

Research project

EUSOL Project

Solidarity in the European Union**ABSTRACT**

Publics in Europe increasingly feel that the EU undermines states' problem-solving capacities and aggravates political, social and economic inequality. What principles of justice and solidarity ought to apply at the EU level? We seek philosophically sophisticated, empirically informed answers.

Department

Department of Political and Social Sciences

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Workshops**Is Europe Unjust?**

16-17 September 2019, Villa Salviati, European University Institute

Publics across Europe increasingly feel that the EU undermines the problem-solving capacities of its member states—particularly in social, welfare, and labor policy—and increases inequality both within and across them. The EU strikes many, as a result, as unjust more than simply undemocratic. This raises various questions: What principles of socio-economic justice, if any, should apply at the EU level? What would a Europe that promotes rather than undermines justice look like? While there has been much written on the democratic deficit, very little, by contrast, has been written on these questions. The aim of this workshop is to bring together top scholars to discuss these topics critically and constructively from both normative and empirical perspectives. Participants will be encouraged to identify principles of justice for the EU that could aid in evaluating and

shaping EU policy in one or more issue areas. Here are some examples of more specific questions that could guide discussion:

Economic Governance

What principles of justice should guide evaluation (and reform) of Economic and Monetary Union? What principles, for example, should inform our reflection on proposals for new fiscal and budgetary powers at the EU level? What principles should we use to judge the relations between debtors and creditors? From the point of view of justice, should reform of EMU promote greater cross-national transfers and risk-sharing or prevent moral hazard and free-riding? Or, alternatively, what principles might help us in determining the mix of risk-reduction and risk-sharing? Similarly, what normative principles, e.g. of equality of opportunity, should govern an open, transnational labour market?

Social Policy

What principles of justice should guide the formation of social policy and regulation at the EU level? Should the EU, as a matter of justice, aim to become a Social Union? If so, what kind? Should the EU aim to reduce cross-national inequalities among member states? Among individuals? Why or why not? What kinds of inequality (opportunity, power, income, wealth, status...)? What normative principles might underlie particular mixes of social policy (e.g., regarding social investment, unemployment insurance, basic income) at the EU level?

Citizenship

What principles of justice should govern our understanding of EU citizenship? What reasons of justice (or perhaps solidarity), if any, are there for maintaining open borders within the EU? (Would it be an injustice if borders were re-established between member states?) Do these reasons also support opening borders to third countries? What's the difference? Are there normatively relevant differences between second- and third-country nationals with respect to admission, residence, access to social benefits and advantages, and equal treatment? Should a normative ideal of EU citizenship extend beyond free movement rights to, for example, include more significant social rights? If so, what kind?

Refugees

What principles of justice should help us in shaping refugee policy in the EU? Should there be more burden-sharing? What counts as a 'burden', and what would be a fair allocation of costs among member states, refugees, and citizens? What role should freedom and equality of opportunity play in assessing whether refugees should be able to choose their country of destination once granted asylum? Is it an injustice to restrict mobility of refugees?

Enlargement

What principles of justice should aid us in evaluating enlargement and exit from the union? Are there duties to enlarge? Duties to stay in? What principles ought to guide 'divorce' proceedings?

Further integration

Are there reasons of justice for moving toward a more closely-knit federation? Empirically, what would need to be the case for us to conclude that justice-based reasons to roll back the EU outweigh those in favour of its continued existence?

Solidarity: Its Nature and Value

16-17 May 2019, Seminar Room 3, Badia Fiesolana, European University Institute

There has recently been a renewal of interest in solidarity, not least because it has played an increasingly important role in contemporary politics (consider social movements such as MeToo, Black Lives Matter, and Occupy; current debates on the future of the welfare state; and controversy over refugees, monetary union, and enlargement in the European Union). There has, however, been relatively little written within moral, legal, and political philosophy on the idea of solidarity, especially when compared with related concepts such as equality, loyalty, community, reciprocity, empathy, altruism, and so on. This workshop will bring together a range of different perspectives on solidarity, and address the following questions:

1. What is solidarity? Is it, for example, a sentiment, an attitude or set of attitudes, a social relation, a property of certain kinds of collective action, or something else again? In what sense, if any, is solidarity distinct from related notions such as justice, equality, loyalty, community, reciprocity, empathy, and altruism? In what sense, if at all, are any of these necessary, perhaps constitutive, conditions of solidarity? Is there a difference between solidarity with and solidarity among? Is there one concept of solidarity, with different applications depending on the context, or many different concepts? Can I act in solidarity with someone else unilaterally? Or does solidarity require reciprocation or symmetry?
2. What is the history of the concept? What role has it played in, for example, the evolution of socialism, liberal nationalism, Christianity, and modern social movements (feminism, civil rights, LGBTQ)? How (if at all) should these historical usages aid in our philosophical understanding of the concept today?
3. Are there ever obligations or duties to act in solidarity with others? Or is acting in solidarity always supererogatory, and so beyond the call of duty? Are obligations of solidarity grounded in considerations of fairness, loyalty, identity, shared experience, or something else again? Are obligations of solidarity more demanding than obligations of justice? Do they have wider/narrower scope? Are they enforceable?
4. What is the value of solidarity? Is acting in solidarity with others good? Under what conditions and why? What about solidarity among gangsters or members of privileged races or classes?

Conversations for the Future of Europe

2020 series

A series of events tackling major EU challenges from February to June 2020

Objective: To guide the steps of the European Union and to mobilise its citizens so as to make policy change possible, it is not sufficient to analyse the past and criticise the

present. It is necessary to develop concrete proposals for a better future and to subject them to critical multidisciplinary discussion. The Conversations for the Future of Europe aim to contribute to such discussion. The focus of our Conversations will be to consider concrete and politically feasible projects which may guide the future development of the Union. A concern for political applicability, however, is compatible with creativity and boldness. Indeed, it may require it.

Format: Each Conversation will focus on one issue manifesting as a major challenge to the EU. The issue will be briefly introduced by two presenters, each presenting a brief proposal for how to address this challenge. Presentations will be followed by comments from one or two discussants after which, there will be a general discussion.

Output: The aim of the Conversations is to facilitate debate and inspire far-sighted, creative ideas for how to address current policy problems. However, we wish to share those ideas with a wider community. We will therefore invite all presenters to publish their contributions on our online blog. It is also our intention that some Conversations will be developed into more substantive pieces and published as debate sections in academic journals such as the *Journal of European Public Policy*.

The seminar series is organised in collaboration with [The European Governance and Politics Programme](#) of the [Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies](#)

11 February 2020

The Future of Inequality in Europe

Conversations for the Future of Europe – 2020 #1

@ Sala Triaria, Villa Schifanoia

Digital Europe: Challenges and Opportunities for Education

Conversations for the Future of Europe – 2020 (experimental session)

@ Webinar | 13:00 – 14:30 (CET)

13 May 2020

“Whatever it takes”? How to move ahead in post-crisis Europe

Conversations for the Future of Europe – 2020 #2

@ Webinar | 13:00 – 14:30 (CET)

22 May 2020

[The Future of Direct Democratic Voting in the EU](#)

Conversations for the Future of Europe – 2020 #3

@ Webinar | 13:00 – 14:30 (CET)

3 June 2020

[Constitutional Design of the European Union: Getting Rid of the Unanimity Rule](#)

Conversations for the Future of Europe – 2020 #4

@ Webinar | 13:00 – 14:30 (CET)

17 June 2020

The Future of EU Unemployment Insurance: An Ethical Perspective

Conversations for the Future of Europe – 2020 #5

@ Webinar | 13:00 – 14:30 (CET)

Conversations for the Future of Europe 2019

Publications

ARTICLES

Andrea Sangiovanni, 'Debating the Eu's Raison D'être: On the Relation between Legitimacy and Justice', *Journal of Common Market Studies*.

Juri Viehoff, 'Equality of Opportunity in a European Social Market Economy' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 57: 28-43.

BACKGROUND ARTICLES

Sangiovanni, A. 'Solidarity in the European Union' *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 33: 213-41 (2013).

Sangiovanni, A. 'Solidarity in the European Union: Problems and Prospects' in *The Philosophical Foundations of European Union Law*, eds. Julie Dickson and Pavlos Eleftheriadis (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 384-412

Sangiovanni, A. 'Non-Discrimination, in-Work Benefits, and the EU', *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 16, 2017, pp 143-63.

Sangiovanni, A. 'Justice and the Free Movement of Persons: Educational Mobility in the EU and the US' in *Leadership and Global Justice*, eds. D. Hicks and T. Williamson (Palgrave, 2012), pp. 131-57

Sangiovanni, A. 'On Democracy and the "Public Interest"', in Wolfgang Streeck and Renate Mainz, eds., *Die Reformierbarkeit der Demokratie. Innovationen und Blockaden* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2002) (with Andrew Moravcsik), pp 122-48

Juri Viehoff 'Eurozone Justice' *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 26:388-414 (2018)

Juri Viehoff 'Maximum Convergence on a Just Minimum: A pluralist justification for European Social Policy' *European Journal of Political Theory* 16:164-18 (2017)

Juri Viehoff & Kalypso Nicolaidis 'Just Boundaries for Democrats' *Journal of European Integration* 39:591-607 (2017)

Juri Viehoff & Kalypso Nicolaidis 'Social Justice in the European Union: The Puzzles of Solidarity, Reciprocity and Choice' in: Gráinne de Búrca und Andrew Williams (eds.) *Europe's Justice Deficit?* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2015)

People

Principal Investigator: Andrea Sangiovanni

Prof Andrea Sangiovanni is the PI for EUSOL.

He joined the SPS Department in September 2018 as Chair in Social and Political Theory. He is also Professor of Philosophy at King's College London (on leave).

Before joining the Philosophy Department at King's College London (in 2007), he was a Randall Dillard Research Fellow at Pembroke College, University of Cambridge (2005-2007).

His main areas of research are in contemporary moral, legal, and political philosophy. He has published extensively on a wide range of issues in contemporary moral, political, and legal philosophy, including international and global justice (see, e.g., 'Global Justice, Reciprocity, and the State' [Philosophy and Public Affairs, 2007]); human rights and the idea of dignity (see, e.g., his recent book *Humanity without Dignity: Moral Equality, Respect, and Human Rights* [Harvard University Press, 2017]), the relation between principles and social practices (see, e.g., 'Justice and the Priority of Politics to Morality' [Journal of Political Philosophy]), and the idea of solidarity (see, e.g., 'Solidarity as Joint Action' [Journal of Applied Philosophy]).

His most recent research project, which is being funded by an ERC Consolidator Grant, seeks to identify principles of social justice and solidarity for the European Union. For a recent article that sets out the general background framework for the ideas explored in EUSOL, see 'Solidarity in the European Union' (Oxford Journal of Legal Studies, 2013).

Research Fellow: Juri Viehoff

Dr Juri Viehoff joined EUSOL as a research fellow in January 2019. He is also a permanent lecturer in political theory at the University of Manchester (on leave).

Juri's major research areas are in moral and political philosophy. In his PhD dissertation (Oxford, 2014), he investigated questions of distributive justice, equality

and legitimacy in the European Union. More recently, he spent four years at the University of Zurich's department of philosophy conducting a Swiss-National-Science Foundation funded postdoctoral research project on the morality of risk imposition and market transactions. During his time in Florence and at EUSOL, he intends to complete a book manuscript that philosophically defends enhanced economic equality amongst European citizens as a substantive goal of the European Union. For a study of the ideal of equality of opportunity in the European context, see: 'Equal Opportunity in Common Markets', (Journal of Common Market Studies, 2019). For a recent piece that applies normative thinking to a particular aspect of European integration, see: 'Eurozone Justice' (Journal of Political Philosophy, 2018)



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