TC.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY AND THE GREEN PERSPECTIVE

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Çağlayan KOŞAL AKPINARLI

İstanbul, 2010

TC.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ
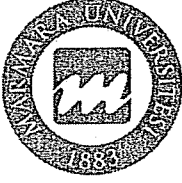AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY AND THE GREEN PERSPECTIVE

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Çağlayan KOŞAL AKPINARLI

Danışman: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Rana İZCİ

İstanbul, 2010

T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

ONAY SAYFASI

Enstitümüz AB Siyaseti ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Çağlayan KOŞAL'ın *"EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY AND THE GREEN PERSPECTIVE"* konulu tez çalışması **05 Nisan 2010** tarihinde yapılan tez savunma sınavında aşağıda isimleri yazılı jüri üyeleri tarafından oybirliği/ oyçokluğu ile başarılı bulunmuştur.

Onaylayan:

Yrd.Doç.Dr. Rana İZCİ   Danışman

Doç.Dr.Çiğdem NAS   Jüri Üyesi

Yrd.Doç.Dr.Semra Cerit MAZLUM   Jüri Üyesi

Onay Tarihi

Prof.Dr. Muzaffer DARTAN
Müdür

08/04/2010...tarih ve ..2010.V.2.. Sayılı Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararı ile onaylanmıştır.

ÖZ

Yeşiller 1960'lardan bu yana çevre ve sosyal politika gibi konuların AB politik alanında tartışılmasını sağlayarak AB polikalarının biçimlenmesine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Özellikle refah devletinin krizi ile Yeşiller AB içinde sosyal haklarının savunucusu olarak yer almaya devam etmişlerdir. Yeşiller temel olarak Avrupa Birliği'nin Pazar odaklı politikalarını eleştirir ve yeşil ıdeolojı çerçevesinde Avrupa politikalarına katkıda bulunmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel argümanı Avrupa Birliği sosyal hakların iyileştirilmesinde daha etkin bir rol alması ve refah devletinin krizine çözüm bulabilmesi için Yeşillerin katkısı kaçınılmaz bir gerekliliktir. Bu nedenle bu çalışmada Avrupa Birliği sosyal politikasında Avrupa Yeşillerinin katkısı incelenmeye çalışılmıştır ve Yeşiller'in ne ölçüde Sosyal Avrupa'nın ortaya çıkmasında katkıda bulunabileceğini anlamaya çalışmaktadır.

ABSTRACT

Since 1960s, green politics have affected the European integration process. The Greens make important contributions to the European politics by bringing some issues into the political arena to be discussed, concerning environment and social policy. The Greens mainly criticize the European Union's (EU) market based policies, and try to contribute into European policies in the lights of green ideology. Especially with the crisis of welfare state, the Greens remain as the advocate of the social rights within the EU. The main argument of this study is that EU should take a leading role for the improvement of social rights to offer an effective solution for the crisis of welfare as Europe being the territory where the social policy is emerged and that contribution of Green perspective is essential for the development of sustainable European social policy. Thus this study aims to examine the European Greens' contribution especially in the European social policy, and tries to understand to what extent the Greens can contribute in the emergence of Social Europe.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

EFA	European Free Alliance
EGP	European Green Party
EMPL	Committee of Employment and Social Affairs in the European Parliament
EP	European Parliament
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GND	Green New Deal
ILO	International Labour Organisaiton
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisaiton
OECD	Organisation for Economic and Social Development
SEA	Single European Act
TFEU	Treaty on the functioning of the EU
UK	the United Kingdom

List of Figures/tables

List of Annexes

INTRODUCTION

Europe as being the territory where the social policy first emerged, it is important for the European Union to follow this tradition and support the social rights in the single market. Emergence of social policy could be regarded as a remedy for unfair conditions that the workers were facing with the industrialisation in Europe. When European states go through a deeper integration with the European Union (EU) adaption of social rights into European economic integration remains essential for the citizens of Europe. Improvement of the social rights and expansion of the social policy into the European level are inevitable due to the increased interaction of the citizens of the Europe, as well as interaction of European states as the members of the EU.

Evidently sustainability of European society and peace for its citizens are based on the state intervention in the re-distribution of the income and improvement of social rights and conditions for workers, therefore on an efficient social policy. However the question at this point is whether the European states are capable of sustaining their role to provide social support for their citizens in the middle of current financial difficulties.

Apparently with the globalisation of the world, social policies require a wider examination of social citizenship rights and there is indeed an increasing demand for more comprehensive social rights perspective at the European Union level. This study, therefore, aims to examine alternative perspectives to the European policy particularly in social policy area, through integrating Green visions on the European

integration. Green perspective represents the rights of minorities and alternative policies for industry, including environmental regulations.

The European Greens have been evolving in the political arena in the past decade and their contribution to the European Union policies has been incorporated in alternative policies such as equality for minorities, energy policies, and employment policies. Although in some manners they remained weak to influence mainstream policy makers, their impact on these policy areas are noteworthy.

Today the Green political parties still remain weak to influence the traditional policy making at national level and European Union's decision making institutions. The Green perspective has its root more in activism, civil initiatives, and non-governmental organisations, but in that sense through channels that the European Union was working with to include the social partners, such as NGOs, green perspective has already been an efficient contributor. Green perspective, as gathered together under the Charter of European Greens, suggests that the European Union to take into consideration the social aspects of the economy, as opposed to maintain just a single market for the European states.

What is more, as it has been put together in the Charter of European Greens, United Green Parties of Europe, the Green perspective emphasises that the European Union is seen as a peace project. The charter continues with the importance of creating a sustainable future, and states that European Union should be a social Union.

 Thus, the main argument of this study is that European Union would take a leading role for the improvement of social rights to offer an effective solution for the crisis of welfare and it further argues that contribution of Green perspective is essential for

the development of European Social policy, to be able to overcome the shortcomings of the traditional social policies. In line with this argument, this study intends to bring together the history of emergence of policies under the social policy area in the European Union's policy making and to emphasis the green perspective as a future contributor to the European Union's social policy. The main research questions of this study are

- What is the essence of social policy? What does it contain? How different social developments have shaped the concept and practice of social policy?
- How did social policy evolved in Europe and European Union?
- What is the Green agenda regarding European social policy?

Consequently, in the first two chapters of this thesis, the history of social policy in the world and the development of social policy in the European Union's history will be examined. History of social policy mainly is the history of European social policy therefore strongly related to the development of the social policy at European level. In the first chapter the conditions that required emergence of social policies in Europe will be also explained. Subsequently the reasons of the crisis in welfare states in Europe will be analysed.

 The crisis of the welfare with the globalisation in Europe can also be connected with the European integration and emergence of the European Union to fight against the negative effects of the globalisation. Necessity of social regulation at European level was a result of economic integration. Thus, second chapter will try to analyse the basis of the regulation regarding social policy areas at European level.

Then the last chapter will focus on the Green perspectives for Europe. The roles of European Green Party and the Greens at the European Parliament which represent Green perspective in the European level will be analysed in detail. Finally the contribution of the green perspective to the social policy making of the European Union will be explained.

This study is mainly based on literature review on social policy and European social policy. The part about the Green vision at European level is based on the original policy statements published by the European Greens Party and the European Greens/Free Alliance in the European Parliament. The Green members of the European Parliament were also contacted to reach the essential and recent documents.

I. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF SOCIAL POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

What a contemporary social policy contains very much depends on the historical evolution of the policy throughout the world. Socio-economic changes in the world have also affected the understanding of social policy and its content. Different schools of political thought have thus impact on the development of social policy. There might be various definitions of social policy depending upon the prerequisites of the day.

1.1 Definitions of Social Policy

Social Policy as an academic research topic can be described as examination of the results of the societal relations sourcing from economic events. Güven explains social policy as a research area understanding the relationship between economic behaviour and sociology and states that the main concerns of the social policy are to examine the positive and negative results of the economic relations on the societal relations and to link the two subjects with each other[1].

Talas describes social policy as a tool to provide the social justice, to correct the natural law of the economy and to diminish the reasons behind the class clashes in the capitalist society order[2].Güven also sees the lack of social policy as a threat for the order and peace of the society. So the class clashes resulting from the unequal distribution of the resources are seen as an issue to be dealt by the social policy regulations[3].

---

[1] Güven, Sami , *Sosyal Politika'nın Temelleri* Ezgi Kitapevi:Bursa, 1995, p 5.
[2] Talas, Cahit, *Toplumsal Politikaya Giriş*, S Yayınları, Ankara, 1981, p 6.
[3] Op cit. Güven, p 9.

1.1.1 Narrow Perspective of Social Policy

In the narrow perception social policy mainly could be described as the policies of the states to ease the clash between the working class and the capital owners. In the 19th century tension that industrialisation and urbanisation created for the workers with increased health risks and poverty, because of insufficient security during work and bad pay, was resulted in new political rights to rise to keep the industrial development going[4].

In the 19th century states face with the necessity to provide social regulations that could ensure some rights to labour. The social policy's main concern in that sense was considered to be the wealth of the industry, to provide a solution for the disturbance experienced by the labour groups which were not benefiting from that wealth. In the Marxist theory the capitalist require an infrastructure to maintain the order to buy off the working class by securing a workforce by acceptable education and health standards. In that sense the social policy is based on the rational routes rather than humanitarian aspects of ruling the working conditions.[5]

1.1.2 Wider Perspective of Social Policy

In the modern world during the modernisation and industrialisation process the dilemma of economic development and social rights was the main aspect of social policy. The invention of the trade unions and workers' association into the very inconvenient conditions in the working standards was the main starting point for the social policy[6].

In the following decades social rights were regarded as human rights to provide an acceptable standard for the workers and also expanded its borders for the vulnerable communities to maintain equality in the participation in the both work life and social life by the means of being equal citizens of the state[7].

---

[4] Koray Meryem; *Sosyal Politika*, Ezgi Kitapevi, Bursa, 2000, p. 10.
[5] Hill, Michael; *Understanding Social Policy*, Second Edition, Basil Blackwell&Martin Robertson Publisher, 1983, p.3.
[6] Op cit Koray p.11.
[7] Ibid.

The social policy was regarded as the cement of the community which holds the different classes and different choices together living under the same flag. In that means social policy was the inevitable aspect of radical democracy to establish a mutual base for both the citizens and the governments can meet[8].

In the modern democracies, the social policy becomes more about the human rights of the citizens ensured by the state, and choices and identities are involved in the social policy, with the regulations ruled by the state.

It is widely argued that the international movements and organisations working on the enhancement of the human rights and the better social conditions for the citizens of the governments pushes states to be more and more democratic, respectful to human rights, their identities in every phase their citizens confront with state power.

Social policy is in broader perspective mainly seen as the set of rules providing guidance for the people who are more vulnerable in the society and have fewer opportunities as well as promoting the identities of the citizens and what makes them feel belonging to the society. This thesis is also an attempt to understand the broader perspective of the European Social policy regarding the efforts establishing a European citizenship rights concept based on the charter of fundamental Rights of the EU, with the contribution of communities such as green parties.

1.2 Historical Development of Social Policy in Europe

Industrial Revolution and the emergence of welfare state are the most important turning points for the development of social policy. Changes in the traditional production methods resulted in the emergence of working class. The heavy conditions that the workers faced laid the basis for the states to act as a corrector of the social order. The conditions of the workers in post-industrial are summarised in the following section.

---

[8] Op cit Koray p. 7.

1.2.1 Industrial Revolution and Workforce

The industrial revolution in the 17th century created a fundamental change in the economic and social dynamics determining the economic and social life and resulted in emerging of a capitalist order.

The invention of steam power was a transition of production in the houses and small workshops to the big factories. The development of techniques in production going along with more people to move to the big cities to take their place in the new workforce resulted in urbanisation, which caused the working class to emerge.

Talas states that the unnatural working conditions and very low payment for the human workforce created an environment which was disrespectful for human dignity.[9] 17th and 18th century's industrial revolution was mainly based on the exploitation of the labour force. The result of industrial revolution was accumulation of big amount of capital, which did not bring happiness to the human civilisation[10]. The wealth was gained from the exploitation of the labour force. Talas examines four issues related to the labour exploitation causing the working class to emerge.

Workers Wages: During the 18th century the worker and employer relationship was based on the freedom of contract and the freedom of unionisation was banned. In 1791 the French Constitutional Assembly approved the Chapelier law, which supports the classical liberal doctrine thought of freedom of contract and ban of the unionisation which caused more and more unfair treatment for the workforce was accepted by the most of the European countries. The workers had to accept whatever the employers offered and the living standards for the workers were getting worse and worse[11].

---

[9] Op cit Talas, p. 29
[10] Ibid p.30.
[11] Ibid pp. 32-34

Working Hours: The workers were in a great a competition to get a place in the workforce, forced to work in unnatural standards for human beings. The workers had to accept daily working hours of 15-18 hours. In countries like Sweden and Britain going through the newly emerging capitalism, most of the workers including children and women had to accept heavy working hours, because of the increasing value of the capital for per hour work.[12]

Women and Children involvement in the factory life: In the great competition in the workforce of capitalist life, involvement of women and children in the factory life was another aspect to strengthen the competition between workers. They were paid less compared to the men workforce and more suitable for some industries such as textile. The heavy working hours for children and women harmed the health of the generation. Family life was destroyed, so was the fundamentals of the society.[13]

Class Clashes in the society: The immigration of people, who did not have any land, to the industry regions in the cities, created a different culture, a new life style with them taking their place in the urbanisation. This new class was undermined in the society, was made to pay for the industry's development. Capitalist class, who were benefiting from the increasing wealth because of the industrialisation, emerged against exploitation of the working class. This resulted in the working class to come together against the heavy working conditions that they were forced to accept.[14]

While Talas focuses on worker wages, working hours, class clashes, involvement of children and women in factory work to define the reasons behind the emergence of working class as part of effects of industrial revolution, Güven lists the effects of the industrial revolution on society as follows:

---

[12] Ibid pp. 34-37
[13] Ibid pp. 37-39.
[14] Ibid pp. 39-41.

- The Industrial Revolution separated the labour and capital from each other and replaced the humanitarian support of the guilds. The value of the labour was diminishing with the decreased importance of gaining experience to become a craftsman. The capital and modern production techniques were replacing the importance of knowledge of the art. The humanitarian relationship of the employer and the worker were replaced with the segregation of two because of the anonymity of the employer and the capital.[15]
- In the guild structure the apprentice were able to become craftsmen. The chance of social mobility disappeared after the industrial revolution and the workers were sentenced to be "the slaves of the industry" with no social security. So the social standards of the workers were pushed down, and the working class was transferred into the proletarian.[16]
- The opportunity of having capital was rendered impossible for the proletarian.[17]
- The social rights which were enabled in the guild system were lost after the industrial revolution. In the guilds the craftsmen were responsible for the health of their apprentices. Support systems and chests in the guilds were providing a more secure working environment for the craftsmen. The industrial revolution meant earning just enough to survive.[18]
- In factories the expertise workers perform was very limited, so were the development of their craft and their geographic mobility.[19]
- The freedom of contract created an extreme dependency on the employer. The working class was experiencing fear of exploitation more and more. This created the consciousness of the clash between the interests of working class and capital owners.[20]

Industrial revolution resulted in the exploitation of the masses in the factory life and also shortly it brought a strong objection for the capitalist order. Under these circumstances it was inevitable to establish state policies to maintain sources for the workers to reach better standards. Having faced these circumstances workers developed awareness for minimum standards that requires for working conditions, which mainly means the emergence of social policies.

---

[15] Op cit Güven p. 34.
[16] Ibid pp. 34-35.
[17] Ibid p. 35
[18] Ibid
[19] Ibid
[20] Ibid p. 35.

1.2.2 European Social Development and Welfare State in Europe

Following the industrial development and the unfair conditions it created for the workers, to establish peace and order in the society, it was essential for the states to balance the industrial development and working conditions of the workers. European states facing the pressure to improve its social aspects for its citizens resulted in the emergence of welfare state. With the globalisation the welfare state faces a crisis due to the change in the circumstances which made the welfare state necessary. In that sense the EU could be an answer for the European states to help building a social Europe. In the following section the emergence of welfare state and its crisis will be explained.

1.2.3 Ideas on Social Order and Justice

After Industrial Revolution having created the unfavourable circumstances for the working class, the emergence of social aspects of the industrial relations was also affected by different ideas.

To illustrate liberal ideas were mainly supporting the free competition and suggested that state should not intervene in the economic relations, which is still the main principle behind the European competition. This was criticised by the socialist thinkers. Especially Karl Marx's thoughts on the class clashes provided the intellectual context for the workers' to fight for better rights against capitalist order and advocates of free competition. In the following section these ideas will be examined.

1.2.3.1 Liberal Ideas:

The main concern of the liberal approach in the economy was freeing the economic relations from the intervention of state. The father of the liberal ideas and classical approach, Adam Smith advocates allowing individuals to pursue their interests which would bring a natural balance into the economy, and competition between the interests of the individuals would result in entrepreneurs to compete with each other to produce the goods in high quality as cheap as possible. In that sense competition would be the key for individuals' interests to coincide with the interest of the society. Smith emphasising that state is usually not an efficient working entity, and should not intervene in the relationship between employers and workers. [21]

David Ricardo, representative of liberal ideas, chooses to examine the relationship between the distribution of the wealth within the contributors to the producers of wealth. Ricardo in his wage theory states that wage is like any other goods and its price of labour is determined by the market conditions. A natural price of the labour is the minimum level for the workers to maintain a life standard which they can afford their physiological needs. More increase in the supply of the labour force means lower natural wage level because production would be more with more labour force and the prices for the basic food would be less, therefore the cost of the life for the workers would be less.[22]

According to Ricardo distribution of the wealth is a conflicting area between the capital owner, land owner and the labour. Increase of the labour price would mean less profit for the capital owner. Although Ricardo's opinion reveals the vulnerability of the free market idea of Smith by showing that the balance between different contributors to the wealth might be distorted depending on the market conditions, Ricardo does not support the intervention of the state into the distribution of the wealth.[23]

---

[21] Op cit Talas pp. 52-54.
[22] Ibid p. 55.
[23] Ibid pp. 54-57

Thomas Robert Malthus in the perspective of liberal ideas defends the regulation of the increase of the population to enable social wealth and distribution of income. Malthus states that increase of population is subjected to stay behind the increase of food production, and the individuals who do not contribute to the production has no right to demand food. In that sense Malthus makes little contribution to theoretical development of distribution of wealth.[24]

To summarize, liberal approach denies the state intervention in the basis that economical order has its rules and in a natural order it brings its own solutions to the social issues related to economy. But considering the emergence of labour class in the urban areas and their problems related to market system like unemployment, exploitation of labour, and unfair distribution of wealth shows the incapability of the market order to offer solutions to the social problems. Contrary to what liberal approach offers, market system was creating more social problems by fuelling the clash between labour class and capital owners and contributing to the social inequality.[25]

1.2.3.2 Socialist Ideas:

As a reaction to the Industrial Revolution and the liberal mentality, socialist ideas emerged to defend labour class. Cooperative socialist approach was fighting to merge the production process which was defragmented during the industrialisation period, where the capital owners were making high profit and the people who are active in production were not taking their share from the income. They wanted to re-create the relationship between the capital owner and workforce to return to the pre-industrial relationship pattern, where the workers could have their own enterprise in cooperative trading system. This was necessary to re-build the peace in the society after being shattered by the unfair economic relations after industrial revolution.[26]

---

[24] Ibid pp. 57-60.
[25] Op cit Güven, p. 41.
[26] Op cit Güven pp. 44-50.

Robert Owen was one of the defenders of the cooperative socialism to be the only way to fight against the capitalist order. According to Owen the instinct to make more profit was the source of evil. Owen suggests establishing a communal way of living in small villages where the workers would have access to houses, a common kitchen, workshops, dining rooms, library and butchery. Owen also made contribution to the social policy of the British government. His work contributed to increase the working age for children to 9 with the Factory Law in 1819. His contribution to the improvement of the social standards for the factory workers include establishment of saving and cooperation funds, a canteen, worker houses, library and nursery.[27]

Fourier, another defender of cooperative socialist order, states that the work motivation based on poverty, personal interests and forcing are not moral and the working should be more like an attractive activity for people. Workers should have right to take share from the profit and hold ownership of properties. To Fourier this was the only way to maintain social peace.[28]

Buchez, a French Christian socialist asserts that cooperation between craftsmen can reshape the capitalist society and their emergence under an umbrella organisation might bring the freedom from the capitalist order for the workers.[29]Another thinker and French socialist reformist Louis Blanc states that free competition was the main reason of the workers poor condition in the capitalist order.[30]

Social policy approach has been mainly been affected by these ideas. According to the supporters of socialist cooperatives the evil in the selfishness was bringing more power for the free competition and the workers should be supported against this unfair situation by the state to come together against capital owners under cooperative organisations, which indicates necessity of the state intervention for the social peace.[31]

---

[27]. Ibid,. Op cit, Talas pp .80-81
[28] Op cit, Güven p 46. Op cit Talas p 76
[29] Op cit Güven p 47
[30] Ibid.
[31] Op cit Güven p44.

Sismondi, analyses the effects of the classic economy approach to the social inequality. Two main aspects of capitalist system was a threat for the peace of the society, therefore the state should act as the corrector of the distribution of the income to establish a better life standard for the workers. [32]

Competition and over-production beyond the consumption was creating pressure on the costs. The workers were being forced to work for longer hours in worse and worse conditions. According to Sismondi the labour was being separated from the land, this caused capital owners to exploit the workers for more production. Consumption limits were unknown and surplus production was causing market to enlarge, but resulted in poverty for the workers. So as in most of other socialist approaches, Sismondi also finds the intervention of state essential to redistribute the wealth.[33]

According to Saint Simon main reason for the inequality in the society was right of private property. The more the land was owned by a small group of people, the more exploitation of people would occur. State should be the inheritor of all the properties and it should use them for benefit of all.[34]

Proudhon, was also against private ownership of properties and all kind of income which is generated without working, such as rent or interest. According to Proudhon, state should give people money without interest, so everybody would have access to capital. [35]

Karl Marx as one of the most influential thinkers on the social and economic studies, also contributed in the development of social policy context in the history. Since his work includes a wide range of topics, here only a short summary of his thoughts will be mentioned. [36]

---

[32] Op citTalas p. 66.
[33] Ibid, p 68.
[34] Ibid, p 74-76.
[35] Op cit, Talas p. 79.
[36] Ibid, 82-86.

Marx was also against the right to own properties privately. Main contribution of the Marxist theory was perspective of class clash in the economic and social developments to explain the post-industrial era. Marx also explained the historical development in a Hegelian way of understanding, in the clash of thesis and an anti-thesis. In Marx's socialist theory, development of history was a result of class clashes. And this would result in a stateless community eventually.[37]

According to Marx, daily wage should be equal to the costs of all the goods for workers one day's needs. In the capitalist system the workers do not work for just to cover their daily needs, and they are not allowed to determine the time they work. The workers work half of a day to cover one day's cost of living, and the rest of the day work for the capital owner, which means the worker do not get paid for all of the products they have been producing. They get paid just for the half of it, and the other half indicates the surplus value, that do not benefit from.[38]

According to Marx, increase of the population was creating extra workforce for the capitalist production and an increase in the supply of labour causing devaluation of the price paid for the workforce. In Marxist theory the solution to the workers exploitation in the capitalist system is to come in the dialect of the class clash and is only possible in a stateless community.[39]

1.2.4 State as Social Policy making Actor as opposed to non-state actors

Social Policy making is considered to be a part of social administration by the state. Levin while describing the social policy uses Marshall's focus on means (instruments) and impact:[40]

> In this book [social policy] is taken to refer to the policy of governments with regard to action having a direct impact on the welfare of the citizens, by providing them with services or income.[41]

---

[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Op cit Güven p. 49.
[40] Levin, Peter (1997) *Making Social Policy*. Buckingham: Open University Press, p.25.
[41] T.H Marshall (1965) *Social Policy*, London: Hutchinson, p.9 cited in Levin (1997), p.25.

Levin also suggests Jones's definition highlighting the purposefulness of social policy as "an attempt to intervene in and, by some criteria to improve or correct a given social order".[42]

He also uses the Kleinman and Piachaud's definition of social policy as government interventions that are designed to affect the individual behaviour or command over resources or to influence the economic system in order to shape society in some way.[43]

In that sense the social policy is regarded as a re-regulatory tool of the state, to provide a social perspective to the economy. Townsend makes a contribution to the understanding of social policy as a state intervention to the economy as "by-products or effects of government policies in defence industrial relations, trade, employment and administration of law". [44]But he also asserts this conception would also include policies of institutions other than government and government policy does not cover all the social policy, and it includes the indirect as well as direct welfare policies of industry, religion, voluntary associations and private companies or employers.

Townsend sees the priorities of different groups as overlapping or differing from each other's so that depending on the perceptions of different groups different social policy agendas could be supported.[45]

Social Policy is traditionally seen as a function of the state, which created the welfare state concept in Europe. In the globalisation era the state's role stays limited to maintain welfare for all of its citizens. As European Union being an attempt to overcome the negative effects of globalisation, to overcome the shortcomings of welfare state the EU might also act as a social re-distributor within Europe, rather than just relying on the state policies to establish the social justice.

---

[42] C.Jones (1985) *Patterns of Social Policy* London: Tavistock p: 16. cited in Levin (1997),p.25
[43] Kelinman, M & Pichaud (1993) "European Social Policy", *Journal of European Social Policy*, Volume 3 Number 1 pp 1-19 cited in Levin (1997), p.25.
[44] Towensend, Peter (1975) *Sociology and Social Policy*, Middlesex: Penguin Books, p.3.
[45] Ibid p.7.

1.2.5 Emergence of Welfare State

Welfare state is usually used to explain a social state supporting its citizens with the services of education, health, and other social services. Liberal economy sees the threat of communism, and develops more social rights to protect the labour against the capital and for the maintenance of the social peace. Keynesian welfare state was a solution for the shortcomings of the liberal economic model.[46]

1.2.5.1 Social developments after the industrialisation until the Second World War (1880-1945) and the welfare state

The fundamental change of the society with the industrialisation renders the social tools of charity inefficient. Family supports and the other traditional institutional supports become insufficient for the new class of the society, the working class. Development of the awareness of belonging to working class forces the central authorities to adopt a more democratic approach towards labour issues. [47]

Urbanisation during the industrialisation and changing patterns of the social life created a pressure on the state to take an action against the unfair economic order. The accumulation of prosperity just in the hands of capital owners, and inhuman treatment against the working class was the main force behind the idea of a more social state.[48]

The first step to provide a social security for the working class was the mandatory insurance against illness was implemented by Bismarck in 1883. Following that in 1884 work accident insurance, in 1889 old-age insurance and disability insurance were taken into implementation.[49]

This was a relief for the families which were no longer a sufficient support against the work accidents, illnesses and taking care of the elder members.

---

[46] Özdemir, Süleyman (2007) *Küreselleşme Süresinde Refah Devleti,* İstanbul Ticaret Odası Yayın No: 2007-57, p.184.
[47] Ibid p:185.
[48] Ibid p. 188.
[49] Op cit Ozdemir p. 191.

Another reason behind this social intervention of the state is interpreted for this regulation to be a precaution against an uprising that might come from the working class. Bismarck was just paying attention to the working class because the other groups were not considered to be a threat against the political stabilisation.[50]

Britain also was another country to have supported the poor since the 17th century. Poor law being established in 1661 by Queen Elizabeth is followed by other social protection regulations, in 1880 compensation for the work accidents which renders the employers responsible for the accidents, and in 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act, in 1906 Workmen's Compensation Act which enlarges the workmen definition of the previous act, in 1908 Oldage Pensions Act, in 1911 National Insurance Act and in 1925 Widows' Orphans' and Oldage Contributory Pensions Act.[51]

Following these state intervention, state's role kept growing and increasing value of the individuals contributed in the emergence of social security role of the state[52].Workers gained an important power in negotiations and trade unions started to be effective to protect the workers' rights, which triggered the emergence of welfare state after the Second World War.[53]

---

[50] Baldwin, Peter, *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State* 1875-1975, Cambridge University Pres, 1990 p 73' quoted in Marangoz , Şermin Refah Devleti: Gelişimi, Oluşumu, Modelleri ve Güncel Değişimler, (Yayınlanmamış Yük. Lis. Tezi), İstanbul:İÜ SBE, 2001, Ibid p. 192.
[51] Op cit Özdemir p.193.
[52] Op cit Koray, p.53.
[53] Ibid.

1.2.5.2 Welfare State After the Second World War (1945-1975)

1950s and 1960s were the period when the welfare state kept growing. Welfare State first used to describe the precautions in social security field taken by Germany in the end of 19th century, and gained more importance after having experienced the problems caused by the capitalist economies. The state was expected to take a stronger position to maintain equality and maintain political rights for everyone. [54]

Emergence of welfare state was explained by several ideas:

> 1) Welfare state was a result of the emergence of the industrialised societies
> 2) Welfare state was emerged after the failure of the market economy
> 3) Welfare state was a result of modernisation
> 4) Problems of capitalist system, class clashes and economic crisis, system needed to renew itself and this resulted in the emergence of welfare state[55]

With the state evolving into welfare state, roles of the state and intervention into the social order grew. Role of the welfare state regarding the social order expanded. Beveridge Report in 1942 was the foundation of the welfare state after the Second World War. The report was suggesting a three pillar social security, reducing the unemployment, improving the health system and guaranteeing a minimum wage.[56]

Bruce while summarising the elements of the welfare state mentions five elements:

> a) The gurantee to all of a minimum income at all times, not necessarily related to earning power and based on conceptions both of insurance and assistance
> b) Protection, entirely through insurance, against the accidents of life that interrupt or destroy the power of gaining a livelihood
> c) Special protection for children through family allowances to ensure that family resources are adequate for their support
> d) To provide a common standard higher than most individuals could provide for themselves, and offered in the interest of the community as a whole no less than in those of individual

---

[54] Ibid.
[55] Op cit Ozdemir, p.181.
[56] Op cit Özdemir p.193.

> e) Environmental and welfare services, providing goods and services rather than cash benefits-housing, old people's homes, child welfare, home helps.. [57].

Keynesian economic approach also supported state intervention to increase the employment and balancing out the demand in the society, which was the main problem of the liberal economy. State could intervene in the market by manipulating the public expenditure; therefore provide demand for the market supply and more employment opportunities.[58]

Emergence of welfare state was bringing responsibility to regulate the education, health, wage regulation and social security regulations[59]. Koray states that the new role of the state was not just an observer of the economic and social life but also a regulator, state was responsible for social balance as well as ecenomic growth.[60]

1.2.5.3 Welfare State After 1975 and towards Globalisation- Crisis of Welfare State

Welfare State started to find it difficult to maintain the same level of support for the public expenditures after 1980s, public expenditure and the payments for the benefits kept increasing its percentage in gross domestic production.

Percentage of public expenditure keep increasing in the gross domestic production of countries, which means the growth of the public expenditure, was higher than the growth of the GDP (see Table 1.1). Taxes in Europe followed an increasing percentage in GDP (see Table 1.2).

---

[57] Bruce, Maurice *The Coming of the Welfare State, Fourth Edition*, 1968 London: B.T. Batsford p.331.
[58] Op cit Özdemir pp. 194-197.
[59] Op cit Koray p.57.
[60] Ibid p.58.

Table 1.1: OECD Public Expenditure Gross Domestic Production Ratio[61]

Year	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
Country						
Austria	22.5	23.8	23.9	26.5	26.4	27.2
Belgium	23.5	26.0	24.9	26.2	25.3	26.4
Czech Republic	..	..	16.0	18.2	19.8	19.5
Denmark	24.8	23.2	25.1	28.9	25.8	27.1
Finland	18.0	22.5	24.2	30.9	24.3	26.1
France	20.8	26.0	25.1	28.6	27.9	29.2
Germany	22.7	23.2	22.3	26.5	26.2	26.7
Greece	10.2	16.0	16.5	17.3	19.2	20.5
Hungary	..	..	..	..	20.0	22.5
Ireland	16.7	21.3	14.9	15.7	13.6	16.7
Italy	18.0	20.8	20.0	19.9	23.3	25.0
Luxembourg	20.6	20.2	19.1	20.8	19.7	23.2
Netherlands	24.8	25.3	25.6	23.8	19.8	20.9
Norway	16.9	17.8	22.3	23.3	21.3	21.6
Poland	..	..	14.9	22.6	20.5	21.0
Portugal	10.2	10.4	12.9	17.0	19.6	..
Slovak Republic	..	..	..	18.6	17.9	16.6
Spain	15.5	17.8	19.9	21.4	20.3	21.2
Sweden	27.1	29.4	30.2	32.1	28.5	29.4
Turkey	4.3	4.2	7.6	7.5	..	13.7
United Kingdom	16.7	19.8	17.0	20.2	19.2	21.3

(Please see Annex I for the details of the expenditures).

When we look at the public expenditure ratio against gross domestic production in Europe, we see that the percentage continues to grow over years. This is mainly found to be a burden by the governments, and public expenses mainly sourced from taxes that are paid by the citizens. Therefore the taxes also keep an increasing trend in Europe.

---

[61] Please see OECD Stat Extracts-Social and Welfare statistics –Social Protection- Social Expenditure Aggragated Data http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx 12.12.09.

Table 1.2 Total tax revenue as percentage of GDP[62]

	1975	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2006	2007 Provisional
Austria	36.7	40.9	39.6	41.2	42.6	42.1	41.7	41.9
Belgium	39.5	44.4	42.0	43.6	44.9	44.8	44.5	44.4
Czech Republic				37.5	35.3	37.5	36.9	36.4
Denmark [1]	38.4	46.1	46.5	48.8	49.4	50.7	49.1	48.9
Finland	36.5	39.7	43.5	45.7	47.2	43.9	43.5	43.0
France [1]	35.4	42.8	42.0	42.9	44.4	43.9	44.2	43.6
Germany [2]	34.3	36.1	34.8	37.2	37.2	34.8	35.6	36.2
Greece	19.4	25.5	26.2	28.9	34.1	31.3	31.3	n.a.
Hungary				41.3	38.0	37.2	37.1	39.3
Iceland	30.0	28.2	30.9	31.2	37.2	40.7	41.5	41.4
Ireland	28.7	34.6	33.1	32.5	31.7	30.6	31.9	32.2
Italy	25.4	33.6	37.8	40.1	42.3	40.9	42.1	43.3
Luxembourg	32.8	39.5	35.7	37.1	39.1	37.8	35.9	36.9
Netherlands[4]	40.7	42.4	42.9	41.5	39.7	38.8	39.3	38.0
Norway	39.2	42.6	41.0	40.9	42.6	43.5	43.9	43.4
Poland				36.2	31.6	32.9	33.5	n.a
Portugal	19.7	25.2	27.7	31.7	34.1	34.7	35.7	36.6
Slovak Republic					33.8	31.8	29.8	29.8
Spain [1]	18.4	27.6	32.5	32.1	34.2	35.8	36.6	37.2
Sweden	41.2	47.3	52.2	47.5	51.8	49.5	49.1	48.2
United Kingdom	35.2	37.6	36.1	34.5	37.1	36.3	37.1	36.6
Unweighted average:								
EU 19	32.2	37.6	38.2	38.9	39.4	38.7	38.7	n.a
EU 15	32.2	37.6	38.2	39.0	40.6	39.7	39.8	n.a

Increasing expenditure to maintain welfare for the three pillars of the society and change in the cultural and social circumstances that resulted in emergence of welfare state created a crisis for the welfare state. The necessity for the local authorities to take over some role on the implementation of the welfare state occurs[63], and therefore the supranational institutions also take over some of the role. Gosta Esping-Andersen states that three pillars of the welfare are family, market and government, and the best regime for the state is the one which establishes a good balance between these three pillars to provide the support for the social security or other areas of social services.[64]

---

[62] Please see OECD Stat Extracts- Public Sector, Taxation and Market Regulation-Taxation-Revenue Statistics-Comparative Tables http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx 12.12.09
[63] Kazepov, Yuri "The Subsidiarization of Social Policies: Actor, Processes and Impacts", *European Societies*, 10: 2, 2008, p. 267.
[64] Esping-Andersen, Gosta "Toward the Good Society, Once Again?" in ,Esping-Andersen, Gosta & Gallie, Duncan & Hemerjick, Anton (eds) *Why we need a New Welfare State.* 2002,Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 1-25

These three pillars were in flux through globalisation, and this is where the crisis of the welfare occurs. Families' ability to absorb the social failures was in conflict with most of social developments in the workforce. For example increasing women workforce is rendering traditional familial welfare responsibilities, such as taking care of elderly and children, difficult to maintain. Nature of family was also changing more through the globalisation (More single female parents need support of the state)[65].

Government attempts to reduce the burden on the budget by supporting the in-work benefits and liberal welfare solutions are other changes that the welfare state is going through, but also had its shortcomings. It is more likely that lower income households are relegated to second-rate welfare citizens, and dualism is created in the society.[66]

Welfare state was also re-distribution of national income within the citizen of national state. The change of citizenship concept in the post-modern societies, and more identity based radical democracy context provides a wider understanding for the rights of the citizens beyond classes. This wider understanding of citizenship necessities a wider set of social services, beyond just regulating the re-distribution of wealth.[67]

An important challenge for the welfare state could be considered as the change in the understanding of social security by the changing citizenship within the state. Per H. Jensen and Birgit Pfau-Effinger in their article *'Active' Citizenship* describes the traditional citizen as below using the terms of Esping-Andersen:

> a male employed citizen who, by virtue of his relatively strongly standardised employment biography on the basis of full-time employment, received social rights that were connected to the cultural concept of 'decommodification', that is, right to maintain a reasonable standard of living during periods beyond employment such as unemployment, retirement and illness[68]

---

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid

[67] Mullard, Maurice& Spicker, Paul, *Social Policy in a Changing Society.* 1998, London: Routledge, pp 202-209.

[68] Jensen, Per H., and Pfau-Effinger, Birgit,"Active Citizenship"*, in Andersen, Jorgen Goul& Guillemard, Anne-Marie& Jensen, Per H (eds)The Changing Face of Welfare-Consequences and Outcomes from a citizenship perspective.*, 2005, Bristol: The Policy Press, p. 7.

Now the concept of citizenship has changed, and active citizenship has emerged in the in the post-industrial society. Active citizenship is described as:

> a shift from a more passive cultural construction to a more active one. The active citizen is expected to be autonomous and self-responsible, as well as flexible and extremely mobile (Sennet,1998). Active citizens are expected to be able to create their biography individually and adapt it continuously to change external conditions. Ulrich Beck (1986) speaks of a "patchwork biography". These citizens are also capable of engaging and organising themselves in relation to their own interests. In this context, the social rights of the family members have been increasingly individualised, whereas derived social rights lose importance. Claiming responsibility for one's own life and well-being is, in this context, not merely an option: to an increasing degree it also represents an obligation.[69]

The crisis of the welfare state because of not being able to serve to the active citizens of the country requires a new understanding beyond the institutional criteria of past to overcome its shortcomings.[70]

In that sense this thesis examines in the third chapter how green communities implement the active citizenship concept to their policy suggestions; therefore contribute in the solutions of crisis of welfare states and social policies of the European Union.

1.3 International Social Policy Actors

This section will provide a short description of ILO and the EU as the global actors which are dedicated to maintain standards for the working conditions in accordance with the human rights, therefore their contribution in the international area provide guidelines for the future development for the nations of the world.

---

[69] Ibid.
[70] Andersen Goul Jorgen& Guillemard, Anne-Marie, "Conclusion: Policy change, welfare regimes and active citizenship" Ibid, p.270.

1.3.1 International Labour Organisation (ILO) and Social Policy

Establishment of a code of conduct for international labour is mainly overlaps with the development of social policy mainly in the European history. Emergence of social law to maintain an order for the working class and the capital owners in some of the countries causes inequality in competition between the countries. International social policy was a result to diminish this inequality in competition.[71]

In 1905 and 1906 in Bern two international agreements were signed regulating the working conditions and referring to an international social policy for the first time. One was prohibiting female working overnight, and the other one is prohibiting usage of white phosphor in production of matches.[72]

During the First World War development of international social policy stopped and the workers unions came together to support emergence of more regulatory rules for the working conditions and rules. Britain and France prepared draft for the draft of an international labour organisation. With the 13th chapter of Versailles Treaty, establishment of International Labour Organisation was decided in 1919.[73]

9 principles of the Organisation set by the Versailles Peace Treaty were:

1) Workforce is not to be seen as a commodity
2) Recognising the right of establishing associations
3) Aged under 14 not to be made work in trade and industry
4) A wage to be paid to maintain a normal life standard
5) Equal pay to equal work
6) Weekly holidays to be provided
7) Weekly working hours not to be longer than 48 hours
8) Foreign workers to have the rights of the social security of the country where they work in and to receive the same pay
9) To establish a regulatory institution in every country to control the working conditions.[74]

The subjects that the organisation is committed to work on since the beginning of the establishment up to date are listed as below:

---

[71] Gulmez, Mesut *Uluslararasi Sosyal Politika.* Ankara: Turkiye ve Ortadogu Amme Idaresi Enstitusu Yayin No: 300, 2000, p.9.
[72] Ibid, pp.38-39.
[73] Op cit, Koray p. 79.
[74] Ibid.

- Regulation of the hours of work including the establishment of a maximum working day and week;
- Regulation of labour supply, prevention of unemployment and provision of an adequate living wage;
- Protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment;
- Protection of children, young persons and women;
- Provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own;
- Recognition of the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value;
- Recognition of the principle of freedom of association;
- Organization of vocational and technical education, and other measures. [75]

ILO as being the international institute to form basic standards for the working conditions is an important global actor for the social policy regulations. The European States and the European Union has obligation in principle to recognise the directions of ILO.

The European Union as a supranational actor in Europe has responsibility to follow the developments in labour rights in accordance with the ILO regulations. ILO decisions lays a basis for initiatives of social regulations at EU level, and therefore ILO makes an important contribution for the advancement of European social policy.

1.3.2 European Union

European Union also maintains an important role as an international contributor in the social policy making. In the following chapter the history of European Union's social policies will be examined in detail.

The main aim of the European integration was driven by the economic integration. With the evolvement of the European Union into a supranational efficient actor in the global arena, its role has been expanded into more social areas. Lisbon strategy which was launched in 2000 proved that the EU is more eager to take steps for the employment, innovation in the business and a greener economy, therefore its agenda is mainly on how to stay strong in globalisation and make the growth sustainable.

---

[75]International Labour Organisation,
http://www.ilo.org/global/About_the_ILO/Origins_and_history/lang--en/index.htm, 10.01.2010.

In the global economic crisis the strategy of the EU is essential for the member states to continue to build up the social Europe, based on the EU legislation. The EU has a long history of social policy debate, therefore it is important to the EU to continue its social role rather than take a back step in the financial crisis. The historical challenges of the EU will be summarized in the next chapter.

II. THE EUROPEAN UNION AND SOCIAL EUROPE

Economic integration brings many opportunities for economic growth and employment in EU Member States. However different social policy traditions and policies exacerbate the difficulties to reach a common social policy approach. It can be possible to categorize the efforts to build a common policy into four main time periods parallel to the evolution of European Integration.

2. Historical Development of the Social Policy in the European Union

The European Union has been in a long debate regarding the social aspects of the integration since the establishment of the European Community. The differences in the social policy history of the member states make it difficult to mention a common social policy approach for the European integration. Therefore the implementation of the EU social policy regulation is left to the member states to adjust it to their own national social policies.

Nevertheless the growing economic integration and improving human rights in the Union makes it inevitable for the Union institutions to get involved in the social areas increasingly. In the following part historical development of the EU social policy will be examined.

2.1 European Economic Community and Social Policy

European Communities era and following two decades were mainly weak years of social aspects of European integration, but still maintained social aspects while trying to regulate the European economy. Articles 117 and 118 established the foundation for the European Economic Community to work for the enhancement of a common social policy within the members:

> Article 117. Member States agree upon the need to promote
> improved working conditions and an improved standard of living
> for workers, so as to make possible their harmonisation while the
> improvement is being maintained.
>
> They believe that such a development will ensue not only from the
> functioning of the common market, which will favour the
> harmonisation of social systems, but also from the procedures

provided for in this Treaty and from the approximation of
provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action.

Article 118. Without prejudice to the other provisions of this
Treaty and in conforrnity with its general objectives, the
Commission shall have the task of promoting close co-operation
between Member States in the social field, particularly in matters
relating to:

- employment;
- labour law and working conditions;
- basic and advanced vocational training;
- social security;
- prevention of occupational accidents and diseases;
- occupational hygiene;
- the right of association, and collective bargaining between
employers and workers.

To this end, the Commission shall act in close contact with
Member States by making studies, delivering opinions and
arranging consultations both on problems arising at national level
and on those of concern to international organisations.

Before delivering the opinions provided for in this Article, the
Commission shall consult the Economic and Social Committee.[76]

Main purpose of Treaty of Rome, founding treaty of European Economic
Community, was to regulate the economic and trade issues for its members. The
treaty included the establishment of European Social Fund to promote mobility of the
workers and to increase the life standard by increasing employment opportunities in
the community[77]. A European Investment Bank to give loans to support economic
expansion and European Development Bank targeting the French overseas territories
was also established to support the communities' main function of regulation trade
and market. [78]

---

[76]Treaty establishing the European Economic Community 1957 http://eur-
lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/index.htm#founding   23.11.09.
[77]Egilmez, Melek *Avrupa Toplulugu'nun Sosyal Politikasi.* Ankara: Nuve Matbaasi, 1978, p.18.
[78] Urwin, Derek W *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945*. Essex:
Longman, 1993, p. 80.

2.1.1 European Social Fund and Structural Funds

European Social Fund started to operate in 1960, and its main role was to support employment within the community. In the beginning the half of the financial source of the fund was paid the national sources of the member states and the national states were using the fund to execute their national policies. This was a problem for the countries which could not allocate enough sources for the employment issues. For example although Germany had less unemployment rate compared to the other members, it did receive more than half of the support in 1972.[79]

In 1971 the European Council of Ministers reformed the fund. The new European Social Fund was reshaped to support the members within a framework for the employment and social policies of the Community, rather than states' own national social policies[80].The sources of the fund expanded and financial support the fund made available for the members grew.

2.1.2 Social Action Programme (1974)

Expansion of the European Social Fund showed that member states' willingness for the European Community to have more tools to support social policy. In 1972 at Paris Summit the members of the European Community brought the possibility for the Community to have increasing role in the social policy while strengthening in the integration of markets[81]. This summit was the foundation of the Social Action Programme which was accepted by the Council of ministers in 1974. The programme introduced three targets to be achieved:

1) the attainment of full and better employment in the Community,
2) the improvement of living and working conditions
3) the increased involvement of management and labour in the economic and social decisions of the Community and of workers in companies.[82]

---

[79] Op cit Egilmez p.18.
[80] Ibid, p. 19.
[81]Ibid, p. 24.
[82]Eurofound, the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions,http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/industrialrelations/dictionary/definitions/socialactionprogramme.htm 17.01. 2010.

As a result of Paris Summit, a specific fund for the regional development was introduced. European Regional Development Fund in 1975 was established to support regional development in the form of investment grants and loans to capital investments and local authority investment projects.[83]

2.2 Delors Era and European Social Policy –From Single European Act to Maastricht

With the presidency of Jacques Delors for the Commission in 1985, European social policy entered into a new era. Delors advocated that a European common market without developing a European social policy could not be successful therefore Commission's main role to be the catalyst for the social policy regulations.[84]

Delors' main approach was to enhance the social dialogue between the participants of economic relations, under the Val Duchess negotiations between UNICE (the Union of Industrial and Employers Confederations of Europe) and ETUC (The European Trade Union Confederation). Negotiations were not successful in order to bring a result but Delors used this experience to build confidence when the Social Dialogue was relaunched in 1989 in Social Charter.[85]

Single European Act in this era was an attempt to remind the ultimate goal-common market- of the Rome Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, therefore not a revolutionary document, when it came to force in 1987. The common market target was pronounced as 'single internal market' by the Single European Act to be completed by the end of 1992. The market was in the centre of the Act to overcome the resistance for other social regulations in SEA from the reluctant countries such as Britain and Denmark.[86]

Single European Act, took a part to enhance the social policies in the Community level and mainly helped to overcome the resistance especially from the British side

---

[83] Anderson, Jeffrey "Structural Funds and EU Policy", in Leibfried, Stephan& Pierson, Paul *European Social Policy-Between Fragmentation and Integration.* Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995,p 138.
[84] Celik, Aziz ,*AB Sosyal Politikasi.* Istanbul: Kitap Yayinevi, 2005, p.96.
[85] Ross, George, "The Delor Era and Social Policy", in Leibfried, Stephan& Pierson, Paul (eds)(1995) *European Social Policy-Between Fragmentation and Integration.* Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, pp 376-377.
[86] Opcit Urwin p. 231.

by emphasising the 'single market' aspect of the Community, which was also the reason for social policy areas in the treaty to stay weak.[87] Single European Act introduced qualified majority voting for the Council's decisions to improve the single market, but most of the social policy areas were excluded from that, such as taxation, the free movement of persons, and the rights and interests of employed persons.[88] The main contribution of the Single European Act was to enable legal basis for the Community to develop more cohesive policies regarding the health and safety issues in the workplace.[89]

Single European Act introduced the Article 118A which enables qualified majority voting for the Council's decision as opposed to unanimity on the social policy areas of "encouraging improvements in the working environment, as regards the health and safety of workers", and 118 B was introduced to enhance Commission's role to support social dialogue between employees and employers at European level[90]. In some areas SEA brought less than what it was expected from it in the sense of strengthening European political integration, the Council still remained strong compared to the Commission in social policy areas and SEA contributed the idea of European Union very little, but the target of 1992 became a strong symbol for the future of the European Union.[91]

Starting with the Singe European Act, social policy making area has been a controversial area between the Member states and the Commission. United Kingdom fought against the Commission to give as little role for social policy areas as possible, considering this area as a pure national policy area. The era witnessed a power struggle between the Member States and the Commission, with efforts of the president of the Commission Delors against the Prime Minister of the UK, Thatcher's oppositions for reduction of unanimity for the decision making in social policy.

---

[87] Op cit Celik p. 97.
[88] Europa, Summaries of EU legislation
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/treaties_singleact_en.htm 23.11.09
[89] Op cit Celik pp 97-98.
[90] [90] Europa, Summaries of EU legislation
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/treaties_singleact_en.htm 23.11.09
[91] Opcit Urwin p. 235.

2.2.1 European Social Charter

The Commission under the presidency of Delors after setting the 1992 the target for the completion of the single internal market, has started to work on a plan to complete the Social Charter (Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers), to enhance the social regulatory role of the European Economic Community in the common market.

In Twelve's Community the charter was approved by 11 countries in December 1989 although Britain's objections, and the members pointed out that Britain already accepted the commitment to social justice by accepting SEA.[92] Britain declined to approve the charter although its non-binding nature.

The Social charter recognised the rights regarding the following social policy areas:

- Freedom of movement (Articles 1 to 3)
- Employment and remuneration (Articles 4 to 6)
- Improvement of living and working conditions (Articles 7 to 9)
- Social protection (Article 10)
- Freedom of association and collective bargaining (Articles 11 to 14)
- Vocational training (Article 15)
- Equal treatment for men and women (Article 16)
- Information, consultation and participation for workers (Articles 17 to 18)
- Health protection and safety at the workplace (Article 19)
- Protection of children and adolescents (Articles 20 to 23)
- Elderly persons (Articles 24 to 25)
- Disabled persons (Article 26)
- Member States' action (implementation) (Articles 27 to 30) [93]

2.2.2 The Treaty of Maastricht and Social Protocol

Treaty of Maastricht which entered into force in November 1993, establishing the European Union, is a very significant turning point for the Social Policy. Annex of Agreement on Social policy under the Social Protocol was disagreed by the United Kingdom, therefore the treaty introduced 'twin track' into the European Social Policy until the agreement was replaced with Amsterdam Treaty.

---

[92] Op cit p 239.
[93] Eurofound, the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/industrialrelations/dictionary/definitions/communitycharterofth efundamentalsocialrightsofworkers.htm 17.01 2010.

After the Maastricht Treaty, the twelve countries were bounded with the regulations under the chapter of 'Social Policy, Vocational Training and Youth' of the Treaty. Maastricht Treaty introduced the education field into the European level and Vocational training gained a clearer approach within the Union's policies.[94]

Maastricht Treaty contributed in the social policy areas of the European Union little with the amendments made to the social policy chapter after Single European Act. Especially UK opposition in the social policy making tools at European level, was the main challenge for the Union's social policy cohesion. All countries agreed to sign the Social Protocol, but the British Government opt out to be bounded by the policies on employment and industrial relations which would be implemented in accordance with the new procedure introduced by the Agreement on Social Policy annexed to the Protocol. [95]

Main contribution of the Treaty in social policy was the new procedure introduced by Social Protocol annexed to the Maastricht Treaty for European policy making for the social policy areas (see figure 2.1). With this procedural arrangement the Commission gained an important role to initiate the social dialogue between the parties at European level, which enables common policies to emerge at the European level[96].Nevertheless, UK opt out from the Social Protocol was an obstacle for the implementation of the Commission's attempt to increase the European level regulations. In the Social Protocol the social policy areas were agreed to be decided by the qualified majority voting, whereas the Article 100 ruled that the Council would act unanimously on Commission proposals on the issues directly effecting the establishment and functioning of common market.

> The Council shall, acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee, issue directives for the approximation of such laws, regulations or administrative provisions of the Member States as directly affect the establishment or functioning of the common market.[97]

[94] Cram, Laura, Policy Making in the EU, Routledge: London, 1999, p.43.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid p 49.
[97] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION *Official Journal C 191, 29 July 1992* 10.11.09

This remained as a contradicting area within the institutions of the European Union. The Parliament supported implementation of qualified majority voting procedure without the need to satisfy the UK.
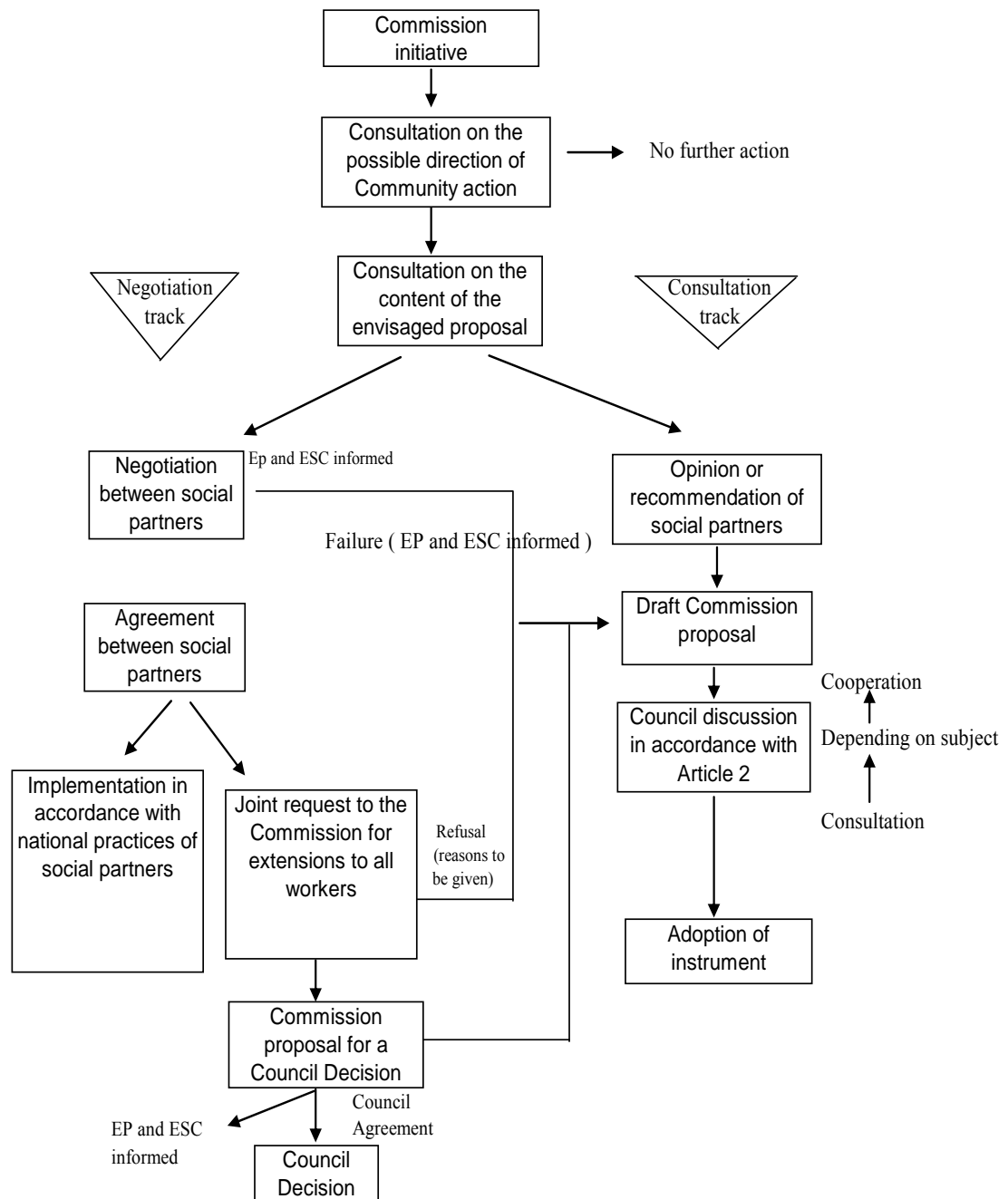

Figure 2.1 Operational Chart showing the implementation of the Agreement on Social Policy[98]Source: Social Europe 3/94: 208 "Two Years of Community Social Policy: July 1993-June 1995

---

[98] Cram op cit p.48.

2.2.3 European Works Council

Although the procedural differences of European institutions maintained after the Maastricht Treaty, enhanced social dialogue by the commission initiative was the catalyst for the social policy regulations for the European level.In the discussion for the establishment of European Works Council, the social dialogue brought more concrete voluntary resolutions, as opposed to institutional contradiction within the European Union.

In 1994 a Directive, to establish the European Works Councils which provides workers the right to information and consultation on company decisions[99] was approved in the basis of the Social Protocol procedure, unanimously, with the exception of UK.

In 1995 60 companies voluntarily decided to set up the information and consultation mechanisms, and most of the companies included their UK workers in the procedure as well[100]. So Although the UK governmental opposition, the social parties in the UK took part in the implementation of European Works Councils.

2.3 Amsterdam Treaty

Amsterdam Treaty restored the unity for the members of the Union for social policy, by extending the signatories of the Social Agreement to the United Kingdom. The Treaty abolished the confusion in the social policy making by including the social regulations introduced with the Maastricht Treaty and Social Agreement annexed to the Social Protocol.[101]

With Amsterdam Treaty legal texts were gathered together, and merged the legal basis for the social policy. Article 136 and 137 stated that the European Social

---

[99] European Trade Union Confederation, http://www.etuc.org/a/125 European Works Council 19.01.09.
[100] Op cit Cram p. 54.
[101]Europa, Summaries of EU Legislation
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/amsterdam_treaty/a14000_en.htm
Social Policy in the Treaty of Amsterdam 05.11.09.

Charter 1961 and Community Charter of Fundamental Social Charters of the workers were determined as the basis for the European Union's social policy.[102]

The Treaty enhanced the Community's role in the social policy areas by repealing the Social protocol and merging it under the EC Treaty. The social policy areas of the Community were determined as following areas:

- improvement of the working environment to protect workers' health and safety
- working conditions
- information and consultation of workers
- integration of persons excluded from the labour market
- equality between men and women [103]

Amsterdam Treaty in addition to enlarging the legal basis for the European social policy also introduced a section for the employment policy of the European Union under the title VIII between the articles 125-130.

---

[102] *Official Journal C 340, 10 November 1997* TREATY OF AMSTERDAM AMENDING THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION, THE TREATIES ESTABLISHING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES AND RELATED ACTS http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11997D/htm/11997D.html 12.12.2009.

Article 136 (ex Article 117) The Community and the Member States, having in mind fundamental social rights such as those set out in the European Social Charter signed at Turin on 18 October 1961 and in the 1989 Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers, shall have as their objectives the promotion of employment, improved living and working conditions, so as to make possible their harmonisation while the improvement is being maintained, proper social protection, dialogue between management and labour, the development of human resources with a view to lasting high employment and the combating of exclusion.

To this end the Community and the Member States shall implement measures which take account of the diverse forms of national practices, in particular in the field of contractual relations, and the need to maintain the competitiveness of the Community economy.

They believe that such a development will ensue not only from the functioning of the common market, which will favour the harmonisation of social systems, but also from the procedures provided for in this Treaty and from the approximation of provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action.

Article 137 (ex Article 118)

1. With a view to achieving the objectives of Article 136, the Community shall support and complement the activities of the Member States in the following fields:

- improvement in particular of the working environment to protect workers' health and safety;
- working conditions;
- the information and consultation of workers;
- the integration of persons excluded from the labour market, without prejudice to Article 150;
- equality between men and women with regard to labour market opportunities and treatment at work.

[103]Europa,Summaries of EU Legislation

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/amsterdam_treaty/a14000_en.htm
Social Policy in the Treaty of Amsterdam 10.12.09.

According the new Employment title under the Treaty of Amsterdam, member states would continue implementing their own employment policies, but this policy should be in accordance with the European strategy in economic and social areas.[104]

2.4 Lisbon Strategy and the Greens

In 2000 the European Council in Lisbon prepared a strategy to increase the competitiveness of European economy towards 2010. This strategy was called as Lisbon Strategy and based on 3 pillars:

> • An economic pillar preparing the ground for the transition to a competitive, dynamic, knowledge-based economy. Emphasis is placed on the need to adapt constantly to changes in the information society and to boost research and development.
> • A social pillar designed to modernise the European social model by investing in human resources and combating social exclusion. The Member States are expected to invest in education and training, and to conduct an active policy for employment, making it easier to move to a knowledge economy.
> • An environmental pillar, which was added at the Göteborg European Council meeting in June 2001, draws attention to the fact that economic growth must be decoupled from the use of natural resources. [105]

Lisbon strategy made the full employment a main concern for the economic development in Europe. Environmental issues were also set as a priority to be considered along with the employment. In the beginning, however, there was not any specific reference to environment. The Green's position against Lisbon strategy was mainly based on to what extent the strategy could maintain the sustainable economic development.[106]

> The new commitment to full employment is certainly an improvement compared with the uncriticized acceptance of the neoliberal ideology that the creation of employment must be left to the market. But a problem of definition still remains. Full employment for the Green/EFA Group means that every woman or man seeking work to earn her or his living can find a job at standard legal pay and with full social coverage. Access to gainful

---

[104] Op cit Celik, p.104.

[105] European Glossary- Lisbon Strategy http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/lisbon_strategy_en.htm 10.4.2010.

[106] http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/archiv/dok/98/98690.greensefa_on_the_eu_summit_in_lisbon@en.htm Greens Press Release on Lisbon Strategy 22.3.2000-Greens/EFA on the EU Summit in Lisbon: Full Employment yes- but not the American way 15.4.2010.

employment for everybody as a basic human right is a cornerstone in the European Social Model - and not as defined in the US miracle of "full employment" which is at first sight more positive than Europe's. But if you look at the US statistics, which already count a two hours per week job as being a fully valid occupation, it should leave us with some doubts as to the US 'success'.[107]

The Council and the Commission decided to publish a mid-term review on Lisbon strategy to assess the process of the strategy. The Commission's mid-term review had three main objectives:

- more focus with "rigorous prioritisation": the Commission proposes to focus on economic growth and employment by launching the idea of a "Partnership for Growth and Jobs", which would be supported by an action plan at Union level and national action plans in the member states;
- mobilise support for reforms: national member states, social partners and even citizens need to take "ownership" of the necessary reform processes. Lisbon "must become part of national political debate"; member states will be urged to present national action programmes and to appoint a 'Mr or Ms Lisbon' at government level;
- simplification, clarification and simpler reporting: instead of the myriad reports "that no one reads" [in Barroso's words], there will be a single Lisbon report at EU level and one at national level. [108]

The Greens opposition was raised against the re-launch of Lisbon strategy advocating the Commission was acting in favour of the market economy rather than trying to seek sustainability in economy, balancing the development against environmental and social issues.

The new Lisbon Process is extremely biased; economic considerations clearly prevail over social and ecological objectives. President Barroso wants to fix the problems of Europe – of which growing unemployment is the most crucial – with solutions from the 1980s. The Greens reiterate that a future-oriented economic policy is only feasible through respect for equilibrium between economy, sustainable development and the environment.[109]

---

[107] Ibid Pierre Jonckheer, Member of the Economic and Monetary Affairs Committee
[108] Euractiv- Growth and Jobs: Relaunch of the Lisbon strategy
http://www.euractiv.com/en/innovation/growth-jobs-relaunch-lisbon-strategy/article-13189116
16.4.2010.
[109] Greens Press Release on A network on the Lisbon Process: Greens link up to challenge Lisbon relaunch Pierre Jonckheer, Vice-President of the Greens/EFA group http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/pressreleases/dok/101/101454.a_network_on_the_lisbon_process@en.htm 16.4.2010.

A sustainable development strategy therefore was needed to fortify the social and economic dimensions. EU Sustainable Development Strategy (EU SDS) in 2001 thus added an environmental dimension to Lisbon strategy[110]. Nevertheless Greens criticisms continued both on the EU SDS and Lisbon Strategy. In 2010 March, the Commission launched a new strategy for the EU to set goals towards 2020, called Europe 2020. Priorities of the strategy were listed as below:

- Smart growth: developing an economy based on knowledge and innovation.
- Sustainable growth: promoting a more resource efficient, greener and more competitive economy.
- Inclusive growth: fostering a high-employment economy delivering social and territorial cohesion.[111]

The targets of the programme are set as:

- 75 % of the population aged 20-64 should be employed.
- 3% of the EU's GDP should be invested in R&D.
- The "20/20/20" climate/energy targets should be met emissions reduction if the conditions are right).
- The share of early school leavers should be under 10% generation should have a tertiary degree.
- 20 million less people should be at risk of poverty. [112]

The Greens raise a strong critique of the strategy by stating that the strategy again would reproduce the GDP based growth model, and does not consider the participation and contribution of social partners.

> The Barroso II Commission is serving up a Lisbon Strategy II. The Commission Communication represents more short-sighted obsession with growth and competitiveness, instead of 2020 vision for Europe's sustainable future and quality of life. The EU 2020 Strategy fails to provide the blueprint for a future based on an integrated, triple focus on economy, environment and social issues. Only a Green New Deal will deliver green jobs and sustainable solutions to the current crisis.
>
> The Commission is repeating the mistakes of the Lisbon Strategy by presenting a programme without demanding obligations. We need binding targets for critical issues such as resource and energy

---

[110] Both strategies were revised: In 2006 EU SDS, in 2005 Lisbon Strategy. These two strategies are also being reviewed periodically.
[111] The EU Commission Communication Europe 2020 March 2010
http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/COMPLET%20EN%20BARROSO%20%20%20007%20-%20Europe%202020%20-%20EN%20version.pdf 19.4.2010
[112] Ibid.

> efficiency, as well as for social objectives. The restated 20/20/20 (1) targets are inadequate to meet the challenge of climate change and they demonstrate a lack of ambition for Europe's future. Concrete targets must also be set for the preservation of biodiversity.[113]

The Green group mainly criticizes the Commission's and the Council's strategy on employment, energy and environmental issues, asserting that the EU is still undermining the measures to enable sustainable development, and still supporting the competitive market conditions, instead of focusing on the issues which require immediate attention, such as climate change.

2.5 Treaty of Lisbon

Treaty of Lisbon which entered into force on 1 December 2009 has mainly about the function of updating the policy-making procedure of the European Union after the accession of the new members. The main purpose of the Lisbon Treaty was to improve the institutional procedures of the EU, and also introduce new aspects to enable democratic participation of the citizens of the EU and their national parliaments.

Lisbon Treaty extended the social policy areas further which enable the European Council to make decision with the qualified majority voting as opposed to unanimity, although sensitive areas such as taxation, social security, foreign policy, common defence are still governed by unanimity.

Lisbon Treaty introduces a new chapter to the Treaties with the title Social Policy and gathers the article under this name. With the Lisbon Treaty social policy areas which require qualified majority voting are listed as below:

---

[113]Greens Press Release on EU 2020 Strategy: Commission presents myopic attempt at 2020 vision 3.3.2010 http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/pressreleases/dok/329/329962.eu_2020_strategy@en.htm 17.4.2010.

	Directives or regulations setting out the measures required to bring about freedom of movement for workers after consulting the Economic and Social Committee	Article 46 TFEU
TFEU, Part Three, Title IV, Chapter 1 – Workers	Provisions relating to the aggregation, for the purpose of acquiring and retaining the right to benefit and of calculating the amount of benefit, of all periods taken into account for employed and self-employed migrant workers and their dependants (Unanimity with regard to the payment of benefits to persons resident in the territories of Member States)	Article 48 TFEU
TFEU, Part Three, Title IX - Employment	Incentive measures designed to encourage cooperation between Member States and to support their action in the field of employment (exchange of information exchange, best practices, comparative analyses and advice) excluding harmonisation measures after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	Article 149 TFEU
TFEU, Part Three, Title X – Social Policy	Measures designed to encourage cooperation between Member States in the field of social policy after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Directives concerning the minimum requirements for gradual implementation in the social field after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	Article 153, paragraph 2 TFEU
	Measures to ensure the application of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation, including the principle of equal pay for equal work or work equal value after consulting the Economic and Social Committee	Article 157, paragraph 3 TFEU
TFEU, Part Three, Title XI – The European Social Fund	Implementing decisions relating to the European Social Fund after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	Article 164 TFEU
TFEU, Part Three, Title XII – TFEU Education, Vocational Training, Youth and Sport	Incentive measures in the fields of sport after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	Article 165, paragraph 4 TFEU, Part Three, Title XII – TFEU
	Incentive measures in the fields of education after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	
	Measures to support and supplement the action of the Member States in the field of vocational training excluding any harmonisation measure after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	Article 166, paragraph 4 TFEU
TFEU, Part Three, Title XIV – Public Health	Measures designed to meet common safety concerns with regard to public health (standards relating to organs and substances of human origin, blood and blood derivatives; veterinary and phytosanitary fields; standards for medicinal products and devices for medical use) after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Incentive measures designed to protect and improve human health (monitoring, early warning of and combating serious cross-border threats to health, measures to protect public health (tobacco, alcohol)), excluding any harmonisation measure after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	Article 168, paragraphs 4 and 5 TFEU
TFEU, Part Three, Title XVIII – Economic, Social and Territorial Cohesion	Specific actions outside the Structural Funds after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	Article 175 TFEU
	Regulations and general rules applicable to the Structural Funds after consulting the Economic and Social Committee et du Committee of the Regions	Article 177 TFEU
	Implementing regulations relating to the European Regional Development Fund after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	Article 178 TFEU

Table 2.1. List of Articles coming under qualified majority voting[114]

---

[114] Foundation Robert Schuman http://www.robert-schuman.eu/doc/divers/lisbonne/en/annexe3.pdf 15.01.10.

In addition to that all the above articles could be subject to the so called co-decision procedure, which was changed to "ordinary legislative procedure" in the Lisbon Treaty, including the articles below:

	Directives relating to the freedom of establishment as regards a particular activity after consulting the Economic and Social Committee	Article 50 TFEU
	Exemption of some activities with regard to the measures in the chapter relating to the right of establishment	Article 51 TFEU
TFEU, Part Three, Title IV, Chapter 1 – Workers	Directives relating to the coordination of provisions in terms of right of establishment	Article 52, paragraph 2 TFEU
	Directives relating to the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualifications Coordination of national provisions concerning the taking-up and pursuit of activities as self-employed persons	Article 53, paragraph 1 TFEU
TFEU, Part Three, Title XX – Environment	Actions within the European environment policy after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions General action programmes setting out priority objectives to be attained in the field of environment after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions	Article 192, paragraph 2 TFEU

Table 2.2. List of the Articles coming under ordinary legislative procedure[115]

With the co-decision period European Parliament, whose members are elected by the citizens of European Union, gains more power in the policy making process of the EU. It provides the European Parliament with the power to enact legislative acts jointly with the Council of the European Union, therefore helps the democratisation of the policy making of the EU.[116]

With the Treaty of Lisbon the European Union also adjusts fundamental human rights into the European law, under the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union but to what extend and how it will be binding for the members of the EU remains controversial.[117]

The Charter introduces rights for the young people, elderly, and persons with disabilities. Under Chapter III Equality and Chapter IV Solidarity, the Charter recognises fundamental rights related to social policy areas such as:

---

[115] Foundation Robert Schuman,http://www.robert-schuman.eu/doc/divers/lisbonne/en/annexe4.pdf 15.01.10.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Aktar, Cengiz; Araştırma Notu No:54 Sosyal Haklar Faslı-Tıkanan AB Müzakere Sürecine İyi Bir Örnek, BETAM, Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi, 23 Kasım 2009.

- Workers' right to information and consultation within the undertaking
- Right of collective bargaining and action
- Protection in the event of unjustified dismissal
- Fair and just working conditions
- Prohibition of child labour and protection of young people at work
- Family and professional life
- Social security and social assistance
- Environmental protection[118]

This new additional focus on social issues strengthens European Union's role in the social policy area with the Charter of Fundamental Rights, but it still remains weak to initiate binding measures for the European Union member countries.

2.6 The European Social Policy and Social Europe

With the recent developments in the European Union to an 'ever closer Union', the social aspects of the EU are emphasised more as a supportive role for the Union besides regulating the single market. Enlarging the social policy areas where Commission and the EP can initiate action with Treaty of Lisbon and also addition of the Charter of Fundamental Rights shows that at least in the texts the EU is more enthusiastic to increase its role in for the development of a Social Europe.

EU social policy has followed a slow approach and it encountered a lot of resistance from the states and industry since 1957. Mainly European states were willing European social policy to be limited with the topics related to the single market, and intergovernmentalist approach followed by the EU in social policy areas made it possible for the member states to keep European level legislation limited. Therefore the social policy of the EU remained symbolic and rhetoric, rather than establishing rules and directives.[119]The EU mainly took a role to determine minimum standards and minimum rights, and it is not actor to deal with employment and social policy on its own,[120] therefore the EU mainly leaves the practice of the social policy to its member states, and its intervention is limited. But still reinforcing a 'minimum

---

[118]Official Journal of the European Communities Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, C 364/1, (2000/C 364/01) 09.12.2000, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf 20.1.2010
[119] Op cit Cram pp. 58-59.
[120] European Commission *European Employment and Social Policy*, 2000 http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/move/24/txt_en.pdf 12.12.2009

income guarantee and a health promotion guarantee, but also a universal human capital guarantee, providing access to high-quality education and training' which enables the workers of Europe to have a descent life [121], are regarded as the main roles of the EU to make a European social area possible. Although the limited role of the EU social policy making at the European level, the EU sets a vision for the member states "to promote a decent quality of life and standard of living for all in an active, inclusive and healthy society"[122] and also to expose the problems for the global crisis of the welfare at European level. One successful tool of the EU to shape the social policy at the European level has been the European Social Fund.

The fund has taken the role to support the employment and training of the workers all over the members of the EU, whereas the funds are also criticized to fail to create capacity to develop further when the funds are not available any more[123]. The fund aims, the distribution of the funding amongst the Member states in favour of the less advanced countries, maintains a key role in EU's strategy for employment and improvement of the citizens lives by providing better skills for work and better jobs. The fund foresees to distribute €75 billion in 2007-2013 period[124].Following European Social Fund, European Regional Development Fund and Cohesion fund also were used by the EU efficiently for the re-distribution of the European wealth. In 2007-2013 period the EU allocates €347 billion to support the convergence, regional competitiveness and employment, and European territorial cooperation, which accounts of the 35% of the EU 2007-2013 EU budget[125]. Table 2.3 shows Funds available for the Regional Cohesion[126]

---

[121] Ferrera, Maurizio, Hemerijck, Anton and Rhodes, Martin, 'The future of the European "social model" in the global economy', *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 3: 2, p.188.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Rodrĺguez-Pose, Andrés and Fratesi†, Ugo 'Between Development and Social Policies: The Impact of European Structural Funds in Objective 1 Regions', *Regional Studies*, 38: 1, 2004, p. 110.

[124] European Commission, European Social Fund http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/esf/discover/esf_en.htm What is the ESF? 10.12.09.

[125] European Commission, European Social Fund http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/esf/docs/facts_figures_en.pdf ESF investing in People 2007-2013 Statistics facts Sheet 10.12.09.

[126] http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/policy/fonds/2007-2013-by-objective_large_en.gif Regional Policy-Funds Available 12.12.09.
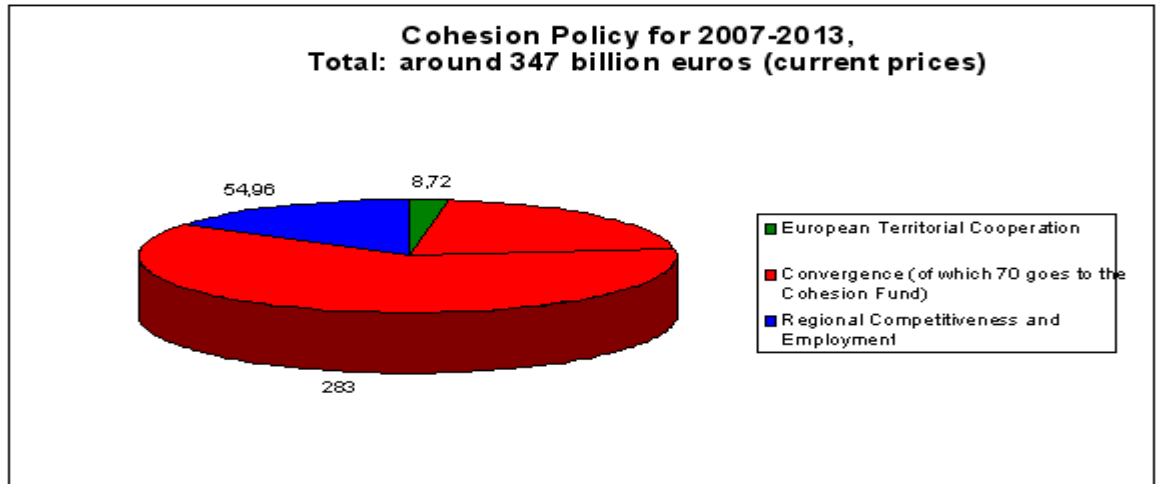
Table 2.3 Funds available for the Regional Cohesion[127]

One other strength of the social policy making for creation of a Social Europe, has been strengthening of the social dialogue and the role of the EP. Introduction of the social dialogue method into the decision making of the EU in social policy areas, has established a base for the discussion of the social policy at the European level, but this also maintains its shortcomings within. The contribution of the social partners in the social discussion at European remains weak which creates a reluctance to participate in the social dialogue process. The partner of the social dialogue cannot have any effect on the social decisions which are left to the national governments to execute[128]. Although the European level social dialogue is regarded as a channel to contribute in the European social policy making, its influence is rather limited on the EU institutions[129].

As in the example of part-time work directive, although a directive can be adopted by the EU, to regulate of a topic at the national level, it mainly remains the decision of the member state to decide how to implement the regulation; therefore even from one

---

[127] http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/policy/fonds/2007-2013-by-objective_large_en.gif Regional Policy-Funds Available 12.12.09.
[128] Gold, Micheal,Cressey Peter and Leonard Evelyne, "Whatever Happened to Social Daialogue? From Partnership to Managerialism in the EU Employment Agenda", *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, Volume 13 Number 1 pp 7-25, 2001, p. 21.
[129] Esentürk, Nevra N. *European Social Dialogue and the Role of Social Partners with reference to Governance in the EU*, Marmara Üniversites, AB Enstitüsü yayınlanmamış doktora tezi, 2009, p. 287.

directive of the EU, different implementations of the European social policy occurs.[130]

Social Policy as a concept which emerged from the social and industrial evaluation of Europe, market and social sustainability-protection discussion is transferred to the European level[131]. Two different opinions on the concept of European social policy continue to fight against each to overcome one another: European social policy as a function of single market or European social policy to establish a social Europe. Analysing the current crisis of the welfare state, the EU in a way has to adapt the wider understanding of the social policy and support the nation states to develop social policy in a wider perspective, including gender equality, environmental issues, rights of children, rights of elderly.

Especially enhancement of the EP participation in the social policy areas, with the Treaty of Lisbon, seems to provide a contribution in the solution of the democratic deficit problem regarding the social issues, which includes the issues in the main concern of the citizens of Europe, which helps this discussion to be laid on a more democratic basis. In that sense the Greens as a group supporting deeper European integration, plays an important role to remind European institutions interconnectedness of the European market conditions and social wealth of the citizens of Europe, therefore the importance of creation of a Social Europe.

After the enhancement of the EP in the social policy areas by the Lisbon Treaty, the Greens plan to continue their contribution in the European social policy to create a social Europe gains more power at European level, supported by the rhetoric of the EU social policy documents in the conceptual level, to present a guideline for the social agenda of future social Europe.

---

[130] Bleijenbergh, Inge; de Bruijn Jeanne; Bussemaker, Jet, "European Social Citizenship and the Part-time Work Directive" *European Journal of Industrial Relations,* Volume 10, Number 3, 2004, p. 325.
[131] Op cit Celik p.256.

III. THE GREENS AND EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY

Although the emergence of Green ideology is mainly attributed to post-industrialisation era, Green ideas have their roots in the ancient history. The Green ideology can be regarded as distillation of the ideas represented by different religions and philosophies since the medieval times. Their emergence in the political stage had come with the awareness of a need for a holistic understanding of the world in the political area as opposed to the dominant materialist and consumption based world-view[132].

In European countries the Green parties have their own dynamics, and they are very much different in their policy priorities. Unique political history of each of the parties in different European countries makes it hard to generalise the Green approach of the Green parties in different EU member states[133]. Nonetheless, the Green ideology is represented at European level in the European Parliament and also under the umbrella party, the European Green Party.

The Green visions of Europe are certainly important to analyse the evolution of European Social Policy. It is necessary to look at the positions and policy documents of the European Green Party and Greens Group in the European Parliament in order to analyse the Green Perspectives for EU and the future of Social Policy.

3. The History of Green Politics

The Green ideology has been affecting the global politics for the last decade. Increasing consumption trend and the concerns for the natural sources and climate change has raised the awareness against the environmental issues. Therefore the Green politics has been based on these concerns of the post-industrialised era.

The Green approach also represents a morality in the politics, as John Barry explains as follows:

---

[132]Richardson, Dick "The Green Challange: Philosophical, programmatic and electoral considerations"in *The Green Challange-the development of Green parties in Europe*, Richardson, Dick& Rootes, Chris Routledge (ed)London-New York, 1995, p.4.
[133] Ibid p. 249.

> Green politics, in basing itself upon a view of morality in which virtues are central, seeks to create what may be called 'symbiotic' rather than 'parasitic' social-environmental relations: that is, the cultivation of ecological virtuous modes of interaction with the environment. The border between *symbiotic* and *parasitic* relations denotes the ethical border between use and abuse. Certain dispositions of character, and their social requirements, are held to be constitutive aspects of human-nature relations. Some of these virtues are peculiar to this domain of moral life, but some, perhaps the most important, such as sympathy or humanity, range over all aspects of morality.[134]

Holistic approach of the Green ideology made it necessary for the Greens to be active in a wider range of policy areas including foreign relations, economics, and social policies.

The Green ideology has co-existed with the medieval ideas and it represents a life style respecting the nature[135], but emergence of Green parties and politics is more like a modern phenomenon, coming as a result of excessive industrialisation and its side effects on the natural life. Growing discussions of costs of economic growth and limits of the growth started a movement in the modern society to support a new life style.

Establishment Club of Rome in 1968, by the industrialists and scientists, has been influential to think on for how long the resources of the planet could continue to serve human kind[136]. This environmental concern has found its way to political stage through, Green political thoughts. But it has been a great challenge for the Greens to take a step up into the stage of politics, without having any experience or structured party tradition.

John Burchell lists three characteristics of the Green political parties:

- weak commitment mechanisms binding the activists to the parties, reflected both limited levels of party membership and activism;
- rejection of traditional, bureaucratic party organisation in favour of decentralised and horizontally coordinated mobilization of activists, and

---

[134] Dobson, Andrew, *Citizenship and Environment,* Oxford University Press, 2003, pp.132-133.
[135] Op cit Dick and Rootes.
[136] Ibid p.5.

- an emphasis upon collective decision-making and greater participation.[137]

In Europe in 1990s Green parties started take role in the government as a coalition partner in the West European countries, and in 1999 Italy, Germany, Finland, Belgium and France were governed by the coalitions with Green partners. In 2004 in Slovakia had seen the first Green Prime minister was seen in the government[138]

German Greens were the most successful party in Europe to be in power in the government, and their existence in the government was possible through post election coalitions. In 2005, the Greens left the government not because they lost in elections but their coalition partner failed in the elections. [139]

The Green coalitions in Eastern Europe, mainly represented a transition to liberal democracy, and they were disintegrated after having completed their mission. Green's position in the government is mainly be determined by the public support in a couple of issues.

> One key element will be a decision about the continued role of ecological issues, and a subscription to an 'ecological' worldview as the main feature of the identity of parties. Here it is possible to see the Greens continually framing and re-framing ecological challenges. So far, the new challenges like climate change have not had the mobilizing potential of nuclear power. The crisis of agriculture might be one new issue, but the Greens will have to await events to see how this develops. The only relatively stable electoral base that they have had has been with environmentally concerned voters, and this should be an asset that the parties would need to build on in the future.[140]

Another issue that determines a clear position for Green parties, and affects their electoral performance is based on their social policy making.

> The other important dimension is one of a party in favour of 'multiculturalism', an attempt to seek identity mainly on the libertarian side of a cleavage that shows every sign of continuing to be of major importance in coming years. And a third 'big' question is that of economic liberalism, the 'Third Way', the reform of the welfare state.

---

[137] Burchell, Jon, *The Evolution of Green Politics*, Earthscan, 2002, p.17.
[138] Rihoux, Benoit and Rudig, Wolfgang, "Analyzing Greens in power: Setting the agenda" *UK European Journal of Political Research* 45: S1–S33, 2006 pp. 24-27.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.

> From being seen as defenders of the welfare state, the Greens in some countries have tried to define themselves as economic modernizers, being at the forefront of economic policy and welfare state reform. How such a change would play with old and new potential Green voters is still very much uncertain.[141]

Although in the member states the Green parties contribution is seen limited and Green's existence in the national government is not seen as a revolutionary experience[142], they maintain an opposition in both national level governance, as well as in European level governance.

European Greens has started to be very active in all of the policy areas with their representation at European level. In the following part the aims of the Greens in the European parliament and the European Green party will be summarised, and their contribution in the European social policy will be discussed.

3.1 The Greens/EFA Group at the European Parliament

The Greens as a political entity has been active in states of Europe since 1970s and their first emergence in the institutions at the European level in 1984 with their entrance in the European Parliament in 1984. Since then The Greens has been an important actor in the areas of environmental protection, peace and social justice.[143]

Since 1999 they form the Greens/European Free Alliance (EFA) group in the EP together with EFA representatives from Scotland, Wales, Flanders, Catalonia, Corsica and Latvia which works for the advance the cause of Europe's stateless nations, regions and disadvantaged minorities.[144]

---

[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] The Greens/ European Free Alliance in the European Parliament http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/default/rubrik/6/6648.history.htm History of The Greens/European Free Alliance in European Parliament-Presentation 12.12.09.
[144]The Greens/ European Free Alliance in the European Parliament http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/default/dokbin/255/255005.presentation_of_efa_group@en.pdf Euroepan Free Alliance in the EP 12.12.09.

Their priorities can be listed as:

- build a society respectful of **fundamental human rights and environmental justice**: the rights to self-determination**,** to shelter, to good health, to education, to culture, and to a high quality of life;
- increase **freedom** within the world of work, not only by tackling unemployment but also by widening people's choices, releasing human creative potential ;
- deepen **democracy** by decentralisation and direct participation of people in decision-making that concerns them, and by enhancing openness of government in Council and Commission, and making the Commission fully answerable to Parliament.
- build a European Union of free peoples based on the principle of **subsidiarity** who believe in **solidarity** with each other and all the peoples of the world.
- re-orientate the European Union, which currently over-emphasises its economic conception at the expense of **social, cultural and ecological values**[145]

and they are working for:

- economic and social reforms to **make development sustainable** for both human beings and the natural world;
- a democratic process linking trade, security, economic and social issues to **environmental, cultural and democratic rights**;
- high ecological, social and democratic standards to ensure the **quality of life** ;
- solidarity, guaranteed human and citizen's rights for everybody, including people who have come from non-EU countries ;
- a foreign policy designed to resolve problems by **peaceful means** rather than by military force;
- improved structures for **democratic participation in political decision-making**, involving NGOs, Trade Unions, citizens and civic authorities at all levels, with measures to ensure equal participation of women;
- **guaranteed equal rights and opportunities**, as well as cultural and linguistic diversity
- a policy of **employment and redistribution of work** with special attention to gender issues, in order to end the existing unbalanced division of labour and share the workload more fairly between women and men, ensuring that women are fully able to take part in the formal labour market as well as in political life.
- the **involvement of the relevant elected authorities** that have constitutional powers in the decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to matters that fall within their competence

---

[145] The Greens/ European Free Alliance in the European Parliament http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/default/rubrik/6/6646.presentation.htm The Greens/European Free Alliance in the European Parliament 12.12.09.

- Development of Article 299.2 of the Treaty of Amsterdam that provides for a permanent special status of the most remote regions (The Canaries, the Azores, Madeira and the French D.O.M.)[146]

In 1984-1989 period The Greens were not able to form a group in the EP with their 9 members from Germany (7), Belgium and the Netherlands. The rules in the EP were mainly based on encouraging the formation of groups, by giving them more opportunity such as in setting the agenda and access the funds. So the Greens to increase their influence within the EP they formed a group with the MEPs from Italy, Denmark and regionalists from Flanders and Ireland under the name Green alternative European Link, also known as Rainbow group.[147]

The first group in the EP was formed in 1989-1994 period with 30 members. The Groups has introduced the rule of co-presidency at this period, with the obligation of at least one of them to be a woman. At this period Green priorities were mainly environment and health issues (Earth Summit in Rio, which led to Kyoto Protocol, genetically modified organisms), peace policy (Gulf war in 1991). The Greens gained a leading role in the European level especially in the environmental issues and this contributed in the Green movement towards a more 'pro-European approach and a greater European integration'.[148]

In 1994 elections members of the Green group decreased to 23, although the increasing votes for German Greens, French and Portuguese Greens failed to have any seats. Only with the accession of Austria, Finland and Sweden into the European Union the Green representation in the EP reached 27.[149]

In 1999-2004 period The Greens won 38 seats in the EP and became the fourth biggest group in the Parliament. In this period the Green movement actively contributed in the discussions which led to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, which now establishes the legal basis for the social rights of the European citizens. Green parties also gained power during this period in the European Council with the

---

[146] Ibid.
[147] Hines Eric H., *The European Parliamnet and the Europeanisation of Green Parties, Sage Publication*, London, 2003, pp. 313-314.
[148] The Greens/ European Free Alliance in the European Parliament http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/default/rubrik/6/6648.history.htm History of The Greens/European Free Alliance in European Parliament 12.12.09
[149] Ibid.

success of the Green parties at the national level to find place in five countries, Italy, Finland, France, Germany and Belgium.

In 2004-2009 period the Greens won 34 seats in the Parliament, but failed to have any MEPs from the new members of the EU with the EFA alliance their MEPs number increased to 42. The Greens also were represented in five national governments.[150]

In 2009 with the increasing effects of the global financial crisis, the Greens urged to alternate the current economic policies in Europe and launched the manifesto 'A Green New Deal for Europe', as the strategy of European Green Party for the elections. After the Election in June 2009, the Greens won 46 seats, and with EFA alliance their number increased to 55. [151]

European Union Parliamentary Period	Green MEPs
1984-1989	9
1989-1994	30
1994	23
1995-1999	27
1999-2004	38
2004-2009	34
2009	46

Table 3.1 Green MEPs representation in the European Parliament

The Growing support for the Greens supported by the voters, who are traditionally Europhile but take a more critical stand against EU policies, see Greens an address to empower against EU's shortcomings. Also Greens represent an important function for the environmental, mainly transboundary issues.[152]

---

[150] Ibid
[151] Ibid.
[152] Carter Neil, "The Greens in the 2009 European parliament election" *Environmental Politics,* Vol. 19, No. 2, March 2010, p. 300.

3.2 The European Green Party

The European Green Party was founded in 2004 at the fourth Congress of the European Federation of Green Parties as a transnational political party including the members from all over Europe and has become the first party to form a political party at European level. Membership of the EGP does not require being a national of one of the member states of the EU. [153]

The main role of the EGP was to support the Green ideas with common motives and slogans, which creates a common understanding of European Green political entity through the European Parliament elections. This co-operation of the Green parties under the EGP has increased the visibility of Green ideas, although the parties and members themselves maintained diversified opinions against the EU policies.

The EGP also undertakes the role of producing common policy documents to give a direction to the diversified opinions within the Green parties. The EGP identifies itself as 'young political formation and part of a process which cannot be driven too far nor too fast'.[154]

The Green party ideology is based on the goals of environmental sustainability, social justice, decentralization (localization), global security and grassroots democracy, and therefore brings the necessity to adopt a transnational co-operation. The Greens advocate integration towards the 'uniting of the peoples' of European and embraces the European integration on a more European citizenship level, rather than institutions of the EU.[155]

The Greens emphasize the 'impotence' of the state in solving the problems of the globalised world.[156] This also indicates the same roots with the problems of the welfare state and its inability to solve the social problems and to produce effective social policies for its 'active citizens'.

---

[153] European Greens, http://europeangreens.eu/menu/learn-about-egp/ What is the EGP? 12.12.09
[154] EuropeanGreens, http://europeangreens.eu/menu/learn-about-egp/history/ European Green Party-History 12.12.09
[155] Bomberg, Elizabeth "The Europeanisation of Green Parties: Exploring EU's impact", *West European Politics*, Vol.25 No.3 July, 2002,p.33.
[156] Ibid.

The Greens being a relatively young, their practices and principles are less entrenched and more open to change, was their strength through adapting themselves, as well as to influence EU policy-making and transform the European politics.[157] With their entrance to EP:

> The Strategic change has been found: Green have learned the rules of the EU policy making process, and have mostly chosen to play by them. Chief amongst these rules is the need for compromise and collaboration, both of which are imperative if one hopes to influence parliamentary and wider decisions. As one long-serving member of EP secretariat put it: 'The Greens are mainstream now' In Other words, Greens have been socialized into the compromise culture of the EP. They have become far more adapt at brokering deals, or playing the swing vote on tightly fought issues.[158]

The roots of the Greens political movement were mainly in social movements, in an activist approach, rather than participating in existing political institutions. The Greens political movement is based on four main values:

- a sustainable society
- a 'spiritual' dimension derived from the interconnectedness of life
- a global outlook
- a fundamental pursuit of global peace.[159]

As social movements the Greens had limited power to change the existing political system, and they went through the dilemma of staying as a social movement, maintain pure and loyal to their ethics, or accepting compromises such as accepting external funding, which the fundamentalists see as corrupting. Nevertheless the main catalyst in institutionalization as a political party was the strong principles that the Greens were based on, namely; grassroots, participatory democratic structure, and because of these principles that they could maintain distinct from the traditional parties.[160]

The Greens movement gained momentum in accordance with their embracing of their alternative political thoughts to the existing system, but they also followed a

---

[157] Ibid p.30.
[158] Ibid p. 41-42.
[159] Op cit Hines p.310.
[160] Ibid p. 311.

more pragmatic approach in the EP[161]. The role of the European Greens Party and their existence in the EP contributed in the policy-making of the EU and also development of the pan-European relations supporting a more integrated Europe.

With the establishment of the European Green Party, the Greens proved that they are determined to promote the pan-European system as it was envisioned with the Maastricht Treaty and further with the Lisbon Treaty, and put pressure on the other political groups, such as Socialists, Christian Democrats and Liberals to form European level parties.[162]

In the essence of the Green ideology, there is a critique of "modern industrial society by highlighting the environmental, social and human cost of economic growth and technological advancement" .[163]

The EGP explains their role in the EU policy making as:

> Our attitude towards the EU has changed also perhaps as we have changed the EU through our participation in its institutions. While we remain critical of various policies fundamental to the EU, we have been drivers of change punching far above our weight and bringing about change in the daily lives of Europeans everywhere as well as a change in the positions taken by the EU on an international level. We have always been a political force clearly identifiable because of our commitment to environmental responsibility, individual freedom, inclusive democracy, diversity, gender equality, global sustainable development and non-violence. It is not a negligible achievement that other, larger and older political families now follow on the path we had chosen for ourselves long before.[164]

As they explain, the Greens themselves see their role in the EU policy making as a group to trigger the change in favour of Green ideology and some values listed above, such as environment, democracy and diversity.

---

[161] Op cit Boomberg p.43.
[162] Op cit Hines p. 321.
[163] Op cit Bomberg p 33.
[164] European Greens, http://europeangreens.eu/menu/learn-about-egp/history/ History of European Green Party 12.12.09

3.3 The Green Perspective on the European Social Policy

European Green Charter a Green Future for Europe adopted as amended by the Congress of the European Green Party Geneva 14th October 2006, sets the principles and priorities of the Green movement at the European level, and charter includes several references to European Social model.

In the charter the Greens state that the European Union should be more than just a single market regulator and should not leave the social issues just to the member states, because a sustainable welfare in Europe is mainly based on the share of the common values in the social issues. The Green perspective also advocates the European social tradition, "which values social justice, worker and consumer rights and environmental and health protection" cannot be achieved at national level, by implementing national level policies[165]. This also indicates that remedies for the crisis of welfare at the national level could only be available at European level. The environmental problems also determined as problem of social justice due to interconnectedness of relations like market system and the usage of natural sources, which reflects a wider perspective on social policy.

The Green point of view also accepts the implementation of social policy by the member states works on a voluntary basis, but as the European Union it is essential to regulate the minimum standards and wage for the workers, in order to limit the liberal race to cut the costs, which also reduces the living standards of the workers, and EU commission should be given the authority to make binding decisions on the minimum levels, provide the framework for EU-wide collective labour agreements.[166]

Prevention of discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender, ethnic origin, disabilities are also one of the main concerns of the Greens at European level. 'The Green Economic Vision', the policy document, sets broader agenda for the regulation of single market, stating that European development is based on the sustainability of

---

[165] European Greens, A Green Future for Europe Adopted as amended by the Congress of the European Green Party, Geneva 14th October 2006 p 5,
http://www.europeangreens.org/cms/default/dokbin/153/153990.a_green_future_for_europe@en.pdf
23.04.2009
[166] Ibid p 5, Strengthening the European Social Model

social cohesion and environmental protection. Therefore competitiveness in the single market should be defined accordingly to principles of general interest[167]. The Greens sees the social dimension of the EU essential to find public support of the citizens of Europe for the integration process.[168]

The Greens supports the shift of all the policies in favour of social cohesion and environmental considerations. Services of general interests take up an important part of the Green agenda, including the public services such as education, health, water; being taken over on these services is seen as a threat to free access to these services.

3.3.1 A Green Vision for a Social Europe

The European Green Party adopted a document in October 2008, to declare a common vision for the social issues at European level, called 'A Green Vision for a Social Europe'. The paper puts together a critic against neo-liberal policies that the EU's welfare is facing and stands firmly against privatisation of social security systems. In the document the social role of the European Union is explained as such,

> For us Greens, building a social Europe means a strong social policy at all levels of government-local, regional, national and the level of European Union. A social Union means that social inclusion becomes one of the main objectives of the EU policies. Instead of rigid uniform solutions we support a welfare model that gives people equal opportunities and enables people to choose to live their lives in different ways.[169]

As Services of General Interest has been an important field for the Green agenda, they see the attempts by the European Union to privatise or open these services to the market competition, such as education, health, water systems as a damaging effect for the fundamental rights of the citizens to benefit from these services. Barroso Commission is criticized for leaving social inclusion aside and giving higher priority to the rules of the internal market over fundamental social rights.[170]

---

[167] Ibid p 6, 15 A Green Economic Vision for Europe
[168] Ibid p 14, Strengthening the European Social Model
[169] http://europeangreens.eu/menu/egp-policies/social-issues/ European Green Party A green vision for a social Europe p2. 12.12.09
[170] Ibid p3.

The European Greens suggest a social Europe with the basic rights for its citizens including the right to income, to affordable housing, to health care, to education, to work to a good environment, to culture and a guarantee for social security[171].In that sense for the Greens EU has an important role of providing convergence of social rights between the member states to prevent 'second-rate citizens in the EU'.[172]

The Green vision suggest basic principles for a social Europe including the rights for a decent income and "good work"[173], equal and affordable access to services of general interest with a special emphasis on education, social inclusion of elderly, and policies to support childcare and create family friendly work life balance.

Regarding the shortcomings of the welfare states in Europe and global/financial challenges against social support, the Greens oppose the privatisation of the services and weakening of the welfare position, and instead offer 'A New Green Deal' for the European economy.

3.3.2 The Green suggestion for the future of the economy: The Green New Deal

The Greens see the reason of the global crisis of the economy and welfare as the consumption pattern that disregards the natural limits of the growth and environmental sources. Therefore the Green New Deal offers a fundamental change in the economic relations and system of the Europe, taking environment, citizen rights and long term prosperity for the citizens of Europe as the core values of the economy.

> The Green New Deal means: a Europe of solidarity that can guarantee its citizens a good quality of life based on economic, social and environmental sustainability; a truly democratic Europe that acts for its citizens and not just narrow industry interests; a Europe that acts for a green future.[174]

---

[171] Ibid p5.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Good Work is explained as a combination of advanced labour standars with the possibility for everyone to fullfiss one's own aspirations and to contribute to a sustainable soceity.

[174] EuropeanGreens,A Green New Deal for Europe, Manifesto for the European election Campaign 2009 , http://europeangreens.eu/fileadmin/logos/pdf/manifesto_EUROPEAN_GREENS.pdf 20.11.2009

The Green New Deal (GND) suggests investment in education, science and research for a knowledge based economy in Europe. The GND also sees the better fares society guaranteeing fair working conditions, equal opportunities and a standard living for all as the main condition for sustainable economy, and cutbacks on environmental protection or compromises on social values are seen as hindering the productivity.[175]

> In terms of social policy, the Green New Deal will ensure that social and labour rights are not weakened [in the EU policies] or sacrificed in the name of competition and that services of common interest are provided in the fairest way possible so that all of our citizens can be protected from social and economic exclusion and enjoy a good quality of life. Greens will continue to defend equal rights for all within and outside the workplace, fight all forms of discrimination and intolerance and take the urgent action required to help the most disadvantaged in society.[176]

In that sense the Green New Deal advocates the social rights, and becomes more than an economic solution but also offers a holistic approach for the good of all members and especially for the disadvantage people.

The Green New Deal also offers solution to the employment, which is considered as one of the main target of European Social regulations, with the introduction of 'green collar' jobs.

> Crucially though, the benefits the Green New Deal will bring are not restricted to the arena of climate protection or the environment, as important as they are .The Green New Deal will provide a major boost to the economy, lead to sustainable economic development and result in the creation of millions of new "green collar "jobs in renewable energy and other future-oriented technologies.[177]

3.3.3 Achievements of the Greens in the European Social Field

The European Greens uses the European level social platforms effectively, because of their objectives of pan-Europeanism. Their roots in social movement provide them capability to run and execute European wide campaigns, which increases the visibility of their Green critics for the existing European social system.

---

[175] Ibid
[176] Ibid
[177] Ibid.

The most powerful existence of the European Greens in the European Union policy making system is their group in the European Parliament. Especially after the increase of the EP's role in the social areas, the Green contribution was more visible. In addition to that Green parties success in at the national assemblies, and more Green ministers to find place at the national governments also makes it possible for the Green approach to be vocal at the European Council, although this also indicates the dilemma for the Green ministers to compromise from their Green approach.

At this point it is necessary to look at the Green achievements in the European Parliament in the Committee of Employment and Social Affairs (EMPL).

The Committee is responsible for:

> 1. employment policy and all aspects of social policy such as working conditions, social security and social protection;
> 2. health and safety measures at the workplace;
> 3. the European Social Fund;
> 4. vocational training policy, including professional qualifications;
> 5. the free movement of workers and pensioners;
> 6. social dialogue;
> 7. all forms of discrimination at the workplace and in the labour market except those based on sex;
> 8. relations with:
> - the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop),
> - the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions,
> - the European Training Foundation,
> - the European Agency for Safety and Health at Work;
> - as well as relations with other relevant EU bodies and international organisations.[178]

The Greens main contribution in the European social agenda has been acting as the watchdog of the ethics and social values in all the policy discussions[179]. During the discussions of the European Convention, the Greens proposed and initiated a special working group on the social policy. The Greens also supported the inclusion of the

---

[178]The Greens/European Free Alliance in the European Parliament, http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/topics/dokbin/279/279733.greensefa_achievements_in_european_parli@en.pdf 23.04.09 Green/EFA Group Achievements in the European Parliamentary Group committees to date Text coordinated by Vula Tsetsi, March 2009 2nd working Document, p. 16.
[179] Op cit Hines p.321.

third countries in the cohesion period of social security systems in accordance with their pan-Europeanism, and this was accepted by the Council in 2003.

Women Rights:

Another area that the Greens are dedicated to improve at the European level is women rights. The Greens also pay extra attention in the empowerment of women at the European level, by initiating directives on human trafficking. They also worked for the inclusion of increased protection against sexual protection in the broad sense, the right to return to the same or similar job after maternity leave, and retroactive rights to promotion and other benefits during maternity leave into the directive on equal treatment for women and men, with the efforts of the Green MEPs makes an important contribution into the women rights in the workplace.[180]

In addition to that the Green MEPs contributed in the empowerment of women by adding into the ESF programme to be implemented in 2007-2013 period 'inclusion' as a target of the programme, therefore it will be easier for the projects targeting women inclusion to be funded by the ESF[181].When we look at the agenda set by the Union employment policy, this mainly reflects the green perspective. So in a sense Green approach becomes the mainstream for the European policy documents and its ambitious targets.

Equal Conditions for Equal Work:

The Greens also worked on the Posting Directive - Right of equal treatment which took the 'origin of the member state' principle out of the Directive which enables for the workers to benefit the same rights for the same job they do regardless to their nationality reinforces the 'equal pay & equal conditions for equal work at the

---

[180] http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/topics/dokbin/102/102776.greenefa_group_successes_in_the_european@de.pdf
GREEN/EFA GROUP SUCCESSES IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT In 1999-2004, p15 23.04.09.
[181] http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/topics/dokbin/279/279733.greensefa_achievements_in_european_parli@en.pdf
Green/EFA Group Achievements in the European Parliamentary Group committees to date Text coordinated by Vula Tsetsi, March 2009 2nd working Document, p. 17. 23.04.09.

workplace' and the origin of member state principle was dropped in November 2006, in the final form of the Directive.[182]

Also the Greens expressed reservations about the Services Directive which was limiting the controlling mechanisms for the working conditions at the national level. As result of the alliance of Greens with the Trade Unions, NGOs and Socialists the Commission gave up to weaken the control mechanism.[183]

Green Jobs:

The Green contribution into the social implementation at European level also includes improvement of training opportunities for Green jobs, which is seen as an important tool for the Sustainable Development Strategy. The commission included the training for Green jobs into its Energy and Efficiency package. Micro credits were also made available for the workers who lose their job to invest their future working life, for example to become a entrepreneur, which supports the employment policies of the EU. In the basis of the EU inclusion policies employment takes up the main role, but the Greens advocate that social inclusion should not be replaced by just active inclusion, meaning just employment opportunities.[184]

Working Time:

The working time was also another point that the Greens could make a contribution at European level. The inclusion of on-call time into the working time of persons performing mobile road transport activities was being blocked by the UK, and after the Green MEPs negotiations the opt out was decided to removed by 2012 and on-call time was included in the working time, which is essential for the health and safety.[185]

The Greens also work for the Directives of the EU to be more compatible with the rights of the citizens of Europe which were recognised by the Charter of the fundamental rights in the community law makes essential contribution on the social

---

[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid p.18
[185] Ibid

policy regulations, as it was sampled above. Although the Green attempts are not always successful, the negotiations increase visibility for employment matters and make it possible to for the EP to take a principled stands regarding citizen concerns.

The Greens set their role in the future of Europe as maintaining sustainability, and the Green commitment helps the EU to remember the priorities of the planet and the peoples of Europe.

CONCLUSION

The European Union is going through an important financial crisis, and it is important for the EU to keep the social aspects of the integration strong, despite the economic obstacles. The current crisis might create the necessity for tougher measures to be taken and the social aspects might be considered less important. Furthermore the Green New Deal might be seen as a threat for the competitiveness in the global economy, against non-green economies, such as China. Nevertheless, it is important to measure the long term costs of ignoring the problems based on the current economic system.

The Greens continue to increase their impact on the development of the European social policy and use all the platforms available to affect the European policy making. The Greens' roots in social movements provide them flexibility to be more active in the European level, using the social dialogue. One of the weaknesses of the European policy making is the deficit of efficient democratic participation and the Green movement mainly contributes in the representation of the citizenship rights at the European level.

The European Greens have mainly contributed in social agenda setting of the European Union so far. They can be regarded as the watchdogs of the human and citizenship rights in accordance with the Charter of Fundamental rights of the EU. In that sense they also contribute in the legitimacy of the EU social agenda by taking a stand against the single market orientated social policy regulations.

The Greens also take an important role in the EU in the completion of policy and agenda setting documents, so they are very much effective in determining the vision of Europe, but transformation of this vision into policy implementation is limited due to limited capability of the EU institutions to transfer its policy documents into legislation for implementation in the member states. Besides, the Greens' effect in the European Council still maintains limited due the weakness of the Greens in the national state level, with some exceptions such as Germany. Even if the Green Ministers find opportunity to represent the Green approach in the EU Council, their role stays limited.

The most important tool for the Greens to affect the social policy of the EU is their Parliamentary group in the European Parliament, which empowers the democratic representation of the Greens at the European level. They can also shape and 'correct' the legislations of the EU through the committees in the EP in favour of the European citizenship concept in accordance with the higher agenda of the EU, Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU and their vision of the Green New Deal. Although the Greens has limited effects through the institutions of the EU, the Green movement always provides a deep critique for the EU policies in the social fields and this should be seen as an essential boost for the improvement of the social Europe.

Since the beginning of the European integration, social policy remains a controversial area between the EU institutions and the member states. The Member states want as little regulation as possible on the European level, whereas the EU agenda sets more democratic policies in the employers and employees relations, in accordance with its improving role in the employment policies.

European Commission and the Council driven strategies of the EU mainly are mainly criticized by the Greens severely, and the Greens take an important part for the improvement of these strategies, which set the agenda for the binding measures at the European level. The Greens seems likely to work on pushing the standards higher for the EU in accordance with their values of democracy, diversity, gender equality, and better jobs for better lives.

The Greens might get stronger support within the EU, especially with a boost from the vote from the EU citizens, and their presence in the EP might be stronger. This could a catalyst for the Greens to be more effective in the agenda setting of the EU, through strategies.

Nevertheless, with the EU's increased role in employment and social agenda of Europe, it is likely that the Greens will undertake an important role in advocating the humanitarian rights in the European policies in the coming years.

ANNEXES

Annex I: The *OECD Social Expenditure Database* groups benefits with a social purpose in nine *policy areas*:

- *Old-age* – pensions, early retirement pensions, home-help and residential services for the elderly;
- *Survivors* – pensions and funeral payments;
- *Incapacity-related benefits* – care services, disability benefits, benefits accruing from occupational injury and accident legislation, employee sickness payments;
- *Health* – spending on in- and out-patient care, medical goods, prevention;
- *Family* – child allowances and credits, childcare support, income support during leave, sole parent payments;
- *Active labour market policies* – Employment services, training, employment incentives, integration of the disabled, direct job creation, and start-up incentives;
- *Unemployment* – unemployment compensation, early retirement for labour market reasons;
- *Housing* – housing allowances and rent subsidies; and,
- *Other social policy areas* – non-categorical cash benefits to low-income households, other social services; *i.e.* support programmes such as food subsidies, which are prevalent in some non-OECD countries.

Annex 2:

PROTOCOL on social policy annexed to TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION *Official Journal C 191, 29 July 1992*

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES,

NOTING that eleven Member States, that is to say the Kingdom of Belgium, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Hellenic Republic, the Kingdom of Spain, the French Republic, Ireland, the Italian Republic, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Portuguese Republic, wish to continue along the path laid down in the 1989 Social Charter; that they have adopted among themselves an Agreement to this end; that this Agreement is annexed to this Protocol; that this Protocol and the said Agreement are without prejudice to the provisions of this Treaty, particularly those relating to social policy which constitute an integral part of the 'acquis communautaire':

1. Agree to authorize those eleven Member States to have recourse to the institutions, procedures and mechanisms of the Treaty for the purposes of taking among themselves and applying as far as they are concerned the acts and decisions required for giving effect to the abovementioned Agreement.

2. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland shall not take part in the deliberations and the adoption by the Council of Commission proposals made on the basis of this Protocol and the abovementioned Agreement.

By way of derogation from Article 148(2) of the Treaty, acts of the Council which are made pursuant to this Protocol and which must be adopted by a qualified majority shall be deemed to be so adopted if they have received at least forty-four votes in favour. The unanimity of the members of the Council, with the exception of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, shall be necessary for acts of the Council which must be adopted unanimously and for those amending the Commission proposal.

Acts adopted by the Council and any financial consequences other than administrative costs entailed for the institutions shall not be applicable to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

3. This Protocol shall be annexed to the Treaty establishing the European Community.

Annex 3

AGREEMENT on social policy concluded between the Member States of the European Community with the exception of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The undersigned eleven HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, that is to say the Kingdom of Belgium, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Hellenic Republic, the Kingdom of Spain, the French Republic, Ireland, the Italian Republic, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Portuguese Republic (hereinafter referred to as 'the Member States'),

WISHING to implement the 1989 Social Charter on the basis of the 'acquis communautaire',

CONSIDERING the Protocol on social policy,

HAVE AGREED as follows:

Article 1

The Community and the Member States shall have as their objectives the promotion of employment, improved living and working conditions, proper social protection, dialogue between management and labour, the development of human resources with a view to lasting high employment and the combatting of exclusion. To this end the Community and the Member States shall implement measures which take account of the diverse forms of national practices, in particular in the field of contractual relations, and the need to maintain the competitiveness of the Community economy.

Article 2

1. With a view to achieving the objectives of Article 1, the Community shall support and complement the activities of the Member States in the following fields:

- improvement in particular of the working environment to protect workers' health and safety;

- working conditions;

- the information and consultation of workers;

- equality between men and women with regard to labour market opportunities and treatment at work;

- the integration of persons excluded from the labour market, without prejudice to Article 127 of the Treaty establishing the European Community (hereinafter referred to as 'the Treaty').

2. To this end, the Council may adopt, by means of directives, minimum requirements for gradual implementation, having regard to the conditions and technical rules obtaining in each of the Member States. Such directives shall avoid imposing administrative, financial and legal constraints in a way which would hold back the creation and development of small and medium-sized undertakings.

The Council shall act in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189c of the Treaty after consulting the Economic and Social Committee.

3. However, the Council shall act unanimously on a proposal from the Commission, after consulting the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee, in the following areas:

- social security and social protection of workers;

- protection of workers where their employment contract is terminated;

- representation and collective defence of the interests of workers and employers, including co-determination, subject to paragraph 6;

- conditions of employment for third-country nationals legally residing in Community territory;

- financial contributions for promotion of employment and job-creation, without prejudice to the provisions relating to the Social Fund.

4. A Member State may entrust management and labour, at their joint request, with the implementation of directives adopted pursuant to paragraphs 2 and 3.

In this case, it shall ensure that, no later than the date on which a directive must be transposed in accordance with Article 189, management and labour have introduced the necessary measures by agreement, the Member State concerned being required to take any necessary measure enabling it at any time to be in a position to guarantee the results imposed by that directive.

5. The provisions adopted pursuant to this Article shall not prevent any Member State from maintaining or introducing more stringent protective measures compatible with the Treaty.

6. The provisions of this Article shall not apply to pay, the right of association, the right to strike or the right to impose lock-outs.

Article 3

1. The Commission shall have the task of promoting the consultation of management and labour at Community level and shall take any relevant measure to facilitate their dialogue by ensuring balanced support for the parties.

2. To this end, before submitting proposals in the social policy field, the Commission shall consult management and labour on the possible direction of Community action.

3. If, after such consultation, the Commission considers Community action advisable, it shall consult management and labour on the content of the envisaged proposal. Management and labour shall forward to the Commission an opinion or, where appropriate, a recommendation.

4. On the occasion of such consultation, management and labour may inform the Commission of their wish to initiate the process provided for in Article 4. The duration of the procedure shall not exceed nine months, unless the management and labour concerned and the Commission decide jointly to extend it.

Article 4

1. Should management and labour so desire, the dialogue between them at Community level may lead to contractual relations, including agreements.

2. Agreements concluded at Community level shall be implemented either in accordance with the procedures and practices specific to management and labour and the Member States or, in matters covered by Article 2, at the joint request of the signatory parties, by a Council decision on a proposal from the Commission.

The Council shall act by qualified majority, except where the agreement in question contains one or more provisions relating to one of the areas referred to in Article 2(3), in which case it shall act unanimously.

Article 5

With a view to achieving the objectives of Article 1 and without prejudice to the other provisions of the Treaty, the Commission shall encourage cooperation between the Member States and facilitate the coordination of their action in all social policy fields under this Agreement.

Article 6

1. Each Member State shall ensure that the principle of equal pay for male and female workers for equal work is applied.

2. For the purpose of this Article, 'pay' means the ordinary basic or minimum wage or salary and any other consideration, whether in cash or in kind, which the worker receives directly or indirectly, in respect of his employment, from his employer.

Equal pay without discrimination based on sex means:

(a) that pay for the same work at piece rates shall be calculated on the basis of the same unit of measurement;

(b) that pay for work at time rates shall be the same for the same job.

3. This Article shall not prevent any Member State from maintaining or adopting measures providing for specific advantages in order to make it easier for women to pursue a vocational activity or to prevent or compensate for disadvantages in their professional careers.

Article 7

The Commission shall draw up a report each year on progress in achieving the objectives of Article 1, including the demographic situation in the Community. It shall forward the report to the European Parliament, the Council and the Economic and Social Committee.

The European Parliament may invite the Commission to draw up reports on particular problems concerning the social situation.

Declarations

1. Declaration on Article 2(2)

The eleven High Contracting Parties note that in the discussions on Article 2(2) of the Agreement it was agreed that the Community does not intend, in laying down minimum requirements for the protection of the safety and health of employees, to discriminate in a manner unjustified by the circumstances against employees in small and medium-sized undertakings.

2. Declaration on Article 4(2)

The eleven High Contracting Parties declare that the first of the arrangements for application of the agreements between management and labour at Community level - referred to in Article 4(2) - will consist in developing, by collective bargaining according to the rules of each Member State, the content of the agreements, and that consequently this arrangement implies no obligation on the Member States to apply the agreements directly or to work out rules for their transposition, nor any obligation to amend national legislation in force to facilitate their implementation.

Bibliography

Aktar, Cengiz; "Araştırma Notu No:54 Sosyal Haklar Faslı-Tıkanan AB Müzakere Sürecine İyi Bir Örnek", BETAM, Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi, 23 Kasım 2009. http://betam.bahcesehir.edu.tr/UserFiles/File/ArastirmaNotu054.pdf

Altan, Omer Zuhtu (2006) *Sosyal Politika Dersleri.* Eskisehir: TC. Anadolu Universitesi Yayinlari no:1592.

Bomberg, Elizabeth (2002) "The Europeanisaiton of Green Parties: Exploring EU's impact", *West European Politics*, Vol.25 No.3 July 2002: 29-50.

Bleijenbergh, Inge; de Bruijn Jeanne; Bussemaker, Jet, (2004) "European Social Citizenship and the Part-time Work Directive", *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, Volume 10, Number 3: 309-328.

Bruce, Maurice (1968) *The Coming of the Welfare State, Fourth Edition*. London: B.T. Batsford.

Burchell, Jon (2002) *The Evolution of Green Politics*, Earthscan.

Celik, Aziz (2005) *AB Sosyal Politikasi.* Istanbul: Kitap Yayinevi.

Cram, Laura (1999) *Policy Making in the EU,* London:Routledge.

Dobson, Andrew(2003), *Citizenship and Environment,* Oxford University Press.

Earle, Michael & Köhler, Martin & Kwan, Claire (2009) *The Greens' Book Policy papers of the Greens in the European Parliament* Greens/EFA Group Publication, Brussels.

Egilmez, Melek (1978) *Avrupa Toplulugu'nun Sosyal Politikasi*. Ankara: Nuve Matbaasi.

Esentürk, Nevra N. (2009)European Social Dialogue and the Role of Social Partners with reference to Governance in the EU, Marmara University, EU Institute, unpublished PhD Thesis.

Esping-Andersen, Gosta & Gallie, Duncan & Hemerjick, Anton (2002) *Why we need a New Welfare State.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ferrera, Maurizio, Hemerijck, Anton and Rhodes, Martin(2001) "The future of the European "social model" in the global economy", *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 3: 2, 163- 190.

Gold, Micheal& Cressey, Peter& Leonard, Evelyne (2007) "Whatever Happened to Social Dialogue? From Partnership to Managerialism in the EU Employment Agenda" *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, Volume 13' Number 1: 7-25.

Gulmez, Mesut (2000) *Uluslararasi Sosyal Politika.* Ankara: Turkiye ve Ortadogu Amme Idaresi Enstitusu Yayin No: 300.

Guven, Sami H. (1995) *Sosyal Politika'nin Temelleri.* Bursa: Ezgi Kitapevi.

Hill, Michael (1983) *Understanding Social Policy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell&Martin Robertson.

Hines Eric H. (2003) "The European Parliament and the Europeanisation of Green Parties", *Cultural Dynamics,* 15:3: 307-325.

Jensen, Per H., and Pfau-Effinger, Birgit, (2005) "Active Citizenship", in Andersen, Jorgen Goul& Guillemard, Anne-Marie& Jensen, Per H (eds)*The Changing Face of Welfare-Consequences and Outcomes from a citizenship perspective*. Bristol: The Policy Press London: Routledge:1-14.

Kazepov, Yuri(2008) "The Subsidiarization of Social Policies: Actor, Processes and Impacts", *European Societies*, 10: 2: 247 — 273.

Koray, Meryem (2000) *Sosyal Politika,* Bursa: Ekin Kitapevi.

Leibfried, Stephan& Pierson, Paul (1995) *European Social Policy-Between Fragmentation and Integration.* Washington DC: The Brookings Institution.

Levin, Peter (1997) *Making Social Policy.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Marangoz, Şermin (2001) Refah Devleti: Gelişimi, Oluşumu, Modelleri ve Güncel Değişimler, unpublished M.A Thesis, İstanbul:İÜ SBE, 2001.

Mullard, Maurice&Spicker, Paul (1998) *Social Policy in a Changing Society.* London: Routledge.

Carter , Neil, (2010) "The Greens in the 2009 European parliament election" *Environmental Politics,* Vol. 19, No. 2, March.

Official Journal of the European Communities (1997) 340, 10 November 1997 TREATY OF AMSTERDAM AMENDING THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION, THE TREATIES ESTABLISHING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES AND RELATED ACTS http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11997D/htm/11997D.html 12.12.2009.

Official Journal of the European Communities (2000) Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, C 364/1, (2000/C 364/01) http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf, 09.12.2000.

Özdemir, Süleyman (2007) *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Refah Devleti,* Genişletilmiş 2. Baskı. İstanbul:İstanbul Ticaret Odası.

Richardson, Dick& Rootes, Chris (1995) *The Green Challange-the development of Green parties in Europe*, Routledge London-New York.

Rodriguez-Pose, Andrés and Fratesi, Ugo(2004) 'Between Development and Social Policies: The Impact of European Structural Funds in Objective 1 Regions', *Regional Studies*, 38: 1, 97-113.

Rihoux, Benoit and Rudig, Wolfgang, (2006) Analyzing Greens in power: Setting the agenda *UK European Journal of Political Research* 45: S1–S33,

Talas, Cahit (1981) *Toplumsal Politikaya Giris.* Ankara: S Yayinlari.

Townsend, Peter (1975) *Sociology and Social Policy.* Middlesex: Penguin Books.

Urwin, Derek W (1993) *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945.* Essex: Longman.

Van de Steeg, Marianne (2002) "Rethinking the Conditions for a Public Sphere in the European Union" in *European Journal of Social Theory* 5(4): 499-519.

Online sources

European Green Party

'A Green Vision for a Social Europe' The European Green Party manifesto-Voted by the EGP October 2008
http://www.europeangreens.org/cms/default/dokbin/254/254927.a_green_vision_for_a_s ocial_europe@en.pdf 12.12.2009.

A Green Future for Europe Adopted as amended by the Congress of the European Green Party Geneva 14th October 2006
http://www.europeangreens.org/cms/default/dok/153/153995.a_green_future_for_europe @en.htm 12.12.2009.

European Free Alliance in the EP http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/default/dokbin/255/255005.presentation_of_efa_group@en.pdf 12.12.2009

European Greens,A Green New Deal for Europe, Manifesto for the European election Campaign 2009 ,
http://europeangreens.eu/fileadmin/logos/pdf/manifesto_EUROPEAN_GREENS.pdf 20.11.2009.

European Green Party 'A green vision for a social Europe'
http://europeangreens.eu/menu/egp-policies/social-issues/ 12.12.2009.

European Greens (2006) *European Green Charter*. Geneva
http://www.europeangreens.org/cms/default/dokbin/164/164928.the_charter_of_the_eur opean_greens@en.pdf 23.04.2009.

History of European Green Party http://europeangreens.eu/menu/learn-about-egp/history/ 12.12.2009.

United green parties of Europe-European Green Charter
http://europeangreens.eu/fileadmin/logos/pdf/pdf_charter/European_Green_Charter_as_a dopted_by_Congress_Geneva.pdf 12.12.2009.

What is the EGP (European Green Party)?http://europeangreens.eu/menu/learn-about-egp/ 12.12.2009.

European Union Official Web Page

Eurofound, the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, -Social Action Programme
http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/industrialrelations/dictionary/definitions/socialact ionprogramme.htm 17.01.2010.

Regional Policy-Funds Available http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/policy/fonds/2007-2013-by-objective_large_en.gif 12.12.2009.

European Commission (2000) *European Employment and Social Policy* http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/move/24/txt_en.pdf 12.12.2009.

European Commission, European Social Fund http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/esf/ 10.12.2009.

Official Journal of the European Communities Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, C 364/1, (2000/C 364/01) http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf 09.12.2000.

Summaries of EU Legislation Social Policy in the Treaty of Amsterdam http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/amsterdam_treaty/a14000_en.htm 05.11.2009.

Summaries of EU legislation-Single European Act http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/treaties_singleact_en.htm 23.11.2009.

Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union, The Treaties Establishing the European Communities and Related Acts *Official Journal C 340, 10 November 1997* http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11997D/htm/11997D.html 05.11.2009.

Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (1957) http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/index.htm#founding 23.11.2009.

Treaty on European Union *Official Journal C 191, 29 July 1992* http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html 10.11.2009.

European Commission, European Social Fund, What is the ESF(European social fund)? http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/esf/discover/esf_en.htm 10.12.2009.

The EU Commission Communication Europe 2020 March 2010 http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/COMPLET%20EN%20BARROSO%20%20%20007%20-%20Europe%202020%20-%20EN%20version.pdf 19.4.2010

The Greens/European Free Alliance Group in the European Parliament

Green/EFA Group Successes in the European Parliament in 1999-2004 http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/topics/dokbin/102/102776.greenefa_group_successes_in_the_european@de.pdf 23.04.2009.

Green/EFA Group Achievements in the European Parliamentary Group committees to date Text coordinated by Vula Tsetsi, March 2009, 2nd working document http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/topics/dokbin/279/279733.greensefa_achievements_in_european_parli@en.pdf 23.04.2009.

History of The Greens/European Free Alliance in European Parliament-Presentation http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/default/rubrik/6/6648.history.htm 23.04.2009.

Greens Press Release on EU 2020 Strategy: Commission presents myopic attempt at 2020 vision 3.3.2010 http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/pressreleases/dok/329/329962.eu_2020_strategy@en.htm 17.4.2010.

Greens Press Release on A network on the Lisbon Process: Greens link up to challenge Lisbon relaunch Pierre Jonckheer, Vice-President of the Greens/EFA group http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/pressreleases/dok/101/101454.a_network_on_the_lisbon_process@en.htm 16.4.2010

Others

International Labour Organisation-Origins and History http://www.ilo.org/global/About_the_ILO/Origins_and_history/lang--en/index.htm 10.01.2010.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspxn 12.12.2009.

European Trade Union Confederation, European Works Council http://www.etuc.org/a/125 19.01.2010.

 Foundation Robert Schuman - Understanding the Lisbon Treaty http://www.robert-schuman.eu/tout-comprendre-sur-le-traite-de-lisbonne.php 15.01.2010.

European Glossary- Lisbon Strategy http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/lisbon_strategy_en.htm 10.04.2010