disability field (N=12)	3	9	2
Total (N=32)	**8**	**24**	**8**
Other			
Migration field (N=10)	8	1	1
Unemployment field (N=10)	7	2	2
Disability field (N=12)	9	3	0
Total (N=32)	**24**	**6**	**3**

The resources of solidarity organisations in the UK

One of the key issues that emerged during the course of our interviews across the three fields of migration, unemployment and disability was that of resources, or more specifically the difficulties a number of organisations had in sustaining their existing resources and locating new streams of funding. The difficulties many organisations experienced in maintaining their current levels of funding were in most cases inextricably linked to a background of austerity, not only in terms of decreasing pools of funding more generally, such as cuts to local authority budgets but also greater competition for the same pool of funds. Indeed a few of our interviewees were quite explicit that their organisation recognised the impact of reduced funding more broadly and as a result were conscious of not drawing upon resources that could prove more vital to other organisations in their fields, a point emphasised by one interviewee in the north west of England who explained that her organisation paid careful consideration to other organisations in the region, some of which had lost funding and were continuing to function with no paid staff. The reality of the UK context on the financial health of solidarity organisations is illustrated by our findings in Table 3 where we can see that a minority of organisations across each issue field have avoided any form of financial retrenchment since 2010 when austerity measures began to bite in the UK. Our findings also reveal

the extent of the difficulties of sourcing funding across each issue field with three of the migration organisations experiencing a severe retrenchment in funding since 2010 and five of them experiencing a more limited form of cuts to funding streams during the same period. A similar picture emerges in the field of employment with again three of the organisations experiencing a severe form of budgetary retrenchment since 2010 and four enduring a more limited form of retrenchment during the same period. One anti-poverty organisation operating in the field of employment we interviewed summed up the situation facing many of their contemporary organisations in quite stark terms:

> *'the big challenge for all of this kind of work over the last few years particularly has just been the impact of cuts and the economic crisis, the sector has been devastated. A lot of the people we would have worked with have fallen by the wayside or are just struggling to survive'* (Interviewee 19)

Our findings in these two fields are mirrored to some extent in the field of disability, however there was clearly a different dynamic at play as Table 3 reveals where in crude terms organisations could be divided into winners and losers with nine of the disability organisations experiencing severe retrenchment and two of these organisations experiencing no retrenchment during the same period with no organisations experiencing a limited form of retrenchment. The dichotomy of winners and losers perhaps fails to capture the nuanced experience of diverse organisations working either in well-defined disease specific fields or geographic areas and the variable capacity of organisations to respond to cuts to particular funding streams, nevertheless this dichotomy helps to illustrate not only the competitiveness for decreasing pools of resources but also the type of funding available.

Table 3: Retrenchment in funding since 2010 for solidarity organisations in the UK

Any retrenchment in funding or resources since 2010 (n)	No retrenchment (n)	Limited retrenchment (n)	Severe retrenchment (n)	Don't Know (n)	Total (n)
Migration	1	5	3	1	**10**
Unemployment	2	4	3	1	**10**
Disability	2	0	9	1	**12**

N=32

In order to better understand the funding environment being navigated by the organisations we interviewed we explored with them exactly which sources were most relevant to their organisation and these findings are outlined in Table 4. In the set of defined responses we offered to our interviewees, there were two which were most frequently identified as being very relevant, on the one hand membership fees (21.9%) were identified by organisations as one particularly common source of funding and this is somewhat expected particularly given that some organisations such as trade unions in the employment field will draw much of their funding from members. On the other hand a very relevant source of funding for our interviewees was that of donations from individuals (21.9%) and this again is something of an expected finding given that when solidarity is operationalised by the broader public this can often take the form of monetary donations and this has been somewhat reflected in our earlier research in the Transsol project (Baglioni et al, 2017).

Table 4: The funding sources of solidarity organisations

Sources of funding (%)	*Irrelevant*	*Fairly relevant*	*Very relevant*	*Total (%)*
Membership fees	65.6%	12.5%	21.9%	**100**
Donations from individuals	46.9%	31.3%	21.9%	**100**
Grants from national government	71.9%	15.6%	12.5%	**100**
Returns from fundraising	59.4%	28.1%	12.5%	**100**
EU grants	84.4%	6.3%	9.4%	**100**
Finance from federation or umbrella organisation	90.6%	6.3%	3.1%	**100**
Sponsoring from companies/firms	84.4%	15.6%	0%	**100**
Other sources	25%	12.5%	62.5%	**100**

N=32

Despite the frequency of these two responses they were both eclipsed by some distance from responses categorised by responses as 'other' (62.5%). To some extent this reflects the diversity of the organisations we interviewed and the variety of specialisms which they represent but it is important to highlight that there were some recurring themes in the responses cited as 'other', specifically a number of organisations had identified the high degree of relevance that charitable initiatives and trusts such as the Big Lottery Fund[42], an initiative which redistributes some of the proceeds of the National Lottery to good causes, played in their funding streams. The importance of such philanthropic sources raises questions around the sustainability of funding given the decreasing pools of funding from statutory sources, indeed only 12.5% of organisations cited grants from national government as a very relevant source of funding, and although not completely insignificant as a source and equally relevant to fundraising drives (12.5%), the key challenge when drawing upon funding from charitable bodies and initiatives emerges when the funding cycle comes to an end or when priorities begin to shift to other areas and issues:

> *'In the UK they fund you for three years, then fund you again and then move on to something more innovative and exciting and start again'* (Interviewee 11)

The opportunities for organisations to pivot towards other sources of funding seem restricted by a difficult context. Statutory sources of funding seem at least in the medium term, if not longer, to be obstructed by the continuation of austerity measures. That same climate of austerity can only further restrict the capacity of individuals to increase donations to solidarity organisations particularly given the background of stagnant pay and rising inflation[43]. Moreover when we look again at our findings from Table 4 we see few alternative avenues for funding. Although some organisations we spoke to were involved in either existing projects that were EU funded or in some cases were preparing bids for EU funding, the long term future of this source is overshadowed by the consequences of Brexit. Moreover, some organisations explained during the course of our interviews that they saw the reporting aspects of accepting EU funding were too cumbersome, whilst others cited the competitiveness of EU funding, which perhaps explains to some extent why only 9.4% of organisations identified this as a very relevant source of funding. In terms of federations or umbrella

[42] https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/about-big
[43] https://www.ft.com/content/83e7e87e-fe64-11e6-96f8-3700c5664d30

organisations over 90% of our respondents identified these as irrelevant in terms of sources of funding and indeed given that some of our respondents were from organisations that could be described as umbrellas then we can see that the pressures of sourcing funding are just as pressing in those types of organisations. None of our respondents indicated that sponsorships from companies or firms were a very relevant source of funding and 84.4% told us that this was a completely irrelevant source of finance for them. Although an argument could be made that organisations could pursue this avenue of funding more aggressively, we can identify two issues: on the one hand our analysis earlier in this report emphasises the importance of shared values and political ideas as a source of recruiting people to the cause of the organisation and seeking private corporate sponsorship may conflict with some of these values whilst on the other hand we need to question whether or not companies would want to associate themselves with specific issues particularly when they are being rendered contentious by policy discourses. In addition there are some obvious conflicts of interest that restrict such opportunities, for example it is difficult to conceive of a situation where employers would help to fund trade unions.

Solidarity as an interactive process: political and social embeddedness

Any analysis of the degree to which solidarity organisations engage in policymaking processes requires an appreciation of the broader UK political context. This not only applies to the European level, where our focus on transnationalism is most acute and where the complexities of the future relationship between the UK and its partners in the European Union are beyond the scope of this report to explore, but it also relates to the way that the UK has itself changed in the past few decades from a centralised state governed from Westminster to one where the asymmetric processes of devolution offer both challenges and opportunities for those engaged in organising solidarity. The UK policy context thus reflects a complex landscape which relates to the extant literature on governance that recognises the blurring of the boundaries of responsibility for tackling key social issues that was once the sole domain of the state (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Rhodes, 1996; Stoker, 1998). Moreover, given the various partnerships which emerge at the local level through such governance arrangements we hypothesised that this would be a site of intense activity for solidarity organisations in the UK, particularly in a context differentiated impact of austerity cuts across local authority areas (Beatty and Fothergill, 2016).

The interaction of UK solidarity organisations with the policymaking process

When examining the degree to which solidarity organisations in the UK interact with the political process, we can observe that there are clear variations in the levels at which they interact. For example, in Table 5 we see that very few solidarity organisations have either been called (9%) or have participated (12.5%) in the policymaking process as a permanent member of an EU body and among those who did none of the disability organisations we interviewed indicated that they held such permanent memberships. When looking at the degree to which UK solidarity organisations were consulted as part of specific policy procedures at this level we can observe that 34% were called and the same percentage participated, again a finer grained analysis of our data suggests that disability organisations were least likely to be involved in such consultations with migration organisations closely followed by unemployment organisations being most engaged in such processes. An insight into how the EU level was perceived by some of our interviewees was reflected in the comments from a disabled people's organisation in the south of England:

'for disabled people and carers on the ground here it's just way too lofty and way too far away and there is no direct link at all' (Interviewee 30)

Although we have observed that solidarity organisations in the UK have scarce engagement as a permanent member of policy making bodies at the EU level, we can observe in Table 5 that the figures for permanent membership of such bodies at the UK level is not much better with 22% being called to participate and the same number doing so. Nevertheless it is when observing the involvement of organisations in specific policy procedures at the national level that we witness a considerable increase in engagement by solidarity organisations with 66% being called and 69% participating. At this level of engagement our data reveals a reversal of roles for disability organisations who are the most engaged among our three issue fields, being closely followed by those in unemployment and then finally migration organisations.

Of all of the permanent memberships of policymaking procedures that we investigated with solidarity organisations it was those at the sub-national level who emerged as the most frequently engaged with 31% being called and participating at this level and this perhaps comes as no surprise given the emphasis some organisations placed on their relationships with local authorities or devolved administrations. Indeed throughout the course of our interviews it was clear that some organisations had found it easier to access policymaking processes or policymakers through devolved structures in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales and others were working on developing some of the networks that will coalesce around devolved structures in England. The importance of this level, including local authorities, is further evidenced by the fact that among the solidarity organisations we interviewed 59% were called to participate in such processes and 62.5% did in fact participate in this level of policymaking, almost at the same level of participation of national level procedures. These findings therefore to some extent confirmed our hypothesis that the local level would be of crucial importance in the relationship between solidarity organisations in the UK and policymaking processes, particularly in a context where the realities of austerity become most visible and where local communities have been encouraged by central government to mobilise to tackle social challenges against the background of cuts to public spending (Lowndes and Pratchett, 2012; Lowndes and McCaughie, 2013).

Table 5: Arenas where organisations have been called to participate or have participated in decision-making processes within the last 3 years

	a. Has been called (%)		b. Participated (%)	
	No	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**
1. As a permanent member of an EU body (e.g. Economic and Social Affairs committee; Social Business Europe; etc..)	91	9	87.5	12.5
2. As an organization consulted during specific policy procedures (EP and EC consultations, etc…)	66	34	66	34
3. As a permanent member of national policy making procedures	78	22	78	22
4. As an organization consulted during specific policy making procedures at national level	34	66	31	69
5. As a permanent member of sub-national policy making procedures	69	31	69	31
6. As an organization consulted during specific policy making procedures at sub-national level	41	59	37.5	62.5

N=32

Network analysis of solidarity organisations in the UK

Another dimension of our analysis, as explored in the earlier sections of this report, has not only been to understand the relationship between solidarity organisations and institutions but also the relationships that they have with each other. Our analysis is based upon three matrices, one for migration, unemployment and disability which are derived from data provided by each of our interviewees on the collaborations they have with other organisations in their field. The list of organisations provided to respondents in order to conduct this analysis was itself derived from the UK memberships of platforms and umbrellas of organisations across each issue field.

In order to illustrate the nature of the collaborative relationships across each set of interviewees, we have set out the network structures of each issue field in Figures, 2, 3 and 4. In each of our illustrations are the indicators of nodes (organisations or institutions within the field, represented in each figure by squares) and ties (collaborative relationships between organisations in the last two years, represented by the lines connecting the nodes which are unidirectional and reciprocal). As we can observe from Figure 2, the field with the highest number of collaborations is that of migration whereas Figure 3 reveals that the field of unemployment has very poor indicators of collaborations. Furthermore, we can observe via Figure 4 that the field of disability has a higher number of collaborations between organisations during the last two years than those in unemployment but less than those in migration. In terms of how these collaborations are constructed we can see that the data gathered from our interviewees in the field of migration (Figure 2) reveals two components, excluding the isolated nodes[44], one comprising of 55 nodes and another of 5 nodes. In the field of disability (Figure 4) we find six components, excluding those nodes that are isolated, with the largest component consisting of 31 nodes. Data gathered from interviewees in the field of unemployment (Figure 3), again excluding the isolated nodes, revealed one component comprised of thirteen nodes.

As part of our approach in this analysis we also measured the degree of centralisation within the networks, in other words the extent to which networks are dominated by particular nodes. This is important to understand as it provides an insight into how the prominence of the position of a particular organisation in a network may mean that it both contributes and benefits from the relationships which develop. Our findings revealed that for migration the degree of centralisation was 31% of the theoretical maximum, for unemployment it was the same, 31% but for disability the degree of centralisation was lower at 17%. These findings offer a quite systematic insight into the shape of the networks of collaborations across each field among our interviewees but we need to explore more carefully how they relate to our earlier analyses.

[44] The isolated nodes for each field were as follows: for migration there were 232 isolated nodes; for unemployment there were 317 isolated nodes and for the field of disability there were 74 isolated nodes.

Figure 2: The network of collaborations in the field of migration

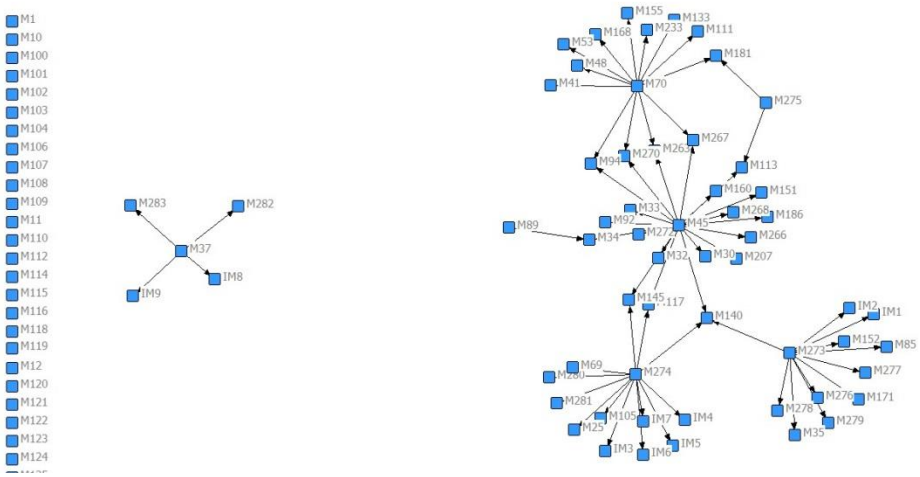


Figure 3: The network of collaborations in the field of unemployment

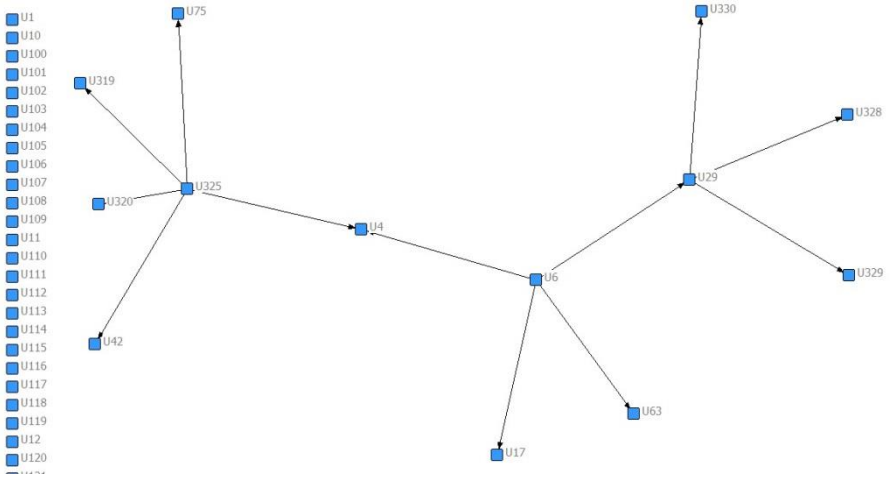
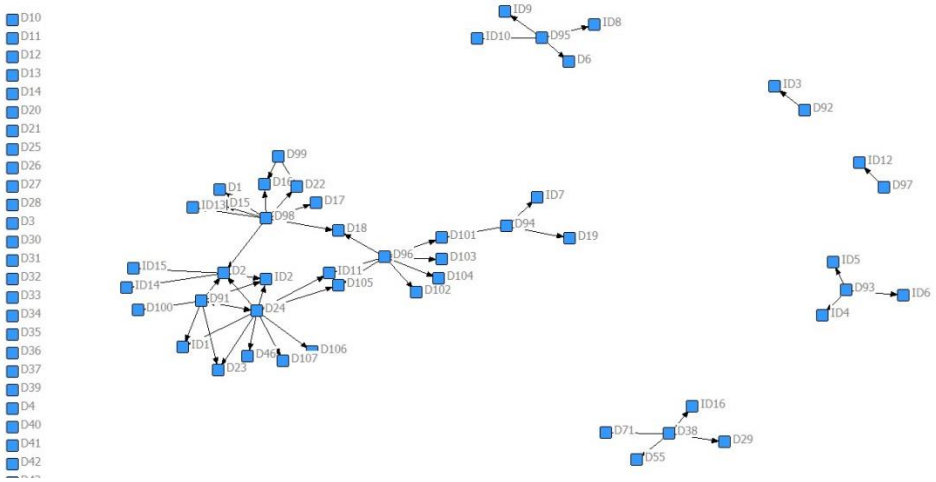


Figure 4: The network of collaborations in the field of disability



In the field of migration (Figure 2), we can see that some actors play a central role in the network and further analysis reveals that these centre upon collaborations that may emerge from being a key player in events with broad appeal (such as Refugee Week) or they may hinge upon certain specialisms in the field of migration such as support offered to particular migrant communities or gender specific support. In the field of unemployment we found a sparse network (Figure 3) which revealed collaborations between some trade unions and trade union platforms as well as some collaboration between third sector organisations but with a very high number of isolated nodes. Explanations from this may be found in our earlier analysis outlined above where the emphasis on information sharing was much more evident when discussing partnering with other organisations. Moreover the sector and/or industry specific focus of trade unions may lead to fewer opportunities to collaborate on common issues with particular employers. Furthermore, our interviews in the field of employment revealed that a number of organisations, including trade unions, were focusing on building relationships with the wider community rather than each other. In the field of disability, we also found a more diffuse network with certain actors well positioned within a cluster of other disability organisations, with some reflecting those roles explained earlier in this report, as platforms for disabled people's organisations in particular regions or constituent nations of the UK and this being connected to a variety of actors, whereas others have a more specialised network that reflects either their geographic location of the disease specific focus of their organisation. What is particularly interesting in our disability network is the high number of institutional actors which are embedded in the network, these actors reflect not only the more obvious relationships that such organisations will have with various aspects of the National Health Service (NHS), but also those regional and local authorities that reflect the governance arrangements which are still evolving in the area of health and social care. Overall however, the findings from our network analysis, at least in the area of collaborations, reveal a high number of isolated organisations and one interviewee

from a migration organisation offered an insight into why this may be the case, an insight that mirrors some of the findings outlined earlier in this report:

> *'everybody is fighting for the same pot of money and there's probably not the hook for organisations to be more collaborative'* (Interviewee 4)

Conclusions

In the course of our research in the UK we have discovered that solidarity continues to be a feature of society despite the proliferation of discourses and policies that often stigmatise and isolate vulnerable groups. Our interviews with key actors across the fields of migration, unemployment and disability, reveal a multi-organisational landscape populated by actors offering solidarity to a range of groups facing diverse and often increasing challenges. Despite the diversity of these fields and organisations as well as the variegated nature of the governance arrangements in place across the UK, some consistent challenges emerge. The most obvious challenge was one of stretched resources which results in a number of consequences as organisations are deflected from their core activities to locate resources and stay afloat and find themselves unable to collaborate transnationally as this is a cost that cannot be justified in the current financial climate they are navigating. Moreover, although some organisations indicated better relationships with local authorities and devolved institutions it became clear that relationships with central government were more strained and reflect a political environment where the UK Government seems resilient to pressure for policy change in the three fields which form the focus of our investigations. Nevertheless, the organisations we spoke to were often engaged in crucial work across various communities in the UK and often proved a lifeline for those on the frontline of austerity, whilst raising awareness of the policies that were exacerbating the situation facing many citizens. Moreover, in a number of interviews, our participants were keen to emphasise that although they had scarce resources to become involved in transnational levels of solidarity, they were keen to build relationships with similar organisations in other countries. When discussing transnational solidarity in the UK it is obvious that this is consistently discussed within the context of Brexit, nevertheless this was a subject that our interviewees were very unsure of and a common response was one of uncertainty about the implications for the vulnerable groups with whom they were acting in solidarity. Although somewhat expected, this reveals that amidst the high level diplomatic negotiations taking place over the future of key industries and programmes, the impact of such negotiations on crucial actors in civil society is being somewhat lost on the key players involved.

References

Allsopp, J., Sigona, N. and Phillimore, J. (2014) 'Poverty among refugees and asylum seekers in the UK: An evidence and policy review', IRiS Working Paper Series, No. 1/2014. Birmingham: Institute for Research into Superdiversity.

Baglioni, S., Biosca, O., Montgomery, T. and Grasso, M. (2017). Pulling together or pulling apart? Solidarity in the post-crisis United Kingdom. UK Report in Integrated Report on Individual Forms of Solidarity (WP3) Deliverable 3.1 of the Transsol project.

Barnes, C., & Mercer, G. (2010). Exploring disability (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Baumberg, B., Warren, J., Garthwaite, K., & Bambra, C. (2015). Rethinking The Work Capability Assessment. London: Demos.

Beatty, C., & Fothergill, S. (2016). The uneven impact of welfare reform: The financial losses to places and people. Sheffield Hallam University.

Bohle, D. (2006). Neoliberal hegemony, transnational capital and the terms of the EU's eastward expansion. Capital & Class, 30(1), 57-86.

Darlington, R., & Dobson, J. (2015). The Conservative Government's Proposed Strike Ballot Thresholds: The Challenge to the Trade Unions. Salford Business School Research Working Paper August 2015.

Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy. (2017). Trade Union Membership 2016: Statistical Bulletin.

Department for Work and Pensions. (2010). 21st Century Welfare.

Department for Work and Pensions. (2015). Quarterly Benefits Summary. National Statistics.

Dribbusch, H. (2015). Where is the European general strike? Understanding the challenges of trans-European trade union action against austerity. Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research, 21(2), 171-185.

Equality and Human Rights Commission. (2017). Being disabled in Britain: A journey less equal.

Ferguson, K. (2016). EU referendum: Immigrants told to 'leave UK now' after 'divisive and xenophobic' Brexit campaign, Warsi says, The Independent, 26th June 2016.

Furåker, B., & Bengtsson, M. (2013). On the road to transnational cooperation? Results from a survey of European trade unions. European Journal of Industrial Relations, 19(2), 161-177.

Gajewska, K. (2008). The emergence of a European labour protest movement?. European Journal of Industrial Relations, 14(1), 104-121.

Garthwaite, K. (2014). Fear of the Brown Envelope: Exploring Welfare Reform with Long-Term Sickness Benefits Recipients. Social Policy & Administration, 48(7), 782-798.

Garthwaite, K. (2015). Becoming incapacitated? Long-term sickness benefit recipients and the construction of stigma and identity narratives. Sociology of health & illness, 37(1), 1-13.

Glassner, V., & Pochet, P. (2011). Why trade unions seek to coordinate wages and collective bargaining in the Eurozone: past developments and future prospects. European Trade Union Institute, Working Paper 2011.03

Guiraudon, V. (2001). Weak weapons of the weak? Transnational mobilization around migration in the European Union. Contentious Europeans: protest and politics in an emerging polity, 163-183. In D. R.Imig, & Tarrow, S. G. (Eds.). (2001). Contentious Europeans: Protest and politics in an emerging polity. Rowman & Littlefield.

Jensen, T. (2014). Welfare commonsense, poverty porn and doxosophy. Sociological Research Online, 19(3), 3.

Jensen, T., & Tyler, I. (2015). 'Benefits broods': The cultural and political crafting of anti-welfare commonsense. Critical Social Policy, 35(4), 470-491.

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1999). Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics. International Social Science Journal, 51(159), 89-101.

Klandermans, B. (1992). "The Social Construction of Protest and Multiorganizational Fields." Pp. 77-103. In A. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (Eds.). Frontiers in Social Movement Theory. New Haven: Yale University Press

Loopstra, R., Reeves, A., Taylor-Robinson, D., Barr, B., McKee, M., & Stuckler, D. (2015). Austerity, sanctions, and the rise of food banks in the UK. BMJ (Clinical research ed), 350, h1775.

Lowndes, V., & Pratchett, L. (2012). Local governance under the coalition government: Austerity, localism and the 'Big Society'. Local government studies, 38(1), 21-40.

Lowndes, V., & McCaughie, K. (2013). Weathering the perfect storm? Austerity and institutional resilience in local government. Policy & Politics, 41(4), 533-549.

Maloney, W. A., Jordan, G., & McLaughlin, A. M. (1994). Interest groups and public policy: the insider/outsider model revisited. Journal of public policy, 14(1), 17-38.

McEwen, N. (2002). State welfare nationalism: the territorial impact of welfare state development in Scotland. Regional & Federal Studies, 12(1), 66-90.

Mooney, G., & Scott, G. (2015). The 2014 Scottish independence debate: questions of social welfare and social justice. Journal of Poverty and Social Justice, 23(1), 5-16.

Osborne, D., & Gaebler, T. (1992). Reinventing government: How the entrepreneurial spirit is transforming government. Reading Mass. Adison Wesley.

Pennycook, M., Cory, G., & Alakeson, V. (2013). A Matter of Time: The rise of zero-hours contracts. Resolution Foundation.

Rhodes, R. A. W. (1996). The new governance: governing without government. Political studies, 44(4), 652-667.

Rucht, D. (2004). "Movement allies, adversaries, and third parties", 197-216. In The Blackwell companion to social movements. D.A. Snow, S.A. Soule, & H. Kriesi (Eds.) John Wiley & Sons.

Scott, G., & Wright, S. (2012). Devolution, social democratic visions and policy reality in Scotland. Critical Social Policy, 32(3), 440-453.

Stoker, G. (1998). Governance as theory: five propositions. International social science journal, 50(155), 17-28.

Trades Union Congress. (2016). Public Sector Pay Restraint in England.

United Nations. (2016). Inquiry concerning the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland carried out by the Committee under article 6 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention. Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Geneva.

Wiggan, J. (2012). Telling stories of 21st century welfare: The UK Coalition government and the neo-liberal discourse of worklessness and dependency. Critical Social Policy, 32(3), 383-405.

Wright, S. (2012). Welfare-to-work, Agency and Personal Responsibility. J. Soc. Pol., 41(02), 309-328.

Campaigning at the transnational level in times of crisis: The Case of the Decriminalising Solidarity Campaign

Lía Durán Mogollón and Olga Eisele (University of Siegen)

For the migration sector, we selected the transnational campaign **'Decriminalising Solidarity'**. The campaign was mainly organised by Social Platform, the largest network of civil society organisations in the social sector (see www.socialplatform.org) in close collaboration with WeMove (www.wemove.eu), an online petition platform and Proem-Aid (www.proemaid.org), a Spanish group of emergency professionals voluntarily involved in saving refugees at sea on Lesbos.

The **NGOs interviewed** for this analysis were selected based on their involvement in this campaign, and especially their participation or co-organisation of a roundtable, organised to talk to members of the European Parliament (EP) and the Commission (COM). Overall, there were eleven NGOs involved of which we managed to interview nine. Some were difficult to get hold of since their role was in some cases rather minor and they were insecure about whether they were the right interview partner. Overall, access to the field was very difficult and the last interview was conducted at the end of September, 2017.

The 'Decriminalising Solidarity' campaign as such **targets legislation** by the European Union (EU) in the form of the so-called facilitation directive (2002/90/EC). This 'Council Directive 2002/90/EC of 28 November 2002 defining the facilitation of unauthorised entry, transit and residence' was originally meant to prevent smugglers, employers or landlords from exploiting the vulnerable situation of undocumented refugees. However, based on this legislation, humanitarian aid has been criminalised as became clear in the case of PROEM-AID: The NGO had been working on Lesbos since 2015, saving refugees and migrants at sea in close co-operation with the Greek authorities when they were arrested in January and accused of human trafficking. Based on the facilitation directive, it was argued, they helped undocumented migrants and refugees to enter the EU. As a result, they might be sentenced to ten years in prison. In that sense, then, the campaign also targeted the behaviour or interpretation of the directive by some member states, something that could have been prevented by an amendment of the directive.

The **concrete aims** of the campaign are stated very clearly on the webpages of Social Platform and express the intention to work towards decriminalising humanitarian work. In the eyes of campaigners, the wording of the directive needs to be changed 'to say that those who provide services of humanitarian assistance to undocumented migrants without a profit-making motive shall not be criminalised or punished'.[45] In addition, reporting undocumented migrants should be handled within a system that protects both sides – the helper and the helped.

[45] http://www.socialplatform.org/what-we-do/decriminalising-solidarity/

The **key institutions** targeted in the campaign were EU agencies and bodies, especially the European Commission. Also the European Parliament was an important partner which issued a report[46] in 2016 that largely echoed the criticism expressed by the decriminalising solidarity campaign. Even the Commission itself issued a public consultation[47] and an impact assessment. In early 2017, however, the Commission decided not to propose an amendment to the proposal since it was not convinced of its necessity: It did not find enough evidence that the implementation in different member states allowed for systematic criminalisation, or that member states were actually interpreting the directive in that way. However, this outcome was already expected by campaigners. Ironically, interviewees reported that more information on cases to be considered started coming in just when the commission had decided not to do anything about it.

Another important aim of the campaign in this respect was to raise public awareness via a petition which currently has 164,000 signatures[48] and a European Citizens' Initiative that is being prepared. In that sense:

> *…the goals of the campaign ... [were to] first, spread the word in the sense of creating awareness, having the media on your side, having journalists and relevant publications in all of Europe, writing articles and doing reports on TV, publishing in newspapers, and having this impact in society in order to influence politicians'* and, more generally, in order to raise awareness *'about the challenges that service providers can face when they are confronted with irregulars and migrants who need to access services.*

Regarding the aim to **build up a network** between organisations, some partners in the group had already been connected beforehand, but the campaign also brought together new constellations of organisations that became interested in the topic and contacted each other to collaborate on the issue. So the campaign definitely opened up some doors, also with regard to establishing contacts with the European Commission, as one interviewee reported. The impression, however, is that organisations working in the same field and on the same topics are very aware of each other. Especially with established and rather renowned organisations like some of those involved in the campaign, e.g., SOCIAL PLATFORM, The Red Cross and PICUM, it seems that establishing new links or cooperation between them is basically a matter of a telephone call or an e-mail.

The opportunities and challenges of campaigning at the transnational level

The 'decriminalising solidarity' campaign brought together a group of **very diverse organisations** which, among others, included NGOs advocating for a 'more social Europe', anti-racist platforms, religious organisations, networks focused on homelessness, an NGO dedicated to rescuing migrants at sea and an NGO network working for 'vulnerable groups'. The structure and history of these organisations is equally diverse: some of them are platforms, networks, voluntary organisations, advocacy groups, etc. The most prominent opportunities the interviewees saw in this campaign were: Becoming active in the field of migration, voicing their concern about a situation which could potentially affect them or their members directly, cooperating with organisations with different strengths and expressing solidarity towards the volunteers and the migrants.

[46] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2016/536490/ IPOL_STU%282016%29536490_EN.pdf
[47] https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-is-new/public-consultation/2015/consulting_0031_en
[48] https://act.wemove.eu/campaigns/criminalising-humanity

At least three of the interviewees claimed that the campaign offered an **opportunity for growth** for their organisation and the opportunity to make their own causes stronger and more appealing to the public:

> *I found that Social Platform and WeMove already had a campaign with this decriminalizing solidarity. So, through networking, email exchange, and social media, etc., I got in touch with them and we decided to use the case I was working on to basically give the campaign a bigger strength. When I met the ones responsible, WeMove and Social Platform, they only had 60,000 signatures supporting the campaign. So, what we did is that we personalized it (…) thanks to the case, the relevance of restarting the campaign, we now have 160,000 signatures from all 28-member states. What the biggest achievement was, I think, having the opportunity to be the first civil society organization able to meet the EU commissioner, Mr Avramopoulos, in Brussels. He is in charge, as you know, of migration, home affairs and citizenships.'*

In this regard, there is an (almost unanimous) recognition of Social Platform as a highly experienced and well-connected organisation which offered the others an important platform to access policy makers. In a similar vein, an interviewee recognised that the campaign offered their organisation an opportunity to expand their working agenda and enter the field of migration, without engaging in polarising campaigns:

> *For us, it was a topic that, anyway, we wanted to work on and that we think is important for Europe to deal with, kind of a humane migration policy. When we started thinking about the topic, we realised that different countries had really different experiences with this. When you want to sell a topic, and convince people to take action on one topic across Europe, you really need to find ways to tackle the topic and ways to frame the topic.*
>
> *(…) 'people had different views on what migration policy should look like, how people should be allowed to enter and transit into Europe, how long they should (…) but this idea that people should be allowed to help other people with something that really struck*

Regarding the **voicing of concerns** with the ways in which the legislation could affect them, one of the interviewees identified the opportunity to advocate in favour of those members of their organisations who provide first aid services to undocumented migrants. The narrative of the Spanish fire-fighters made them aware that they or their members providing shelter, or aid, to homeless people could be affected by this legislation.

Challenges of transnational campaigning involved finding the right words and enough time. Communication and lack of time are among the main challenges posed when considering transnational cooperation. Finding time appears to be a great challenge for those who contribute to the campaign on a voluntary basis, which was the case for a Spanish NGO. The second significant challenge was communicating the message effectively to the different audiences and stakeholders involved:

> *So, the most difficult part is really the messaging; how you tailor-make your message, how you create your storytelling that can fit into national or local demand coming from a transnational project because transnational will only collect the common indicators, the common elements that touch the interests of the different members states or that touch the interests of the*

different countries involved, but then when it comes to the campaign itself, if you work on a campaign, you have to find a different messaging.

In a similar vein, another organisation mentioned the difficulties involved in finding a frame (in this case to the topic of migration) which is well received in all European countries. There is an implicit recognition of the different experiences and policies that each nation state has had with migration and of the importance of national frameworks for mobilising public opinion. The asymmetrical division of work and decision power was recognised but nonetheless not considered an obstacle for the campaign´s success.

The development of solidarity from transnational campaigning

Most of the interviewees view their cooperation and involvement in this campaign as a **form of solidarity**. However, each respondent has a nuanced version of this concept and it was possible to identify implicit understandings of solidarity closer to cooperation among members of a community, or rather as a form of individual value. Generally, interviewees mentioned three recipients of their solidarity; the partner organisations, the firefighters and the migrants. For at least three, the very action of taking part and sharing their knowledge and resources with other organisations constituted a form of solidarity; with each other, with the firefighters and with migrants. One of the interviewees considered this form of solidarity as something necessary for those working with human rights' topics:

I guess when you are talking about human rights cases, you cannot work by yourself, you need to work with other organizations and become stronger together. I think that is really, really important.

It was an expression of the solidarity of some of the Social Platform members that we were all working on the rights of migrants and refugees, which I suppose shows solidarity, but that we all came together in order to battle against this legislation is an expression of solidarity.

For a different interviewee, the campaign was an act of solidarity towards the citizens of the European Union, as well as a reaffirmation of European values. Overall, there is an implied understanding of solidarity as cooperation based on shared goals and common values. Moreover, the interviewees acknowledge the need to join forces with those who have different strengths in order to achieve human rights' goals. Numerous interviewees used terms such as share, support, supplement, to support the claim that this sort of campaigning was a form of solidarity. Conversely, one of the interviewees stressed a more sceptical appreciation of the term and preferred to describe the actions and motivations of their organisation differently:

So, yes. I mean, if you want to, it is still based on our principle of solidarity with people who are in need, but I don't know. We are not too much into this kind of solidarity principle. We are more concretely about what you can provide to people in order that they get out of homelessness.

The outcomes of transnational campaigning

When asked about the **concrete outcomes** of the campaign, interviewees' answers seemed to imply that there was no clear plan regarding this issue. Some talked about a final report that would be expected after the campaign and further information published on the website. But otherwise, the question seemed hard to answer, implying that campaigners did not have any concrete plans on follow-ups.

Interviewees did not seem to expect the Commission decision to propose amendments to the directive, so it did, not come as a surprise, most probably. Therefore, the most concrete aim of influencing law makers was not reached. However, the topic is still regarded as relevant by all interview partners, especially since in some cases, it directly concerns their own work. But interviewees indicated that they would continue monitoring developments regarding the criminalisation of solidarity work, and raising awareness:

> *We don't need to be changing policies but, right now, that's a very dominant narrative that our NGOs, our humanitarian organisations are working with traffickers. What I would like ... is to offer a counter-narrative that is very strong and that reaches the entire continent so that people realise there is another side to this story. That's what I'm looking into, but it's hard.*

In some cases, organisations decided to eliminate the topic from their agenda since they had decided to prioritise other topics. This was the case especially after the decision of the Commission, i.e., when concretely set aims could not be achieved. In some cases, work programmes were decided as agendas for longer periods in which the topic was not considered any more. As interviewees indicated, such priorities also depend on how other actors set their agendas, i.e., how the Commission further deals with the directive. However, it seems that all interviewees will continue working on the topic because the issue appears to have become more and more relevant, but will not continue in the same constellations as in the campaign:

> *We will continue monitoring, we continue participating if there's ... a hearing where we are invited to speak. We try to keep awareness and visibility of whatever cases we see coming across, and … we will, for sure, react to [the Commission]. ... More than that, at the moment, we are not doing, no. I think we managed at least to bring a lot of attention and it feels like the attention is still there by different actors. We continue sharing when we see [relevant cases]… I mean, I have a lot of contacts here obviously where I work so with colleagues from different organizations or institutions, we share information when we hear about some cases.*

Regarding **lessons** that campaigners learnt during the decriminalising solidarity campaign: I It seemed, compared to earlier campaigns, easier to make people understand since it related to a very human story. This is especially true against the backdrop of the often- lamented remoteness and complexity of EU politics which makes it often very hard to reach out to people. In addition, one interviewee reported that she learnt a lot about dealing with politicians and that you *'…need to go hard with politicians …, play … their game'*. In this respect, the different areas of expertise represented by participants of the campaign were experienced as extremely enriching and complementary. This concerned the power of collaboration which *'just gives so much strength'* as well as the great synergy effects and the outreach that large umbrella organisations have in terms of members who, for example, were asked about their experiences with solidarity work and in reporting back, provided extremely useful information, also with regard to making a case before the Commission.

Conclusions

Concluding, the interviews conducted with regard to 'Decriminalising solidarity' offer an overview of the actors, challenges and motivations involved in a transnational campaign, e.g., policy makers at the European and national level, NGOs, civil society, volunteers, etc. The analysis of the interviews and websites suggests that while there are some claims for universal/ transnational values ('European values'/Human Rights), there is nonetheless a strong awareness of the importance of national frames, not only in terms of policy-making and implementation, but also in terms of imaginaries and shared experiences. The interviewees recognise the challenges involved in framing messages and narratives for different audiences. These challenges go beyond linguistic and cognitive differences, and involve the different experiences and historical or cultural backgrounds that people in different countries experience regarding topics such as migration, redistribution policies, etc.

Furthermore, the evidence suggests that there are **two concepts of solidarity**: One more closely related to 'division of labour' and a second more closely connected to offering aid for the vulnerable. The solidarity between organisations is closer to an understanding of solidarity in terms of cooperation and division of labour where each organisation brings in their network and expertise for the sake of a common goal, and also gains something from this exchange. In contrast, solidarity with the firefighters and the migrants as people in need or citizens treated unfairly, seems closer to a value-motivated form of solidarity wherein individuals and organisations feel compelled to help those in need. Moreover, the websites and the answers provided by the interviewees indicate that there is an understanding of solidarity as cooperation and social justice (particularly by the organisations which claim to advocate in favour of vulnerable groups).

Overall, cooperation in this campaign has been experienced as very engaging, and the possibility of growing and pooling resources in order to strive towards a greater common goal is very real. The cause for solidarity with those acting in solidarity, embodied in the criminalised Spanish firemen rescuing refugees from drowning at sea, gave remote EU politics a very human face, helping to bring it closer to European citizens at home. While concrete follow-up cooperation is not planned, it is especially this very concrete aim of decriminalising solidarity which will maintain continuous monitoring by NGOs involved in the campaign and a constant effort to raise awareness for the issue.

Accessible solidarity?: The European Day of Persons with Disabilities

Tom Montgomery (Glasgow Caledonian University)

Campaigning at the transnational level in times of crisis

In order to better understand transnational solidarity in the field of disability, we placed a focus on a key event taking place at the transnational level, namely the European Day of Persons with Disabilities, a gathering which took place over two days in Brussels in November 2016 to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2006, the CRPD provides a framework for international cooperation and the national implementation of strategies, policies and programmes that protect the human rights of disabled people and mainstream the inclusion of disabled people in society[49]. There are currently almost 100 countries that are signatories to the CRPD who are required to submit regular reports to the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities[50], comprised of 18 experts who are elected every two years and whose responsibility is to review the reports submitted by those states which have adopted the Convention in order to monitor the progress of implementation and to identify where the human rights of disabled people have been violated. What makes the CRPD unique among other frameworks or agreements is that it is the first human rights convention to be ratified by a regional organisation, the European Union[51].

Therefore the event that took place in November 2016, which we attended, at the European Commission in Brussels brought together a range of actors from across the European Union to both acknowledge the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the CRPD, to celebrate the progress that has been made in its implementation and examine avenues to further progress the rights of disabled people. Organised jointly by the European Disability Forum and the European Commission, the event featured a number of thematic panels focused upon issues such as human rights, employment, accessibility, independent living and the issues facing disabled women. In order that we could better understand the experiences of those participating, we conducted interviews with 13 organisations that had participated in the event from across Europe, including national associations of disabled people's organisations, organisations focused on specific disabilities and pan-European platforms. Our interviewees held key positions in their organisations and were well placed to elaborate their perspectives on and experiences of transnational solidarity. One of the more immediate findings which emerged during the course of our interviews was the broad agreement among a number of organisations that the key aim of the event was to promote the CRPD and those policies that would further its implementation. Nevertheless the findings from our interviews revealed that there were other objectives of the event which were of equal, if not greater importance.

[49] https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities/the-10th-anniversary-of-the-adoption-of-convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities-crpd-crpd-10.html#background
[50] Whose work is supported by the Office of Higher Commission for Human Rights based in Geneva (OHCHR). the Committee also meets in Geneva twice a year.
[51] http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CRPD/Pages/QuestionsAnswers.aspx

The opportunities and challenges of campaigning at the transnational level

During the course of our interviews with organisations that had participated in the Day of Persons with Disabilities it became clear that many participants regarded the event as being well organised and open as a platform. For example, one participant we spoke to from a European network explained that in many of these types of events it could often be difficult to strike a balance not only in terms of the composition of those who spoke over the course of the two days but also a balance to provide enough space in order that contributions could be made from the floor. Echoing the views of other respondents, this same interviewee explained that she viewed the event as an opportunity build new partnerships. Another interviewee from a user led European platform also confirmed the openness of the event by explaining that she had encountered no obstructions in terms of official support and indeed another interviewee from a rights based network added that she had experienced good cooperation with the organisers. One interviewee from a Brussels based organisation also conveyed a sense of their being an atmosphere of cooperation and when probed about how this cooperation was operationalised through activities such as joint statements he explained that organisations tended to utilise these statements in such a way that can be shaped around their own agendas in their own specialisms:

> *'joint messages are normally about opening new doors and drawing attention, then once the attention is there, each individual organisation can use that for its aims'* (Interviewee 4)

Nevertheless, despite there being a sense that the event was one which was often marked by cooperation between those taking part and between participants and organisers, our interviews uncovered a number of challenges experienced by organisations engaging in this form of transnational activism and in building partnerships. Some of the challenges that were highlighted ranged from practical issues such as accessibility or mobility issues or language barriers to more ideological divergences on the approach to campaign work. In terms of the more pragmatic challenges one interviewee from a European platform which works on issues of inclusiveness of disabled people explained that a different approach was required in terms of the format and organisation of the event with specific focus on the ways that messages are communicated and even the language used which he identified as a particular challenge for people with intellectual disabilities. The issue of accessibility thus not only featured prominently in the agenda of the event but was also foremost in the minds of the participants we interviewed including a rights based network whose representative explained that their work on discrimination and equality involved people with all forms of disability but that it was a challenge to work effectively across the full spectrum of disabilities. This concern around ensuring that people with diverse forms of disabilities are fully included was also emphasised by one national disability organisation from south western Europe who believed that it could be a challenge in such events to ensure the creation of an all-inclusive strategy, regardless of the category of a person's disability. Indeed one organisation, a pan-European disability platform, involved in organising the event also recognised this particular challenge:

> *'to make the whole event fully accessible for everyone… I think there is still some work to do on that'* (Interviewee 5)

One consistent challenge that emerged during the course of our interviews was that of the resources needed to effectively participate in transnational activism. One disability specific network we interviewed explained that given the cost of travel and accommodation it was impossible for some of the national associations which formed their network to participate. This view was echoed by another pan-European impairment specific association where the interviewee told us that few organisations had the necessary resources to fully participate in such transnational events, identifying in the process a lack of European funding that was particularly acute among the smaller networks which according to his experience was mirrored by a reality that funding was often reserved for the larger organisations who are better connected to the European Commission and who have a Brussels based staff to build partnerships and locate opportunities more successfully. Nevertheless according to one interviewee from another European network there was some evidence that access to such funding did not come without its own challenges. In her opinion, many organisations in receipt of funding from the Commission were less likely to be involved in advocacy and she believed that this was due to a dependence on European funding.

In terms of other challenges which emerged from our interviews it became clear that for some organisations there were internal challenges that came with organising to participate in transnational events. One interviewee from a European network operating in the field of mental health explained that in her organisation it was not a major challenge to prepare for an event, however as all of the membership of the network are able to participate in preparatory discussions then there can be situations where disagreements emerge and votes have to be taken. Furthermore, one interviewee from a European network which had been involved in organising the Brussels event explained that they had to strike a balance between the needs of their membership and the requirements of the Commission when putting the event together. One other challenge that emerged within some of the organisations we spoke to was the actual degree of interest and proximity with the issues and events taking place at the European level. As one interviewee from a national disability organisation from central Europe explained, it was sometimes a challenge to convey to member organisations within her association the connections between issues at the national and European levels and that the European level can often seem distant and less important than national domestic issues and policies. Moreover, an interviewee from a national charity from western Europe shed light on how organisations like his had experienced a relationship with the European level of activism at almost one step removed, having no direct relationships with Commission themselves and relying upon their membership of a European platform to stay updated with the developments in the European Union. Nevertheless, he added that this had not always been the case:

> *'In the past, in this organisation going back ten years or so there was a member of staff who specifically worked on European policy…those posts have largely gone across disability charities over the last ten years, so that kind of work seems to have been de-prioritised … resources have been stretched and that work has been de-prioritised and you would expect a lot more focus on the domestic agenda given how challenging the last seven years have been'* (Interviewee 8)

The development of solidarity from transnational campaigning

To understand how the experiences of participating in transnational events such as the European Day of Persons with Disabilities relates to forms of solidarity we asked our interviewees if they would describe their cooperation in the event using this term. Our question elicited a range of responses which can be divided into responses that on the one hand framed such solidarity more broadly around the idea of bringing people together and on the other hand viewed solidarity through the lens of more pragmatic collaboration, with some interviewees questioning the extent to which there was any tangible sense of solidarity from the event such as one interviewee from a rights based organisation who articulated some scepticism about the ability to measure the impact of the event and claimed that although the outcomes of the event should stimulate solidarity, the event itself could not be described as a direct form of solidarity. Another interviewee from a European platform focused on services for disabled people explained that although solidarity could mean calling on governments or others to show solidarity, in her view solidarity in the context of an event would mean one organisation being willing to subsidise the human or financial resources needed by other organisations with fewer resources to participate. Indeed a representative from a user led European platform we spoke to questioned whether the event itself does anything to mobilise solidarity, instead in her view it actually exposed the differences between organisations. In contrast, another interviewee from a European network involved in organising the event held a quite different view; that events such as these offered an opportunity for organisations to come together and realise that they are not alone in the challenges they face and certainly this was echoed by some of the organisations we interviewed which had participated. However, other organisations we spoke to suggested that the degree of solidarity that was evident at the event was clear at a surface level but became more fragile when digging deeper. This was somewhat exemplified by a disability specific European network whose representative articulated some frustration with what she perceived to be an unequal degree of awareness about the particular needs of different groups of disabled people. Furthermore, during the course of an interview with a Brussels based European network our interviewee, who agreed that the event itself could be described as a form of solidarity, urged us to recognise the broader environment that many organisations were operating in, particularly in terms of finances:

> *'One of the challenges for social NGOs in the EU environment is not losing track of what you are about because when you start signing agreements with the Commission and decision makers you find yourself sometimes a bit trapped in processes where you have to adapt constantly to new evolving priorities including economic priorities and sometimes that means indeed being extremely creative with your core mission statement'* (Interviewee 4)

The outcomes of transnational campaigning

In the process of our research it became clear that in terms of tangible outcomes from the event which took place in Brussels there was a diversity of views of what outcomes materialised, if any. Indeed diversity was one of the key features which one of our interviewees, from a European association tackling accessibility issues, regarded as a key strength of the event. He explained that the range of countries represented offered insights into the varied cultural perspectives on issues of

accessibility. Another interviewee, from a national charity in western Europe echoed this experience, adding that the event provided a crucial insight into the pressures which disabled people were experiencing across different countries in Europe. In a number of our interviews there was a sense that the event itself was not really geared towards a particular concrete outcome. As one interviewee from a pan-European network focused on issues of inclusivity explained, he did not expect any kind of proclamation following the event instead he regarded it as an opportunity for organisations to take from it whatever they could to further their own agenda. This view was echoed by a representative from a disability specific European platform who added that the event in Brussels was in her view an opportunity to gain inspiration for future activities for both her platform and the national organisations which comprised their membership, as well as a chance to build relationships with other disability organisations with whom they had common cause. The building of relationships between organisations was one outcome identified by a number of interviewees; indeed one respondent from a platform involved in organising the event explained that for her, although there would be a focus on policy recommendations following the event, the real aim was not policy influence but instead awareness raising and bringing the groups together. This view was mirrored by a representative from a national disability association from south western Europe who added that such events can be used to solidify alliances but also to raise awareness about the demands of the disability movement with the general public and policymakers. Nevertheless, this more fluid approach to the outcomes of the event drew some criticism from some of the participants we interviewed. One interviewee, from an impairment specific European network, explained that a motivation for attending was not necessarily an expectation of any particular outcome but instead it was a fear of missing out on some crucial piece of information or a particular opportunity. He added that the event itself could be somewhat repetitive each year which perhaps questioned the value of attending and indeed in another interview – with a platform involved in organising the event – there was a recognition that keeping the content fresh every year could indeed prove challenging. In an interview with another European platform, our interviewee articulated a sharper criticism of the event and questioned whether resources could be better utilised given that there were no policy outcomes. Moreover, she alluded to the danger of such an event becoming something of an echo chamber for organisations which were already familiar with each other's agendas:

> *'This kind of event puts together the same community when it wants to get out of isolation and get into the mainstream which makes no sense whatsoever. If this kind of event gets into the audience people from the arts industry, business other policymakers from other policy areas like transport or education that would be more acceptable to me. Because then these guys in the audience would be able to listen to people with different ideas about disability development and try to get, for example, transport accessible, or education inclusive. This is just a gathering of the same people all the time being in their own community, isolated from the mainstream'* (Interviewee 2)

Conclusions

The European Day of Persons with Disabilities which took place in November 2016 provides an illustrative case study of transnational activism in action. Those organisations taking part represented a broad spectrum of the field of disability and the variegated challenges which disabled people are confronting across Europe. The focus of the event around the celebration of the UNCRPD

adds a further transnational dimension to the context of cooperation between solidarity organisations and our interviews revealed that the event itself offered the prospect for opportunities for organisations to build their networks, share information, raise awareness of the issues they face and pursue opportunities for future collaboration. Nevertheless, our findings suggest that the event also revealed the challenges of transnational solidarity in the field of disability in terms of a sense of asymmetric opportunities at the European level between better connected Brussels based platforms and other smaller organisations, ongoing issues relating to the full accessibility of such events for all disabled people and differing opinions on what constituted solidarity at this level of action. Perhaps most importantly, there was some disagreement in the responses of our interviewees about the potential outcomes from the event. Although such events cannot perhaps be expected to trigger an immediate impact on policymaking, in a context of scarce resources for organisations and growing needs for many disabled people across Europe it is the tangible outcomes which emerge that may shape the nature and intensity of transnational solidarity through coordinated events in the future.

Transnational Social Strike: Solidarity from below in times of crisis

Eva Fernández (University of Geneva)

Campaigning at the transnational level in times of crisis

The study of solidarity does not only involve individual citizens but also collective actors that promote, organise and engage in transnational solidarity actions. The following case study is representative of a solidarity field of unemployment. The selection of the case follows a criterion focused on collective actors engaging and organising alternative practices of transnational solidarity (informal, non-professional groups or organisations, including activist umbrella organisations and networks). The case of the **Transnational Social Strike** (TSS) platform is representative of a bottom-up perspective; this particular form of organisational solidarity consists of grassroots associations within loose networks of collaborations. The **Transnational Social Strike** platform illustrates how activists operate transnationally in the field of unemployment, providing some insight into the intersection between activism, labour markets and migration. The type of transnational activism engaged in by TSS activists consists of a repertoire of demonstrations, protests, campaigns and events. These forms of collective action comprise a vast range of performative instruments – e.g. artistic representations and expositions, workshops, assembles and social gatherings – within a variable geometry of associations. The organisations taking part in the Transnational Social Strike platform represent a broad spectrum of grassroots organisations in the field of unemployment. These organisations vary from grassroots unions to anti-racist and feminist groups. In addition, the TSS platform focuses on the variegated challenges that European and non-European workers face all across Europe. The platform was created in 2013, and it was first composed of groups who participated in the Blockupy Frankfurt Coalition, 2012.

We conducted interviews with eight organisations out of the seventeen core members and we attended the TSS event "London Meeting, 2017". The meeting took place in February, 2017, and was a twoday workshop. The event featured a number of thematic panels focused on issues such as migration, unemployment, workers' precarisation, women's struggles and care services, and collective action strategies. The thematic panels intended to articulate in-depth discussions which were then resumed and discussed in plenary sessions. The London Meeting, 2017 brought together about forty-five different associations from across Europe, and more than two hundred individuals from all around the world. The overall frame of the event focused on the relationships between mobility, precarity and migration in the context of Brexit:

> *Brexit will make this idea of the political strike and the social strike even more important... I think it is quite easy to just start from anger. People are feeling really, really precarious and anxious at the moment for the very basic fact that our rights are taken away or people find themselves in total limbo… I think that Brexit has already started for many people for the very simple reason that speech is already affecting people's lives* (London Meeting, 2017 - panel speaker).

Our interviewees held key positions in their organisations and some of them were panel speakers during the London Meeting, 2017. One of the more immediate findings which emerged during the

course of our interviews was the broad agreement among a number of organisations that the key aim of the platform is to build a political and social infrastructure with a theoretical and strategic grip. Within the platform, migrant workers are considered to be non-European and European workers. Through the platform, migrant workers will be able to connect their diverse realities and promote meeting points based on their living and working conditions. Within this perspective, the meeting and events were of great importance as they served to promote an idea of commonality between the participants pointing at a shared political struggle bonded in solidarity. The findings from our interviews reveal that the immediate objective of the events was to raise awareness rather than lobbying political institutions. The main interlocutors for the platform were their constituencies, workers from all around Europe.

The opportunities and challenges of campaigning at the transnational level

During the course of our interviews with the organisations that participated in the London Meeting, 2017, it became clear that most of the interviewees considered the events as a flexible response to the challenges that workers face on a daily basis. The flexibility of the events was described by two major aspects: First, the capacity to react and to adapt to the urgent demands that workers are facing and to integrate them into the events' planning. Second, the ease of access that participants have in the development of the event conception, organisation and participation. For instance, one of the interviewees explained how the London Meeting, 2017 was useful in helping to analyse different political opportunities from the perspective of a transnational social strike, and to react to Brexit. In addition, events' development is based on a participatory decision-making process where the organisations have the autonomy to build their own initiatives to be discussed during the agenda-setting process. The events provide a common denominator to ease the visibility of their social and political struggles. Echoing the views of other respondents, these types of action based on horizontal structures ease the organisational resources required to build such political devices. Members are not obliged to participate in the events and there is no formal status or binding responsibility towards the platform. In addition, another interviewee stressed the capacity of reaction and modularity of the events; modularity here means, the organisational capacity to include various types of political and social instruments within a common framework, including alternative social arrangements – e.g. demonstrations, artistic representations and social gatherings:

> '*Through the platform we coordinate the meeting and working documents which came out of these meetings. Through the platform we also coordinate issues which happened before the meeting and we are constantly following and reacting'* (Interviewee 2).
>
> *'The events are key as we are constantly responding to the more urgent demands' (Interviewee 3).*

The issue of cooperation and collaboration was also brought up by various interviewees as an opportunity and a challenge. The frequent cooperation between the TSS members is considered a strategic means towards collective action which enhances their capacity to agglutinate actors' agency. Besides, it allows for going beyond a logic of intermittent collaborations based on rigid agendas. Their participatory approach involves actors throughout the event- building process, aiming to re-connect people across space (they operate to connect European citizens from different countries) and time (they also reconnect generations and keep record of changes that might alter

people's rights across time). Their use of technology eases the connection between scattered nodes within a loose network of information useful for protest networks as in the 'occupy movement' (Bennett and Segerberg, 2013). Additionally, it endows high levels of cohesion and identification through shared social networks, fostering ties and emotional links among people and generating interpersonal trust (Diani, 2015; della Porta, 2015).

Nevertheless, despite the positive outcomes of the event marked by a strong cooperation between those taking part and between participants and organisers, our interviewees were aware of the experienced challenges and limitations brought about by their transnational engagement. Some of the challenges that were highlighted ranged from practical issues such as language barriers to ideological conceptualisations. Various interviewees, who are core members of the platform, explained the communication barriers experienced when discussing in English which impacts the fluidity of the debate and in some cases generates misunderstanding. Debates and political discussions are key elements of the platform's working process thus the building of common communicative devices stands as priority for the sustainability of their collective action. Secondly, the issue of ideological differences and divergences in the conception of strategies not only featured prominently in the agenda of the event, but was also foremost in the minds of the participants we interviewed. Interviewees are highly aware of the cultural and political differences that are vehiculated through political forms of action like strikes, their challenge is to converge the multiplicity of collective imaginaries mobilised by this type of collective action:

> *'The challenge and what makes our dispositive alive (…) is to go beyond how concepts such as strikes are contextually used and to start using them as common instruments with social significance of a shared experience and a common stand'* (Interviewee 3).

ne persistent challenge that emerged during the course of our interviews was that of the resources needed to effectively participate in transnational activism. Even though organisations have shared travelling costs and organised hosting arrangements, only a few organisations had the necessary resources to fully participate in such transnational events. The limited resources of the platform also demand that the organisers seek occasional collaboration with more formalised groups, like unions, to access locations where their meetings can be hosted. The lack of resources was echoed by the organisations as an inter-organisational barrier at the transnational and the national level, stressing how resource disparities between groups affect the building of a common agenda nationally and internationally:

> *'Solidarity between organisations, both nationally and transnationally, is arduous to achieve because you need go beyond the resource disparities'* (Interviewee 5).

Moreover, an interviewee from a grassroots union, shed some light on the difficulties to find a common action frame in order to go beyond the political acknowledgement of their common social struggle and to deploy concrete actions, what he called: *"The complexity to protrude from the activists' connection towards common concrete militant action."* With respect to this particular issue, according to the interviewee, the groups' resources and diversity, as well as previous activists' experiences in some cases negatively impact the convergence into concrete actions.

The development of solidarity from transnational campaigning

To understand how the experiences of participating in transnational events relates to forms of solidarity, we asked our interviewees if they would describe their views on cooperation as solidarity. Our question elicited a range of responses which can be divided into two major groups. On the one hand responses framed solidarity as practice or an outcome which might result from cooperation, and on the other hand they outlined solidarity as bonds that bring people together in the same way that it excludes others. In this sense, solidarity as a tangible practice relates to cooperation indirectly. One of the interviewees echoed that through cooperation, they could achieve social benefits for vulnerable groups, which for him was a form of solidarity outcome stimulated by this type of event. Another interviewee described solidarity as a form of cooperation that goes beyond sharing statements and that implies true exchange of resources and mutual help actions. For instance, most of the organisations were aware of the unbalanced resources between the groups so they shared travel costs, while local activist hosted members from other places. They put together day-care services for families wanting to attend the meetings. During the event, activists engaged in solidarity practices; they deployed their skills and resources for the benefit of the mobilisation and the other members:

> *'Cooperation could result in concrete solidarity towards migrants, the homeless, unemployed people, and globally for every person who lives in a precarious situation, but cooperation is not genuinely direct solidarity'* (Interviewee 4).

Indeed, as described before, solidarity was also defined as a bridging element between diverse social realities. This bridging capacity is also the outcome of continuous collaboration between these groups. Solidarity finds its base when putting together their narratives of struggle, the shared personal links and associational ties. In this sense, social movement studies have examined how personal and associational ties are essential for the mobilisation process which consolidates collective identities through cognitive and affective mechanisms (della Porta and Diani, 2006). However, some of the interviewees were very critical of the concept of solidarity due to the dichotomisation criterion inherent in its conception. Solidarity vehiculates a sense of belonging and not belonging; it might stress community boundaries while externalising the suffering of others. More precisely, they are aware of the difficulties inherent in categorising the "precariat" as a subject for collective action, as a common identifiable category with sufficient network embeddedness for the mobilisation process (della Porta, 2015; Tilly, 1978):

> *'Solidarity externalises the problem. I will intervene with regards to your suffering but I will not share that suffering. This is similar to what happened some time ago with the call for solidarity towards the Greeks. It was not being solidaristic with the Greeks. It was beyond a community struggle; it was our political struggle that was taking place'* (Interviewee 3).

The major outcomes of transnational campaigning

During our research, it became clear that in terms of tangible outcomes from the event which took place in London, most of the views converge upon a common ground. Indeed, all the interviewees agreed on the recent journey of the Transnational Social Strike platform, a fairly new device which still has a long to go. In addition, the major outcomes of the platform and of this kind of event is the constant mobilisation of the actors, the process of raising awareness and widening the target

audience. More detailed insights on the event outcomes outlined the necessity to elaborate common strategies upon concrete objectives like migrants' and vulnerable populations' access to hospitals. Another interviewee described her low initial expectations of precise outcomes for these types of collaboration. She maintained that constructing a common ground of understanding between the association is by itself a tremendous achievement:

> *'TSS is still at the beginning and it is difficult to expect precise outcomes... if we succeed to engage in a common direction, it would be fantastic, but it is a tremendous task! In addition, knowing each other's aims and a genuine mutual understanding might sound simplistic but it is a very desirable aim to reach'* (Interviewee 4).

Other views of the event outcomes suggested that the capacity to react and to foresee common scenarios for collective actions stands as a key feature for this kind of events. However, it is not geared towards a concrete outcome or unique form of action, but as part of a larger mobilisation process. The building of relationships between organisations was one outcome identified by a large number of interviewees. Indeed, one respondent from the platform involved in organising the event explained that for him, the real aim was bringing the groups together, within a long-term strategy to put shared struggles up front and not differences or partial resistances.

Conclusions

The Transnational Social Strike event which took place in February, 2017 provided an illustrative case study of transnational activism in action. The organisations taking part represented a broad spectrum of grassroots organisations in the field of unemployment, at the intersection between labour markets, migration and precarious workers. In addition, it focused on the variegated challenges which workers face across Europe. The event offered opportunities for organisations to maintain and to build collaborative networks, share information, raise awareness and pursue opportunities for social change. Nevertheless, our findings suggest that the event also revealed the challenges of transnational activism, as inter-organisational resources are scarce and only a few organisations had the necessary resources to fully participate in such events. However, challenges also showcased the strong capacity of these actors to operate transnationally within very loose forms of organisation.

The Transnational Social Strike platform allowed us to depict an activism based on: horizontal structures of decision making as a means of enabling effective collective action; the process of 'prefigurative politics' where activists express their political "ends" through their "means" translated into alternative social and organisational arrangements; the complexity of featuring a common subject of struggle embodied by migrants, and the precarious, young and unemployed.

> *… I have never seen so much common talk across different migrant communities… and this is pretty amazing because people are using the word 'migrant' again with a completely new meaning… the question of free movement remains one of the most controversial questions right now but the possibility of dealing with the current threat of Brexit for immigrants in this country is the idea of the social strike, and I think it is the way forward'* (London Meeting, 2017 - panel speaker).

Bibliography

Bennett, W.L. and Segerberg, A. 2013. The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

della Porta, D. and Tarrow, S. 2004. Transnational Protest and Global Activism: People, Passions, and Power. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

della Porta, D. and Diani, M. 2006. Social Movements, 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

della Porta, D. 2015. Social Movements in Times of Austerity: Bringing Capitalism Back Into Protest Analysis. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Diani, M. 2015 The Cement of Civil Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Keck, M. andSikkink, K. 1998. Activists beyond borders. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Tilly, C.1978. From Mobilization to Revolution. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

APPENDIX A: The National Interview Survey

WP4 QUESTIONNAIRE – ORGANIZATIONAL SURVEY[52]

My (University/Institute name) is conducting research on different kinds of organizations in (country name). This research is part of **the project *Transnational Solidarity at Times of Crisis* (TRANSSOL)**, which is being carried out by scholars from eight European countries. The TransSol project aims at providing new practical knowledge on European solidarity.

The **goal of this questionnaire** is to gather information on activities and institutional relations of civil society organizations dealing with disability, unemployment, and migration-asylum to ascertain the impact of organizational networks and social capital on transnational solidarity. We are, of course, very interested in your organization and that is why we have contacted you.

Please note that the results of the study will be used for scientific publications and the information that is provided will be treated as **confidential**. Although we will be asking very precise questions on your organization, we want to stress we are not specifically focussing on your organization alone. It is the general picture, which interests us. But to get a good general picture, we need good information on individual organizations as well.

If you want to learn more about the research, please visit the **project website** at: http://transsol.eu and / or write to us at transsol@uni-siegen.de

a) Full name of the group / organisation _____

b) Acronym/short version of group's name _____

c) Phone/Fax contact _____

d) Email contact _____

[52] This questionnaire was inspired by previous European research, namely the **Younex, Demos and LocalMultiDem** projects.

PARTICIPATION IN JOINT CAMPAIGNS/EVENTS

(OPEN ENDED)

1. In which campaigns in your country have you been involved in lately? Which of these involved a large number of partners?

[Interviewer: ask about the aims of these campaigns/events; strategic choices; reasons for the organization to participate]

2. What where your experiences of organizing cooperation at the national level?

[Interviewer: ask about who were the main players? What were the main problems or challenges to overcome? Were there conflicts, or were organizations excluded for specific reasons?]

3. Have you also been involved in transnational campaigns, involving cooperation with partners in different countries, or with partners at the EU-level?

[Interviewer: ask about the aims of these campaigns/events; strategic choices; reasons for the organization to participate]

4. What where your experiences of these types of cooperation? To what extent do problems and challenges diverge when compared to national campaigns?

[Interviewer: ask about who were the main players? What were the main problems or challenges to overcome, were there conflicts or were organizations excluded for specific reasons?]

5. Would you understand these forms of cooperation as forms of solidarity?

[Interviewer: ask why they think their forms of cooperation are (or are not, as the case may be) solidaristic]

INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION

6. In which year was your organization founded?

*Year of original foundation*_____ *(yyyy format)*

7. Is your organization/group:

a. An umbrella organization
b. A member of a federation of organizations
c. A member of a national organization
d. A member of a network
e. Please specify which ones_____

8. In which of these geographical areas is your organization/group active [multiple responses possible]:

[Interviewer: by active we mean that the organization pursues its goals at that geographical level]

1. At European Union level

2. At transnational (inside and outside EU) level

3. At national level

4. At regional level

5 At local level

6 Other (*please* ***specify***) _____

Main Activities and Strategies

9. ***Who are the beneficiaries of your organisation?***
    - ***a.*** **Immigrants / asylum seekers**
    - ***b.*** **The unemployed**
    - ***c.*** **Disabled people**
    - ***d.*** **Other: _____**

10. Could you please tell me which are the main actions among those listed below used by your organisation in order to reach its aims?	**NO**	**YES**	
		Nationally	**Transnationally**
1. Mobilizing members through protest, demonstrations			
2. Mobilizing members through direct actions			
3. Political education of citizens / raising awareness			
4. Interest representation / Lobbying institutions			
5. Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc..)			
6. Services to others (e.g. clients)			
7. Fundraising			
8. Participation in legal consultations / policy making processes			
9. Other (*please **specify***) _____ _____ ___			

[If more than one action, ask the following question, if not skip it]

11. Which action do you use most frequently nationally and which one transnationally?

[Write down the numbers of the action (e.g. if 'lobbying', write 4). Please ask respondent to choose only one for national and one for transnational actions]

_____

12. Which type of activities do you organize with and for…? [Interviewer: Please ask the questions about the groups who are not the main constituencies of the organization: e.g. if you are interviewing an organization dealing with disabled people, ask about unemployed and immigrants/refugees; this question is interesting to check potential cross-groups or cross-themes actions].

	a. …Unemployed			**b. Disabled people**			**c. Immigrants /Refugees, As. S.**		
	NO	**Yes**		**NO**	**YES**		**NO**	**YES**	
		Nat	**Tra**		**Nat**	**Tra**		**Nat**	**Tra**
1. Mobilizing members through protest, demonstrations									
2. Mobilizing members through direct actions									
3.Political education of citizens / raising awareness									
4. Interest representation / Lobbying institutions									
5. Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc..)									
6. Services to others (e.g. clients)									
7. Fundraising									
8. Participation in legal consultations / policy making processes									
9 .Other(*please **specify***)									
	_____ _____ _____ _____			_____ _____ _____ _____			_____ _____ _____ _____		

13. How frequently has your organization engaged in the following activities in the last 2 years?

	FREQUENCY								
ACTIVITIES	*Monthly*		*2-5 times a year*		*Yearly*		*Never*		*DK/ NA*
	Nationally	**Trans.**	**Nationally**	**Trans.**	**Nationally**	**Trans.**	**Nationally**	**Trans.**	
1. Organise **cultural** events (concerts, exhibitions, performances, etc.)									
2. Organise **social** events (parties, meals, fairs, dances, trips, etc.)									
3. Organise **intellectual** events (lectures, debates, conferences, etc.)									
4. Organise **political** events (lobbying, demonstrations, public meetings, strikes, etc.)									
5. Organise **educational** activities (visits to museums, courses, etc.)									
6. Organise **sport and leisure** activities (competitions, fitness courses, etc.)									
7. Organise **religious** activities (pilgrimages, prayers, etc.)									
8. Management or implementation of **public programs** (social, educational cultural, etc.)?									
9. Other (*please **specify***) _____ _____									

_____									

14. Does your organization provide any kind of service?

0. No → Go to question 16

1. Yes

15. How frequently has your organization provided any of the following services in the last 2 years?

SERVICES	Frequency			
	Often	*Seldom*	*Never*	*DK/NA*
1. Providing assistance in housing and sheltering				
2. Providing assistance in employment seeking				
3. Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (health care, education etc.)				
4. Providing financial support				
5. Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.)				
6. Providing Legal assistance				
7. Providing assistance in education services				
8. Providing assistance in debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)				
9. Providing assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.)				
10. Other (*please **specify***)				

_____ _____ _____				

FILTER: IF NO BENEFICIARIES, GO TO QUESTION 16

15.a. How many persons (beneficiaries) overall obtained such services in the last year?

1: less than 100

2: less than 500

3. Less than 1000

4: More than 1000

15.b. Is there a required criterion to obtain such services?

0. No → Go to question 16

1. Yes

15. c. IF YES, which one(s)? [more than one choice possible]

1. Income level (tested)

2. Inclusion in public programs (for unemployed, disability, integration-asylum)

3. Citizenship

4. Religion

5. Age

9. Other (*please specify*) _____

16. Does the organization have a constitution?

0. No

1. Yes

17. Does your organization have…? *(Interviewer: Read out rows)*

[If yes in 1 and/or 7 and/or 8 ask FREQUENCY]

	No	**Yes**		***How often does it meet?***				
				Weekly	*Monthly*	*Several times a year*	*Once a year*	*Less frequently*
1. A board								
2. Leader / president								
3. A chair person								
4. A secretary								
5. A spokesperson								
6. A treasurer								
7. A general assembly								
8. Committees / work groups on specific issues								
9. An international officer?								

FILTER: IF NO BOARD, GO TO Q. 22

18. How are the board members recruited?

1. Within the organization (among members)

2. From outside it (e.g. job market)

19. How many members form the board? _____

20. How many of the board members are [Interviewer: questions about unemployed should be asked to organisations dealing with employment issues; disabled about disability; immigrants & asylum seekers to those dealing with immigration/asylum] :

a. Women? _____

b. Unemployed male? _____

c. Unemployed female? _____

d. Disabled male? _____

e. Disabled female? _____

f. Immigrant male? _____

g. Immigrant female? _____

h. Asylum seeker/refugee male? _____

i. Asylum seeker/refugee female? _____

21. Is such a distribution within the board the result of an explicit policy (quota) of the organization?

0: No

1: Yes

MEMBERSHIP COMPOSITION (volunteers, staff etc.)

22. Do you have an updated record of your members/individual affiliates?

Write here the number of members-individual affiliates: _____

23. According to your experience, why do people join the organization?

1. For political support
2. For financial support
3. For legal/judiciary support
4. For social contacts
5. For helping-assisting people
6. For sharing political ideas/values
9. Other (*please **specify***)

_____

24. Is there any formal requirement to be able to join your organization?

0. No → Go to question 25
1. Yes

24.a. If Yes, which one?

1. Being registered as disabled/unemployed/refugee-asylum seeker
2. Receiving social assistance
3. Being a [country here] citizen
4. Paying membership fees
9. Other (*please **specify***)

_____

25. How many paid staff persons does your organization/group have?

a. Full time _____

b. Part time _____

26: Some associations like yours also rely on volunteer work: would you be able to tell approximately which share (in percentage) of your organisation's activities depend on volunteer work?

---------- **[Interviewer: write here the % of the association's work which fully relies on volunteers]**

SIZE, FACILITIES and FINANCES

27. Since 2010 did your organisation experience a retrenchment in funding or available resources?

1. No retrenchment
2. Limited retrenchment
3. Severe retrenchment

28. Could you please tell me what the more recent annual operating budget of your organisation is using the scale below?

1. Less than € 50,000

2. Less than € 100,000

3. Less than € 200,000

4. Less than € 500,000

5. More than € 500,000

88. DK

99. REFUSAL

29. Could you tell us about your financial sources by indicating from the list below how is each source contributing to your budget?

Sources	**Irrelevant**	**Fairly Relevant**	**Very relevant**
1. Returns from funds raising (events, sales of goods/ services, etc.)			
2. Membership fees			
3. Donations from individuals			
4. Sponsoring from companies/firms			
5. Finance from federation or umbrella organisation			
6. Grants from national government			

7. EU grants			
8. Other sources (*please **specify***) _____ _____			

INTERACTIONS WITH INSTITUTIONS

30. In the last 2-3 years, has your organization been called to participate in decision-making processes in any of the following ways? *[Interviewer: Only when interviewee mentions one, ask]* ***Did your organization finally participate?***

	a. Has been called		b. Participated	
	NO	**YES**	**NO**	**YES**
1. As a permanent member of an EU body (E.g. Economic and Social Affairs committee; Social Business Europe; etc..)				
2. As an organization consulted during specific policy procedures (EP and EC consultations, etc…)				
3. As a permanent member of national policy making procedures				
4. As an organization consulted during specific policy making procedures at national level				
5. As a permanent member of sub-national policy making procedures				
6. As an organization consulted during specific policy making procedures at sub-national level				

NETWORK ANALYSIS

The next set of questions is about contacts of your organization with other groups an organizations in your country and beyond.

LIST 1 ('FIELD' ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COUNTRY)

(Specific transnational and national list elaborated through mapping: here we include all the organizations dealing with disability, unemployment, migration-asylum in the selected countries and at EU level)

31. I would like to present you now a list of organizations and organizations that work in Europe on a range of issues.

[Interviewer: before you ask this question you will need to clarify with your interviewee in which field their organisation is operating]

31. a First, could you tell me with which of these have you had any meetings, consultations or exchange of information in the last 2 years? (Info)

31. b Second, could you tell me with which of these have you collaborated in projects or events in the last 2 years? (Projects)

---→ Please specify which projects

31. c Do individual members of your organization have personal links with any of these organizations? (Links)

31. d Finally, with regard to this list, could you tell me with which of these would you say that your organization has relevant disagreements? (Dis)

	Info	Projects	Please specify	Links	Dis
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					
16.					

17.					
18.					
19.					
20.					
21.					
22.					
23.					
24.					
25.					
26.					
27.					
28.					
29.					
30.					
31.					
32.					
33.					
34.					
35.					
36.					
37.					
38.					
39.					
40.					
41.					
42.					
43.					
44.					
45.					
46.					
47.					
48.					
49.					
50.					

32. Could you please mention other organizations within your field of operation that are not included in this list with whom you collaborated or had relevant disagreement in the past two years?

	Info	Projects	→ Please specify	Links	Dis
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.					

32. a Can you name three organizations/platforms/umbrellas that are in your experience the most relevant in your field of operation?

	Nationally	Transnationally
1.		**1.**
2.		**2.**
3.		**3.**

33. Could you tell me the name of any organization that works outside your field of operation (disability /unemployment /migration-asylum or in any other field) and with which you have collaborated in the last 2 years? You can mention organizations that work at the EU, national or sub-national level.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

34. INSTITUTIONAL COLLABORATIONS IN THE COUNTRY [EU LEVEL]

34. a ***Could you please mention institutional actors (public authorities) within your field of operation working in this COUNTRY [or EU Level] with which you collaborated or had relevant disagreement in the last 2 years?***

	Info	Projects		LINKS	DIS
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

34. b Can you name three institutional actors (public authorities) that are in your experience the most relevant in your field of operation?

	Nationally	**Transnationally**
1.		**1.**
2.		**2.**
3.		**3.**

APPENDIX B: The Transnational Interview Survey

WP4 QUESTIONNAIRE – ORGANIZATIONAL SURVEY[53]

My (University/Institute name) is conducting research on different kinds of organizations in (country name). This research is part of **the project *Transnational Solidarity at Times of Crisis* (TRANSSOL)**, which is being carried out by scholars from eight European countries. The TransSol project aims at providing new practical knowledge on European solidarity.

The **goal of this questionnaire** is to gather information on activities and institutional relations of civil society organizations dealing with disability, unemployment, and migration-asylum to ascertain the impact of organizational networks and social capital on transnational solidarity. We are, of course, very interested in your organization and that is why we have contacted you.

Please note that the results of the study will be used for scientific publications and the information that is provided will be treated as **confidential**. Although we will be asking very precise questions on your organization, we want to stress we are not specifically focussing on your organization alone. It is the general picture, which interests us. But to get a good general picture, we need good information on individual organizations as well.

If you want to learn more about the research, please visit the **project website** at: http://transsol.eu and / or write to us at transsol@uni-siegen.de

a) Full name of the group / organisation _____

b) Acronym/short version of group's name _____

c) Phone/Fax contact _____

d) Email contact _____

[53] This questionnaire was inspired by previous European research, namely the **Younex, Demos and LocalMultiDem** projects.

PARTICIPATION IN JOINT CAMPAIGNS/EVENTS

(OPEN ENDED)

1. What where your experiences of organizing cooperation at the transnational level?

[How were decisions taken in the event/campaign? e.g. deliberative/consensus/voting/committee]

[How would you define the type of collaborations between organisations in this campaign? e.g. hierarchical/horizontal/project driven]

2. What are the challenges of organizing your activities at the transnational level?

[Were organisations excluded? Why?]

[How easy was it to reach agreement on the aims of the campaign/event?]

[What challenges emerged when developing a common collective strategy?]

[What challenges emerged in terms of sharing/distributing resources?]

3. Would you understand these forms of cooperation as forms of solidarity?

[Why do you think these forms of cooperation are (or are not, as the case may be) solidaristic?]

4. What do you expect will be the outcome of this campaign/event?

[What are the next stages of the campaign/event?]

[How do you plan to build upon the connections you have made in this campaign/event?]

[What lessons have you learned from the organisation of this campaign/event?]

5. 1. What were the main goals of this campaign/event?

	Goal 1	**Goal 2**
Oppose a specific policy/project		
Oppose a specific piece of legislation		
Support a specific policy/project		
Support a specific piece of legislation		
Produce valuable goods and/or services		
Influence people's lifestyles		
Challenge the legitimacy of other social actors		
Other (**specify**)		

5.1. a Was this campaign/event directed against any of the following groups/actors? Or was it meant to mobilise support from any of them?

	Against	**Mobilizing support from**	**Neutral/ Not relevant**
Local council			
Government			
Public agency			
Private business			
Other social groups			
Political parties			
Other political organisations			
Foreign national governments			
International agencies/bodies			

Specific individuals
Public opinion
No specific targets
Other (**specify**)

5.1.b What was the involvement of your organisation in the event/campaign?

Did not participate	Participated	Organised	Opposed/ critical voices	transferring information to your members	Sharing Resources

5.2 Who were the main players in this Brussels based event? Please list three maximum.

1.

2.

3.

5.3.a Listed below are several factors which may facilitate the growth of collaboration between two groups/associations.
What factors facilitated your collaboration with the groups participating in this campaign/event?

	1	**2**	**3**		
Shared values and principles					
Same specific interests					
Trustworthy leaders					
Provided us with resources/ information/advice					
Major player in our field/area					
Important source of political/media					
Previous personal bonds to their					
Same ethnic group					
Same religious practice					
We tend to adopt similar tactics					

Easy to contact					
Members have similar past political background					
We have complementary roles/functions					
Other (specify)					

5.3.b Listed below are several factors which often discourage collaboration between two groups/associations.

What are the most important reasons that prevent/prevented your collaborations with other groups participating in campaign/event?

	1	**2**	**3**		
Different fundamental principles					
Different specific interests					
Their leaders are untrustworthy					
Unable to provide us with					
Minor players in our field/area					
Alliance with them would damage our political/media connections					
No personal bonds to their members					
We disagree with their tactics					
Different ethnic group					
Different religion					
Difficult to contact					
Members have different political background					
We are competing for the same					
Other (specify)					

5.4 Would you please identify the most important transnational campaign/event that your group/organisation has conducted or collaborated in the last few years?

1.

5.5 What were the main goals of that campaign/event?

	Goal 1	Goal 2
Oppose a specific policy/project		
Oppose a specific piece of legislation		
Support a specific policy/project		
Support a specific piece of legislation		
Produce valuable goods and/or services		
Influence people's lifestyles		
Challenge the legitimacy of other social actors		
Other (**specify**)		

5.6.a Was this campaign/event directed against any of the following groups/actors? Or was it meant to mobilise support from any of them?

	Against	Mobilizing support from	Neutral/ Not relevant
Local council			
Government			
Public agency			
Private business			
Other social groups			
Political parties			
Other political organisations			
Foreign national governments			
International agencies/bodies			
Specific individuals			
Public opinion			

No specific targets
Other (**specify**)

5.6.b What was the involvement of your organisation in the event/campaign?

Did not participate	Participated	Organised	Opposed/ critical voices	transferring information to your members	Sharing Resources

5.7 Please choose two descriptions which best identify your group/organisation:

	Voluntary organisation		Social movement organisation
	Charity		Religious group
	Community organisation		Ethnic association
	Political organisation		Environmental group
	Direct action group		Reform group
	Public interest group		Citizens' lobby
	Cultural association		Self-help group
	Socialist organisation		Other (**specify**)
	Humanitarian organisation		

INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION

6. In which year was your organization founded?

*Year of original foundation*_____ *(yyyy format)*

7. Is your organization/group:

f. An umbrella organization
g. A member of a federation of organizations
h. A member of a national organization
i. A member of a network
j. Please specify which ones_____

8. In which of these geographical areas is your organization/group active [multiple responses possible]:

[Interviewer: by active we mean that the organization pursues its goals at that geographical level]

1. At European Union level

2. At transnational (inside and outside EU) level

3. At national level

4. At regional level

5 At local level

6 Other (*please* ***specify***) _____

Main Activities and Strategies

10. Who are the beneficiaries of your organisation?

- ***e.*** **Immigrants / asylum seekers**
- ***f.*** **The unemployed**
- ***g.*** **Disabled people**
- ***h.*** **Other: _____**

10. Could you please tell me which are the main actions among those listed below used by your organisation in order to reach its aims?	**NO**	**YES**	
		Nationally	**Transnationally**
1. Mobilizing members through protest, demonstrations			
2. Mobilizing members through direct actions			
3. Political education of citizens / raising awareness			
4. Interest representation / Lobbying institutions			
5. Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc..)			
6. Services to others (e.g. clients)			
7. Fundraising			
8. Participation in legal consultations / policy making processes			
9. Other (*please **specify***) _____ _____ ___			

[If more than one action, ask the following question, if not skip it]

11. Which action do you use most frequently nationally and which one transnationally?

[Write down the numbers of the action (e.g. if 'lobbying', write 4). Please ask respondent to choose only one for national and one for transnational actions]

_____

12. Which type of activities do you organize with and for…? [Interviewer: Please ask the questions about the groups who are not the main constituencies of the organization: e.g. if you are interviewing an organization dealing with disabled people, ask about unemployed and immigrants/refugees; this question is interesting to check potential cross-groups or cross-themes actions].

	a. …Unemployed			**b.** **Disabled people**			**c.** **Immigrants /Refugees, As. S.**		
	NO	**Yes**		**NO**	**YES**		**NO**	**YES**	
		Nat	**Tra**		**Nat**	**Tra**		**Nat**	**Tra**
1. Mobilizing members through protest, demonstrations									
2. Mobilizing members through direct actions									
3.Political education of citizens / raising awareness									
4. Interest representation / Lobbying institutions									
5. Services to members (advisory-counselling; material support; etc..)									
6. Services to others (e.g. clients)									
7. Fundraising									
8. Participation in legal consultations / policy making processes									
9 .Other(*please* ***specify***)									
	_____ _____ _____ _____			_____ _____ _____ _____			_____ _____ _____ _____		

13. How frequently has your organization engaged in the following activities in the last 2 years?

	FREQUENCY								
ACTIVITIES	*Monthly*		*2-5 times a year*		*Yearly*		*Never*		*DK/ NA*
	Nationally	**Trans.**	**Nationally**	**Trans.**	**Nationally**	**Trans.**	**Nationally**	**Trans.**	
1. Organise **cultural** events (concerts, exhibitions, performances, etc.)									
2. Organise **social** events (parties, meals, fairs, dances, trips, etc.)									
3. Organise **intellectual** events (lectures, debates, conferences, etc.)									
4. Organise **political** events (lobbying, demonstrations, public meetings, strikes, etc.)									
5. Organise **educational** activities (visits to museums, courses, etc.)									
6. Organise **sport and leisure** activities (competitions, fitness courses, etc.)									
7. Organise **religious** activities (pilgrimages, prayers, etc.)									
8. Management or implementation of **public programs** (social, educational cultural, etc.)?									
9. Other (*please **specify***) _____ _____									

_____									

14. Does your organization provide any kind of service?

0. No → Go to question 16

1. Yes

15. How frequently has your organization provided any of the following services in the last 2 years?

SERVICES	Frequency			
	Often	*Seldom*	*Never*	*DK/NA*
1. Providing assistance in housing and sheltering				
2. Providing assistance in employment seeking				
3. Providing assistance in access to the welfare system (health care, education etc.)				
4. Providing financial support				
5. Providing in-kind support (e.g. meals, accommodation, clothes, etc.)				
6. Providing Legal assistance				
7. Providing assistance in education services				
8. Providing assistance in debt counselling (e.g. mortgage problems)				
9. Providing assistance for non-material issues (e.g. emotional, interpersonal, etc.)				
10. Other (*please **specify***)				

_____ _____ _____				

FILTER: IF NO BENEFICIARIES, GO TO QUESTION 16

15.a. How many persons (beneficiaries) overall obtained such services in the last year?

1: less than 100

2: less than 500

3. Less than 1000

4: More than 1000

15.b. Is there a required criterion to obtain such services?

0. No → Go to question 16

1. Yes

15. c. IF YES, which one(s)? [more than one choice possible]

1. Income level (tested)

2. Inclusion in public programs (for unemployed, disability, integration-asylum)

3. Citizenship

4. Religion

5. Age

9. Other (*please specify*) _____

16. Does the organization have a constitution?

0. No

1. Yes

17. Does your organization have…? *(Interviewer: Read out rows)*

[If yes in 1 and/or 7 and/or 8 ask FREQUENCY]

	No	**Yes**		***How often does it meet?***				
				Weekly	*Monthly*	*Several times a year*	*Once a year*	*Less frequently*
1. A board								
2. Leader / president								
3. A chair person								
4. A secretary								
5. A spokesperson								
6. A treasurer								
7. A general assembly								
8. Committees / work groups on specific issues								
10. An international officer?								

FILTER: IF NO BOARD, GO TO Q. 22

18. How are the board members recruited?

1. Within the organization (among members)

2. From outside it (e.g. job market)

19. How many members form the board? _____

20. How many of the board members are [Interviewer: questions about unemployed should be asked to organisations dealing with employment issues; disabled about disability; immigrants & asylum seekers to those dealing with immigration/asylum] :

a. Women? _____

b. Unemployed male? _____

c. Unemployed female? _____

d. Disabled male? _____

e. Disabled female? _____

f. Immigrant male? _____

g. Immigrant female? _____

h. Asylum seeker/refugee male? _____

i. Asylum seeker/refugee female? _____

21. Is such a distribution within the board the result of an explicit policy (quota) of the organization?

0: No

1: Yes

MEMBERSHIP COMPOSITION (volunteers, staff etc.)

22. Do you have an updated record of your members/individual affiliates?

Write here the number of members-individual affiliates: _____

23. According to your experience, why do people join the organization?

1. For political support
2. For financial support
3. For legal/judiciary support
4. For social contacts
5. For helping-assisting people
6. For sharing political ideas/values
9. Other (*please **specify***)

_____

24. Is there any formal requirement to be able to join your organization?

0. No → Go to question 25
1. Yes

24.a. If Yes, which one?

1. Being registered as disabled/unemployed/refugee-asylum seeker
2. Receiving social assistance
3. Being a [country here] citizen
4. Paying membership fees
9. Other (*please **specify***)

_____

25. How many paid staff persons does your organization/group have?

a. Full time _____

b. Part time _____

26: Some associations like yours also rely on volunteer work: would you be able to tell approximately which share (in percentage) of your organisation's activities depend on volunteer work?

---------- **[Interviewer: write here the % of the association's work which fully relies on volunteers]**

SIZE, FACILITIES and FINANCES

27. Since 2010 did your organisation experience a retrenchment in funding or available resources?

4. No retrenchment
5. Limited retrenchment
6. Severe retrenchment

28. Could you please tell me what the more recent annual operating budget of your organisation is using the scale below?

1. Less than € 50,000

2. Less than € 100,000

3. Less than € 200,000

4. Less than € 500,000

5. More than € 500,000

88. DK

99. REFUSAL

29. Could you tell us about your financial sources by indicating from the list below how is each source contributing to your budget?

Sources	**Irrelevant**	**Fairly Relevant**	**Very relevant**
1. Returns from funds raising (events, sales of goods/ services, etc.)			
2. Membership fees			
3. Donations from individuals			
4. Sponsoring from companies/firms			
5. Finance from federation or umbrella organisation			
6. Grants from national government			

7. EU grants			
8. Other sources (*please **specify***) _____ _____			

INTERACTIONS WITH INSTITUTIONS

30. In the last 2-3 years, has your organization been called to participate in decision-making processes in any of the following ways? *[Interviewer: Only when interviewee mentions one, ask]* ***Did your organization finally participate?***

	a. Has been called		b. Participated	
	NO	**YES**	**NO**	**YES**
1. As a permanent member of an EU body (E.g. Economic and Social Affairs committee; Social Business Europe; etc..)				
2. As an organization consulted during specific policy procedures (EP and EC consultations, etc…)				
3. As a permanent member of national policy making procedures				
4. As an organization consulted during specific policy making procedures at national level				
5. As a permanent member of sub-national policy making procedures				
6. As an organization consulted during specific policy making procedures at sub-national level				

NETWORK ANALYSIS

The next set of questions is about contacts of your organization with other groups an organizations in your country and beyond.

LIST 1 ('FIELD' ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COUNTRY)

(Specific transnational and national list elaborated through mapping: here we include all the organizations dealing with disability, unemployment, migration-asylum in the selected countries and at EU level)

31. I would like to present you now a list of organizations and organizations that work in Europe on a range of issues.

[Interviewer: before you ask this question you will need to clarify with your interviewee in which field their organisation is operating]

31. a First, could you tell me with which of these have you had any meetings, consultations or exchange of information in the last 2 years? (Info)

31. b Second, could you tell me with which of these have you collaborated in projects or events in the last 2 years? (Projects)

---→ Please specify which projects

31. c Do individual members of your organization have personal links with any of these organizations? (Links)

31. d Finally, with regard to this list, could you tell me with which of these would you say that your organization has relevant disagreements? (Dis)

	Info	Projects	Please specify	Links	Dis
51.					
52.					
53.					
54.					
55.					
56.					
57.					
58.					
59.					
60.					
61.					
62.					
63.					
64.					
65.					
66.					

67.					
68.					
69.					
70.					
71.					
72.					
73.					
74.					
75.					
76.					
77.					
78.					
79.					
80.					
81.					
82.					
83.					
84.					
85.					
86.					
87.					
88.					
89.					
90.					
91.					
92.					
93.					
94.					
95.					
96.					
97.					
98.					
99.					
100.					

32. Could you please mention other organizations within your field of operation that are not included in this list with whom you collaborated or had relevant disagreement in the past two years?

	Info	Projects	→ Please specify	Links	Dis
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.					

32. a Can you name three organizations/platforms/umbrellas that are in your experience the most relevant in your field of operation?

	Nationally	Transnationally
1.		**1.**
2.		**2.**
3.		**3.**

33. Could you tell me the name of any organization that works outside your field of operation (disability /unemployment /migration-asylum or in any other field) and with which you have collaborated in the last 2 years? You can mention organizations that work at the EU, national or sub-national level.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

34. INSTITUTIONAL COLLABORATIONS IN THE COUNTRY [EU LEVEL]

34. a ***Could you please mention institutional actors (public authorities) within your field of operation working in this COUNTRY [or EU Level] with which you collaborated or had relevant disagreement in the last 2 years?***

	Info	Projects		LINKS	DIS
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

34. b Can you name three institutional actors (public authorities) that are in your experience the most relevant in your field of operation?

	Nationally	**Transnationally**
1.		**1.**
2.		**2.**
3.		**3.**

TO CONCLUDE THE INTERVIEW:

35. Do you want to add something about your organization and its commitment on the issues of disability/unemployment and precariousness/migration-asylum which was not captured by this questionnaire?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____