

Transformation of Social Policy In Europe: Patterns, Issues and Challenges for the EU-25 And Candidate Countries

13th -15th April 2006, Ankara/Turkey

13th April Thursday, 2006

10:00-10:30

Conference Opening

Feride Acar Chairperson, Department of Political Science and Public Administration
inasi Aksoy Dean, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences
Ural Akbulut Rector, METU

10:45-12:30

Opening Panel:

Transformation of Social Policy in Europe: Patterns, Issues and Challenges for the EU-25 and Candidate Countries

Invited Speaker: Julia S. O'Connor

Prof. Dr.; School of Policy Studies, University of Ulster

***Dimensions of Socio-economic Convergence in the 25 Member European Union:
Convergence of what?***

The concept of convergence has a long history in policy analysis although the focus on it in social policy debates has varied over time from prominence in the 1970s to relative inattention in the 1990s. The recent interest in convergence is linked to debates on globalization and stems from sources with diverse theoretical, ideological and disciplinary backgrounds. The concept of convergence is now loosely used in a wide range of academic and media debate on Europeanisation and globalization, variously conceived, and their influence on, and/or constraints, on national policy options. The objective of this paper is to outline the essential elements of convergence, and how it might be measured, with a view to assessing its usefulness in welfare state analysis, particularly the analysis of dimensions of socio-economic development in the European Union. To this end, it reviews a wide range of contributions on convergence and related concepts. The first part of the paper discusses the conceptualization of convergence and its relationship to concepts such as policy diffusion and transfer and the extent to which analyses of these and related concepts informs the analysis of convergence. It considers the reasons for the renewed interest in convergence in the context of increasing recognition of diversity in social policy regimes and distinguishes between convergence as an outcome, a policy objective and an ideational influence on policy processes. The second part of the paper examines the 'causes'; identified as leading to convergence; in particular, it outlines definitions of globalization in terms of its relevance to possible proximate causes of convergence. It considers international supranational organizations as sources and facilitators of convergence and Europeanization as a process that differs from, but may contribute to, convergence. This is followed by a brief discussion of the importance of context and the centrality of domestic political variables and policy choices in analyzing convergence. The third part of the paper considers how the concept of convergence articulated in EU documents dovetails, or not, with those in the wider debate on convergence. In considering the advocacy of convergence in economic, employment and social outcomes in Council and Commission documents it explores the differences across these policy domains in terms of specification and measurement of objectives. It utilizes the EU's structural and social indicators to explore the prospect for key dimensions of socio-economic convergence and/or divergence in the 25

member European Union. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the implications of the foregoing analysis for welfare state analysis in the context of changing global pressures.

Invited Speaker: Karl Hinrichs

Prof. Dr.; Zentrum fuer Sozialpolitik, Universitaet Bremen

Pension Reforms in Europe: Convergence of Old-Age Security Systems?

Over the last ten years, reform activities in the area of old-age pensions have intensified in a number of EU countries. The focus of the paper is on a group of countries where public pension schemes had been geared towards status maintenance. While quite similar reform levers have been pulled it is questionable whether there was an unequivocal convergence in the institutional structure of public schemes. A few countries within this group, however, arrived at “critical junctures” and have executed a definite path departure. Sweden and Germany are the most clear-cut cases of embracing the multi-pillar approach as a point of reference, but they are not the only ones moving closer to another group of countries that have arranged their pension systems as a combination of basic security via public pensions and privately managed (employer-related and individual) plans on top, providing wage replacement in old age. Such an institutional extension has changed the politics of pension policy and also enlarged its scope since regulatory interventions have been intensified and the issue of financial education is entering the political agenda. The dynamics of pension reforms largely contradicts notions of welfare state resilience and exactly of old-age security as the most prominent area. Those notions have been obtained from looking back to social policy developments during the 1980s and early 1990s and were thus unable to take into account a later collapse of “old politics” actors’ defense of the status quo and the rise of a new paradigm in pension policy that partly led to path-breaking changes with small outcome shifts in the beginning but inevitably increasing over time.

Invited Speaker: Sencer Ayata

Prof. Dr.; Institute of Social Sciences and Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University

Poverty, Modernity and Social Policy

Social development in Turkey tends to lag behind economic development. Hence although Turkey ranks 74th in a survey of 177 states in GDP per capita, in terms of human development it comes 88th out of a group of 173. Still Turkish political leaders do not have a strong commitment to social reform. This paper seeks to elucidate how Turkish politicians perceive poverty, what tools they use to address it and how their views of poverty are influenced by their conceptions of modernity. In this investigation of perceptions, the paper outlines three major trends: centre-left, centre-right and Islamist.

The centre-right holds a traditional perspective of poverty. In this model, the poor are seen as a vulnerable group but as victims of personal misfortune. They require basic services, but these are the responsibility of family and charity (either individual or communal). The centre-left conception places poverty in an international context, and explains its presence through historical encounters with the West and modernity. Here poverty is seen as an outcome of a process of transformation. Thus, according to this account, the poor are the casualties of society’s movement from a largely illiterate peasant society to a modern, industrial society.

The third approach is represented by the Islamist grassroots, who prefer to address poverty through voluntary and informal welfare. Islamists predict that declining levels poverty will be achieved through religiously guided personal benevolence. Poverty itself is also given a moral dimension, involving trust in God and humility. The networks of these charities range from local to international, yet the coverage of the informal network is uneven, its accountability remains unclear, and modern experts remain indispensable when dealing with some manifestations of poverty.

The scope of social policy and the amount of social spending has increased under all governments of the Republic, although different political trends emphasize different sources of welfare provision. Despite the importance of social policy for developing human capital in a country, the Turkish political debate does not focus on this area.

13:30-16:00 **Thematic Session 1:**
**Labouring for a New Social Policy Framework in Old Europe:
Implications of the Changing Labour Market Policies for the
European Social Policy**

Hans-Jürgen Bieling

Juniorprof. Dr.; Department of Political Science, Philipps-Universität Marburg

European Integration and Social Policy Reform

This paper asks how national processes of social policy reform are initiated and directed in the context of the particular dynamics of European integration. For this purpose, the paper outlines in a first section the basic features of the European political economy of socio-economic restructuring and the characteristics of the so-called Lisbon strategy. Then, the second section, explores the implications of European initiatives for national labour markets and social policy regimes, before the third section deals more explicitly with the impasses and contradictions of the general European approach to overcome the crisis of national welfare regimes. Finally, the concluding section suggests some elements of an alternative approach.

Heiner Ganssman

Prof. Dr.; Fachbereich Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften, Freie Universität Berlin

Social Policy and Labour Markets: Institutional Change and Employment Outcomes.

Welfare states are compared in terms of their characteristic institutions and their impacts on employment and social inequalities. Recent institutional changes, mostly deregulation and activation policies inspired by the “Transatlantic consensus”, are examined in the light of two questions: Did they improve labour market performance as intended? Do they lead to convergence towards the residual welfare state? The declared goals of reform policies will be held against their real effects suggesting that the real effects rather than the declared goals were actually intended.

Marcel Fink

Mag. Dr.; Department of Government, University of Vienna

***Flexicurity as a Concept for Welfare State Reform? Findings from an Examination of
Different Welfare State Systems: Austria, Denmark and the UK compared***

The concept of Flexicurity can be described briefly as a deliberate political strategy for simultaneous enhancement of both labour market flexibility and (social) security. The term was coined in the Netherlands during the mid-1990s. Since then, it has been discussed as an option for welfare state reform in the scientific community (especially among the German-speaking) for almost a decade. More recently still, Flexicurity has gained the attention of policy-makers at the EU-community level, when it was presented by the Austrian presidency as a concept to advance the definition and development of a common “European Social Model” (ESM). The article gives an introduction to the concept of Flexicurity and explores its feasibility and conditions of enforceability under different national circumstances. For that purpose, the welfare state systems and recent reforms in Austria, Denmark and the UK are analysed against the background of the core ideas of Flexicurity. Denmark today represents a well-balanced model of Flexicurity, whereas Austria and the UK, for different structural reasons, show considerable imbalances between flexibility and (social) security. At the same time, recent reforms in Austria and the UK, if at all, display only little efforts for a more substantial coordination of these two

policy goals. The paper concludes with the thesis that this situation is very unlikely to change in the near future due to strong path dependency and structural lock-in effects in welfare state reform.

Burcu Yakut Çakar PhD. Candidate;

Social Policy Forum, Bozüyük University

Hale Akay PhD. Candidate;

Department of Economics, İstanbul Bilgi University

Informal Employment and Transformation of EU Social Policy

Once regarded as temporary and being restricted to traditional casual forms, informal employment has become persistent, significant and ever expanding with new forms both in EU member and accession countries posing a real challenge to the welfare regimes. The aim of this paper is to discuss the dynamics behind informal employment in a comparative framework, and to analyze the possible outcomes within the context of transformation of social policy in Europe. At one level, we will focus on the characteristics of informal employment in Southern and Eastern European member states in general and by comparative case studies of one country from each group. At another level, the existence or the evolution of any regulatory framework pertaining informal employment in these country cases will be discussed with regard to EU membership in general and transformation of Social Policy in particular. In each level we will also include a comparison with the situation in Turkey. Hence, by using this two-level analysis on informal employment, we will try to examine the current and possible institutional responses within the member and accession countries to the European Social Agenda. Finally, we will discuss in what ways the EU social policy agenda and welfare regimes should be modified in order to resolve the problems of informal employment in these countries with special emphasis on the effects of law enforcement as a mechanism and improvement of data collection as a tool.

Saniye Dedeoğlu Atılğan

Dr.; Labour Economics and Industrial Relations, University of Muğla

Whither Social Europe? Active Labour Market Policies and Immigrant Workers in the UK

Social Europe is the project of a common policy framework across the EU to address poverty and promote social dialog between employers and trade unions, which emerged in the early 1990s as the expression of a social-democratic vision for an integrated Europe. Within this framework, the European Commission active has encouraged active labour market policies as a part of neo-liberal approach to the management of the labour market and as a complement to greater flexibility of working conditions and labour relations.

This paper aims to analyse how this framework has been affected by the rising number of immigrants coming into Europe and their employment in low-paid and mostly informal jobs. Therefore, the question of the paper is whether the increasing number of immigrants is enforcing the EU's policy framework of Social Europe or challenging it. In short, what are the relationships between active labour market policies and newly emerging trends in population mobility in Europe?

These questions will be investigated with a special focus on the case of the UK. As being the first country in EU in implementing the 'Third Way' policies, which represents a more regulated version of US style of liberal capitalism, the UK has been seen as a

model of the success of neo-liberal policies for the EU. The UK is also a popular destination of immigrants coming from new EU member states or from other parts of the world. Therefore, this paper will show how far immigrants' employment activities affect the UK's effort to implement neo-liberal policies and maintain a flexible labour.

16:15-17:30

Thematic Session 2: 'Taking Care of' Old Europe

David Natali

Dr., Senior Researcher, Observatoire Social Européen, Brussels

The Emergence of Open Method of Coordination on Pensions: Institutional Windows of Opportunity

The present article aims to shed light on the emergence of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) on Pensions at the EU level, through the concept of *window of opportunity* (related to a revised 'garbage can' model). While that concept has been usually proposed for the analysis of agenda-setting and policy change, here we use it for the study of institutional formation. It presents some important advantages to assess the emergence of new modes of governance at the European level.

Firstly, it allows for a multi-dimensional framework of analysis. More than the effect of a single pressure, the OMC in this field is understood as the result of the alignment of multiple factors. *Socio-economic changes* (like globalisation and population ageing) and *institutional factors* (the European integration) did combine with more situational *political elements* (e.g. the existence of a majority of left-of-centre governments across the Union). What is more, some *political entrepreneurs* were decisive for the introduction of a new mode of governance on pensions.

Secondly, it helps to better specify the mechanisms that translate critical junctures into lasting political legacies. The action of key entrepreneurs proves important to define problems and envisage solutions, collecting the needed resources to form new institutions.

Finally, the use of a multi-dimensional framework helps us to identify the main peculiarities of the policy under scrutiny. While some of the factors mentioned above were determinants of the broader Lisbon Strategy, some others are typical of pensions. That is the case of some member states particularly favourable to the emergence of the OMC on social protection.

Tolga Bölükbaşı

Post-Doctoral Fellow; Center for European Studies, Middle East Technical University

Economic and Monetary Integration and Welfare State Trajectories in Europe: Drawing Lessons from the Southern European Experience

The conventional wisdom on the impact of economic and monetary integration was that the ever-deepening European Union economic policy template would breed a host of constraints on Europe's welfare states resulting in across-the-board welfare state retrenchment. The main puzzle driving the analysis in this paper is that although the process of fiscal consolidation was completed in accordance with the requirements of the Maastricht Treaty, it does not seem to have resulted in overhauling of Europe's welfare states. What is all the more interesting is that such processes had resulted in limited parametric changes in social security systems even in the traditionally "fiscally profligate" countries of Southern Europe whereby one would expect to observe the most powerful fiscal pressures. Relying on case studies of Italy and Greece, this paper shows that while the EU pressures constrained welfare state financing through imposing

fiscal consolidation, the domestic politics of reforming social security left governments either unwilling or unable to achieve fiscal savings through retrenching their welfare states. In this context the paper raises the following questions for Southern European countries concerning the nature and the outcomes of pressures emanating from the EU level: What was the nature of the changes to the welfare state panorama in Southern Europe? How was across-the-board retrenchment avoided? What were the factors that explain the relative durability of these welfare systems? The paper will conclude with a discussion of the conditions under which national social security systems persist even in the face of intense European pressures.

Dimitri Tsarouhas

Assist. Prof. Dr.; Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University
The Impact of the European Employment Strategy on Greek Social Partnership

This paper seeks to examine the impact of Europeanization on Greek social policy, focusing especially on social partnership and the role of employers and trade unions in the formulation of labour market policies. Specifically, and in an attempt to minimise inevitable qualifications in the measurement of qualitative data, I will focus on the impact of the European Employment Strategy (EES) and the resulting policy choices of both the Greek government and the social partners. The EES provides a testable case because, in contrast to policy areas where enforcement of EU-stemming initiatives is obligatory, its realisation rests on the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) principle, which permits ample scope for a plurality of national policy responses.

Europeanization is here said to affect different polities in different ways depending on their policy legacies, and abilities regarding policy learning. Secondly, the impact of Europeanization will at least partly depend on the nature of the EU model and its underpinnings and can be divided into two sets of influence: 1) a *normative/prescriptive* influence, which leads to a gradual alteration of policy discourse in line with what is perceived by policy actors as the 'EU norm' and b) an *actual/transformational* influence, which not only leads to an alteration in rhetoric but leads to policy reprioritisation over the long-term and facilitates policy learning through deep-seated reforms in the relevant policy actors' administrative and organisational capacities. Based on those assumptions, and considering the historically fragmented and often party-dependent nature of social partnership in Greece the paper seeks to test the hypothesis that the EES impacts significantly on Greek social partnership, at least with regard to the first set of influences identified above.

14th April 2006, Friday

09:15-10:15 Lecture on Transformation of Social Policy in Turkey

Invited speaker: Korkut Boratav,

Prof. Dr.; The Turkish Social Science Association

Political Power, Popular Classes, Distributional Policies: A Turkish Panorama

Since the founding of the Turkish Republic, the state has been an active agent affecting and shaping relations of distribution affecting the two popular classes of the Turkish society, i.e. the peasantry and the working class. Institutional and legislative measures (i.e. conventionally considered as "social policies") have accompanied economic measures with direct/indirect, deliberate/unintended distributional consequences. Three periods are distinguished corresponding to changing political regimes as well. The first, labelled as *authoritarian paternalism* covers the years 1923-1945 of one-party rule. The move into a representative democracy in 1945 resulted in a *modus vivendi* (i.e. "*parliamentary populism*") between the state, the popular masses and economically dominant groups up till the end of the 1970s. A military coup in 1980 changed the

balance of forces within the social matrix leading to the *domination of the neo-liberal agenda* up till the end of the 1990s which evolved, by the beginning of the new millenium, into *further institution building* aiming at a total elimination of the distributional role of the state.

10:30-12:30

Thematic Session 3: The Implications of European Integration and Globalisation for the Transformation of Turkish Social Policy.

Emre Üçkarde ler,

PhD. Candidate; Department of Sociology, Carleton University.

Rethinking Contemporary Turkish Social Policy through the Lenses of Post-Industrialism and Developmentalism

This paper argues that rethinking Turkish social policy through the lenses of post-industrialism and developmentalism could provide important insights in order to address class and gender inequalities. The notions of post-industrialism and developmentalism are usually taken to be distinct, even contradictory, because of the diverse popular connotations attached to them. Yet, the current politico-economic agenda of Turkey - which on the one hand seeks membership in the EU, and on the other, has to take poverty alleviation, job creation and gender equality very seriously— suggests the need to bring them together. The paper first establishes the basic aspects of the Turkish welfare regime by examining the division of labour between state, market, communities and households. Second, it contextualizes the challenges and transformations Turkey is facing in a broader comparative context. It is the conviction of this paper that there are lessons for contemporary Turkey to be drawn from 1) the post-industrial reorganization of European social policy, 2) theoretical reorientation of social policy debates at the global level against the backdrop of the social consequences of neo-liberalism and unbridged gender gaps in many countries, and 3) from the empirical cases of the East-Asian and Scandinavian developmental welfare regimes.

Engin Yıldırım

Prof. Dr.; Department of Labour Economics and Industrial Relations, Sakarya University

Suayyip Çalis

PhD. Candidate; Department of Labour Economics and Industrial Relations, Sakarya University

Transformation of Turkish Social Policy Making on the Road to Brussels? The Case of Social Dialogue

While the Turkish state has introduced a range of political reforms in its quest for EU membership, the pace of the reform has been less visible in the realm of social policy. Challenges related to social policy are likely to emerge as one of the important issues in the accession negotiations. Components of EU social policy (employment, social dialogue, working conditions and social protection) constitute as important requirements in the accession process.

The main question the paper addresses is whether as a means of social policy making social dialogue can function in Turkey in the way the EU requires and expects. The concept of social dialogue involves processes of negotiations and consultations between unions, employers and the government aiming to protecting social rights and improving economic performance. Social dialogue has evolved as the major part of the EU social policy and has become an indispensable tool of the European social model.

The EU regards existence of strong and well organized social partners in the applicant countries is necessary to achieve a relatively smooth transition to the full membership.

The paper argues that although tripartite councils, boards and regulatory commissions have long been institutionalized in Turkey, their impact has been relatively minor in terms of social dialogue at the national level. The Turkish example vividly illustrates that the legislatively focussed approach to social dialogue is not a sufficient way of improving social dialogue. Turkey is characterized by an institutional tripartism which goes hand in hand with relatively weak social partners *vis-à-vis* the state.

Social dialogue depends on favourable institutional environment and economic and political developments of societies. From this point of view, Turkey does not seem to be a fertile ground for the development of social dialogue since the overemphasis on harmony in the Turkish polity has erected a serious barrier to the participation of civil society organizations in pluralistic policy-making structures. Social dialogue in Turkey is characterised by a strong predominance of government and its functioning depends greatly on the goodwill of the government. The European social model has its roots in a political exchange between state, capital and labour. The mere existence of social dialogue bodies do not accurately indicate that social dialogue exists and functions well.

Mete Yıldız

Dr.; Hacettepe University

Transformation of Social Security through Technology: Analysis of the Nature and Drivers of Change in the Pension Fund and Health Insurer for Retired Turkish Government Officials (Emekli Sandigi)

Increasing use of technology is an important part of the change in the nature and structure of the social security systems. As an attempt to understand the process of transformation, this study examines the Medical Expense Savings Project (hereafter, Pension-Net), which is an initiative of the Pension Fund and Health Insurer for Retired Turkish Government Officials (Emekli Sandigi, hereafter the 'Fund'). The data for the case study are collected by conducting in-depth interviews with technology experts from public, private and civil society sectors in Turkey, as well as with members of the technology media. Interview findings are triangulated by archival and media content analyses.

The Pension-Net example is a good case to study the drivers and dynamics of social security policy-making and implementation. The social security related technology policy-making process is examined by the help of the empirically derived concept of the 'force field of competing forces' (Yildiz, 2004). The force field concept shows that policy-making in each government technology project is determined by the interaction of multiple competing forces. These forces are (i) the actual needs of the agency in question, (ii) control of people, information and transactions by government agencies, (iii) administrative reform needs, (iv) isomorphic pressures, (v) vendor push and (vi) symbolic actions. All these variables are shaped by the institutional environment, decision-makers and stakeholders of the project. International agencies such as the European Union, World Bank, IMF and UNDP also play important roles in this process.

Asuman Göksel

PhD Candidate; Institute for International and European Policy, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Middle East Technical University.

Domestic Change in Turkey: 'Equality between Women and Men' as a form of Social Policy Adaptation in the Processes of European Integration

This paper aims at identification and analysis of external as well as internal dynamics of transformation of social policy in Turkey, in the field of 'equality between women and

men', as an indicator of domestic change since the 1990s. Particular attention is given to the pressures created by the European integration processes (embodied in the enlargement process to a great extent) and on the diverse reactions (in different forms) given by domestic structures and actors in the making and implementation of the relevant policies. The analysis covers the ways, mechanisms, direction and pace of this change as well as its outcomes; and the impact of intervening variables on this change. The theoretical framework for the identification of the actors and the factors as well as the analysis of the processes of such a transformation/change is the Europeanisation conceptual framework. The efficacies and limits of such a framework in the analysis of domestic change in the Turkish case in the field of social policy will also be elaborated.

13:30-17:30

Thematic Session 4*: Challenges for Social Policy Transformation in Turkey: Poverty and Labour Market

* This session is dedicated to the memory of Prof. Dr. MUHARREM TÜNAY

Ercan Dansuk

PhD. Candidate; State Planning Organisation

Analysing the Differences in the Social Protection Policies of EU and Turkey: Case of Policies on Combating Poverty and Social Inclusion/Exclusion

This article is aimed to analyse the policies on combating poverty and social inclusion/exclusion within the framework of the differences between social protection system in EU and Turkey. In this analysis, three main facts which created changes in Turkish social policies after the 1970s; the structural transformation of Turkey, globalisation and Turkish accession with EU are discussed. These facts have changed and still change Turkish social policies and their instruments. Poverty has and is attributed a special role in the social policies changes after the 1970s.

Poverty used to be analysed within the framework of inequality so far. In the changes in social protection system, the welfare policies were abandoned and growth and inequality are claimed as necessary for better life with the 1980s. The social policies have designed against impoverishment process, not increasing welfare. This shift in the formulating of social policies gave crucial importance to poverty and policies on poverty. In this general framework, this article is concentrated on two areas; firstly how these social policies designed (political-discourse- and institutional framework), secondly what these designations changed in social and political structures of Turkey.

Pinar Uyan

Assist. Prof. Dr.;

Department of Political Science and International Relations, Istanbul Bilgi University

An Evaluation of Poverty Reduction Projects in Turkey

In this paper, I will try to evaluate poverty reduction projects in Turkey. The aim of the paper is to make an overview of the projects that are currently supported and realized by different agents- the international organizations such as the World Bank, UNDP and EU; the state and the municipalities, and the different international and national NGOs. By scrutinizing these different projects, I want to compare their financial resources, their goals, their policies and their tools in the field. Apart from the practical and communicative importance of having a comprehensive list of these poverty projects and sharing the experience of best practices, I believe that

evaluating and comparing these different projects will answer some of the following questions: Can we talk about a 'national' strategy to eradicate poverty in Turkey, based on local needs and priorities of Turkey? Are these projects for poverty *reduction* or poverty *eradication*? Are the projects designed for long or short term? Do the projects have a direct or indirect aid strategy? Can we talk about 'participation' of the poor in poverty reduction projects in Turkey? Particularly for the NGOs, what are their motivations for conducting poverty reduction projects? If possible, I also want to scrutinize the stated goals of the projects and the implementation of the projects, how the projects are changing during their implementation on the field, and whether there is a dialogue, a cooperation and experience-sharing among these projects.

Erkan Erdil,

Assoc. Prof. Dr.; Department of Economics, Middle East Technical University

Poverty and Turkish Labour Markets

This study aims to determine the relations between poverty and the dynamics of Turkish labour market. In this context, two secondary aims are also targeted. First is to demonstrate the situation of poor in Turkey with international comparisons by employing various socio-economic measures. Second, is to clarify the poverty problem in Turkey in the framework of Turkish labour markets and to offer some policy recommendations directed towards Turkish labour markets. The study finds out endogenous relations between poverty and the dynamics of labour markets together with a couple of further endogenous and exogenous socio-economic impacts. Although the income measures place Turkey almost in the middle of 175 countries analyzed, the situation is traumatic for some measures of human development. Unfortunately, it is difficult to observe systematic poverty-reducing policies in Turkey. There seems to be bidirectional causality between poverty and underdevelopment where both simultaneously feed each other. In Turkish case, the starting assumption of the study is the differences in poverty in terms of rural-urban and regional dimensions. The results of the study confirm this assumption. Two important trends in Turkish labour markets, namely decreasing rate of labour force participation and increasing rate of unemployment, play significant roles for deepening the poverty problem. In this context, both poverty and unemployment present feedback on each other. Moreover, the unemployment of young and educated people accelerates this process. The regional unemployment figures also help to explain to regional poverty differences. Finally, the study offers direct, indirect and global policies for fighting against poverty. The indirect policies target economic growth and uneven distribution of income having impacts in the long-run. Direct policies, having relatively short-term impacts, include active labour market policies. The study offers a model of employing active labour market policies for combating against poverty.

Galip Yalman

Assist. Prof. Dr.; Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Middle East Technical University

Discourse and Practice of Poverty Reduction Strategies

Poverty and widening socio-economic inequalities have emerged as major issues in Turkey within the context of a prolonged process of structural adjustment. Yet, it is difficult to say that there has been an acknowledgement of the phenomena of poverty as a major policy concern in the country itself until very recently. Given the absence of a

tradition of devising policies against poverty in the Turkish polity, it is not surprising at all that poverty alleviation has increasingly emerged as a key policy concern for the international bodies such as the World Bank and the UNDP in regards to Turkey. This, in turn, brought into light the need for institutions and/or policies so as to mitigate the social and political impact of this process, while the country has been saddled between periodic financial crises and successive rounds of structural reforms.

This paper intends to provide a critical assessment of the poverty alleviation strategies initiated by the international bodies as well as the policy proposals put forward by some recent studies undertaken in Turkey. For there is a need to clarify the limits of pursuing poverty alleviation strategies by means of welfare transfers whilst the politics of redistribution is loathed as being anachronistic in the context of structural adjustment. At the same time, it will be argued that the emphasis put on market reforms in general, labour market reforms in particular as a key element of the poverty reduction strategy is difficult to come to terms with, if it is acknowledged that ‘growth without redistribution would not solve Turkey’s poverty problem’.

Sibel Kalaycioglu

Assoc. Prof. Dr.; Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University

Nurdan Atalay

PhD Candidate; Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University.

How do the Social Policy Providers Evaluate the Social Policies on Green Card and Elderly Care in Turkey?

The aim of the paper is firstly to explain existing social policies for Green Card and care of the elderly persons in Turkey. Secondly, it will try to explore the problems of implementation through using the findings of two different qualitative researches on both Green Card and Elderly Care. We will argue that, besides the importance of allocation of social funds essential for welfare and care, and the degree of development of the institutional mechanisms for care services, it is also very significant how the service providers understand the need for and functions of welfare. During a period of reforms about social security and care services in Turkey, the conceptions of social policy providers, we will argue, will be very much effective in the distribution of the available funds among the people in need. Their perceptions of “poverty”, “people in need”, “ageing and the aged”, “the role of the state in welfare” can influence the quality of the services provided. The satisfaction from services, the accessibility and social inclusion of the poor and the elderly into social services can be reduced if the providers’ assessments are negative. Hence, sustainability of social policies relies to a great extent on the providers’ perceptions and implementation of the new policies. Nevertheless, the evaluation of policy providers is often ignored by social policy literature. The results of the researches indicate that in-work training of the service providers is a must for sustainable social policies and social services.

Songül Sallan Gül

Assoc. Prof. Dr.; Süleyman Demirel University

Aysun Sayın

M.S.; Istanbul Policy Center, Sabancı University

Devrim Vural

M.S.; Süleyman Demirel University

The Importance of the Employment Policies in Poverty Reduction and its Reflections on Women's Employment in Turkey

Employment policies could be seen as the linkage between the macro-economic development and poverty reduction policies. One of the most critical issues in poverty reduction is that employment-led development must be based on the labor-intensive woman employment. In developed countries and economies, woman householders or "welfare mothers", who make up a significant proportion of the beneficiaries of welfare state programs, are stigmatized and forced to work in the market as a result of neo-liberal welfare policies. Counted as the least deservers of the poverty assistance, women are recommended and even compelled to believe in the merits of their personal responsibilities and workfare and they are piled up in part-time jobs. Recent trends in the EU with regard to employment policies such as inability to halt increasing unemployment rates and failure of the economic policies to achieve full-employment seem to make it easy for many to accept that unemployment is not a temporary, conjectural problem of the capitalist system but it is caused by structural problems associated with the contemporary capitalist system. This in turn seems to lead to a shift in the understanding and form of the welfare state toward a workfare state, which is based on atypical forms of employment, part-time employment, self-sufficiency, personal responsibility, etc.

In developing countries, on the other hand, woman employment is one of the least supported policy issues within the scope of employment policies. Low-qualified jobs, low wages, overwork, unsafe and unhealthy working conditions are becoming widespread especially with the proliferation of informal sector.

In Turkey, woman employment has usually been in the agriculture sector as unpaid family workers and not considered as an important part of employment programs. However, the high rates of inflation and unemployment following 2000-2001 economic crises revealed the importance of employment in poverty reduction. With the rising inflation and unemployment rates that strengthened the informal sector, the increasing proportion of women in beneficiaries of public social assistance, the decrease in the women employment to the rate of 28 percent, which is a 100 percent increase in the unemployment rate, and its increase to 60 percent in part-time jobs, the issue of women employment has become an issue of debate with its all dilemmas. From 2002 onwards, projects for increasing employment have taken place the agenda with the Social Risk Mitigation Projects implemented under the coordination of the World Bank and Social Solidarity Fund and micro-entrepreneurship projects have gained importance. However, the employment opportunities in such projects are low-waged, uninsured and home based jobs in informal and traditional employment fields.

In this paper, the projects and programs of Social Solidarity Fund directed towards the women employment are reviewed and the characteristics of the women employment programs under Social Risk Mitigation Projects are compared with the new trends in the ongoing EU process. In woman employment policies, such issues as the dual role of the women in production as income earners in support of the family members and care-givers to children, old and/or elderly and disabled family members are underestimated. Similarly, for the employment of poor women and the sustainability of their self-sufficiency, an appropriate institutional structure and cooperation are required. In this paper, the projects and programs for the development of women's

employment in Turkey are examined in terms of systematic public assistance strategies and gender equality.

Hakan Ercan

Assoc. Prof. Dr.; Department of Economics, Middle East Technical University

Aysit Tansel Prof. Dr.;

Department of Economics, Middle East Technical University

Reconciling Labour Flexibility with Job Security and Social Cohesion in Turkey

The objective of this paper is first to provide a compact institutional background on labour flexibility and job insecurity in Turkey. In light of the recent labour market reforms that have mostly been prompted by the EU accession process as it is perceived in Turkey, this analysis will then set the stage for long-term labour policy recommendations, which is the second objective.

The importance of the topic is self-evident in the sense that, labour flexibility is typically implicitly or explicitly associated with economic growth performance. This association has been enforced in the volatile global economic environment of the 1990s, the decade of the free flowing capital of both direct investment and portfolio investment varieties. With the newly established financial links, regional crises are now more contagious and spread across continents among the emerging market economies. The frequency of crises that have large or small global impact has apparently increased.

Under these economic conditions, what then is the optimal balance between the economic need of flexibility and the individual worker's need for job security? The concept has been important for some years in Europe now that it is called flexicurity. Not of a collective mind or historical path to condone the U.S. model of flexible labour market institutions and relatively weak employment protection, Europe has been developing the concept of flexicurity.

This, therefore, is a good time to be discussing flexicurity in the Turkish context. The authors expect to contribute in the Turkish debate, by first systematically introducing the flexicurity angle in the issue of informal economy, and second by thinking out loud on 'adequate', 'feasible' and 'useful' flexicurity instruments for Turkey.

15th April 2006, Saturday

09:15-10:15 Lecture on EU-25 and the Candidate Countries: New Directions in Social Policy

Invited Speaker: Nick Manning

Prof. Dr.; University of Nottingham

European Union Impact on Social Policy in New Member and Candidate Countries

This paper will review the impact of EU membership on social policy in recent new member and candidate countries. This effect begins long before membership is finalised, and continues long after membership has been achieved. The patterns of impact can be divided along a number of dimensions: between 'accession' and 'enlargement'; state and civil society; centre and periphery; formal and substantive; employed and the non-employed; and different welfare institutions. In the course of reviewing these variations we will also need to reflect upon the nature of social policy itself, and in particular the nature of the European Social Model; but we will also touch

on the data upon which we can evaluate it, and the social problems it seeks to address.

Social policy in any country is shaped and driven by a range of economic, political, social and technical factors, which mix in complex ways and evolve their mutual influences over time. Some typical patterns that we can see emerging in Europe will also need to be examined for the light they throw on new members, and the range of social policies they have.

10:30- 12:30

Thematic Session #5 New Members and Candidate Countries: Transforming Policy-frameworks under the EU Influence

Dimitar D. Toshkov

PhD Candidate; Leiden University

Transposition of EU Social Policy Directives in the New Member States

The main aim of the paper is to explore the influence of political and administrative institutions on the process of legal and practical implementation of EU social policy directives in the former communist countries from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE).

A significant part of the Community acquis deals with various aspects of social policy and the new members of the EU had the obligation to transpose all these social policy directives before accession. Surprisingly or not, the available data shows that they have managed to successfully incorporate the social acquis, with certain countries (e.g. Lithuania, Poland) having no transposition deficit in the field of social policy at all.

The paper focuses on this puzzle and tries to explain the outcome of social policy legal implementation in the former communist countries from CEE. It provides an empirical analysis using quantitative methods.

The paper tries to identify the main factors that enhanced or hindered successful transposition. First, the explanatory potential of one set of variables – political stability, EU support, type of government, capturing the influence of the broader political environment, is tested. Following insights from implementation theory, the impact of the various administrative arrangements of the countries is also investigated. Finally, the links between successful transposition and the later stages of implementation and enforcement are discussed.

Alfio Cerami

Dr.; Centre d'études Européennes, Sciences Po

The Reform Challenges to the Central and Eastern European Welfare Regime

Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) are confronted with serious reform challenges. On the one hand, policy makers in the region are required to conduct reforms of social security systems in a way that ensures the financial stability and the long-term sustainability of recently established welfare institutions. On the other, they are confronted with the task of ensuring sufficient income support for citizens in a difficult and often inefficient labour market. This paper aims to address this issue by briefly summarizing the most recent social policy reforms in Bulgaria, Czech Republic,

Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia in five crucial social policy areas (pension, health care, unemployment, family policies and social assistance). The paper also investigates the role of international actors in the making of post-communist social policy and concludes by exploring how these countries may be included into the European Social Model. The main argument is that CEECs are moving towards a new world of welfare capitalism, which combines old with new social policy characteristics.

Noemi Lendvai

Post-Doctoral Fellow; School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol.

Europeanisation of post-Communist Social Policy: Emerging New Governance?

The aim of the paper is to draw on my research conducted in Hungary, Slovenia and Croatia and explore both empirically as well as theoretically the processes of Europeanisation of post-communist social policies in the three countries. I will argue that Europeanisation in the post-communist context coexists with complex processes of transformation of the welfare regime and policy-making structures. In terms of the transformation of the welfare regime, Europeanisation makes a difference because it promotes a so-called Schumpeterian post-national workfare regime (Jessop, 2002), which addresses post-national and post-industrial challenges to the eastern welfare states. These challenges need to be met in circumstances where, as opposed to the 'western' welfare regimes, a Keynesian welfare state has not developed. Without a 'Keynesian welfare' stage, post-communist countries face an enormously difficult path to meet EU targets and criteria, let it be in terms of labour market participation, gender mainstreaming and gender equality, life-long learning or anti-discrimination policies. Europeanisation also has a direct impact on policy-making structures and cultures. Europeanisation is essentially a linguistic and conceptual mapping, whereby candidate and new member state countries acquire access to European concepts, policy frameworks and new discourses. They have to develop ownership over these new constructions. I will argue that Europeanisation is a fragile transformation process, where massive institutionalisation coexists with institutional fragmentations, lock-ins, paste-and-copy institutionalisation, 'projectisation', and the emergence of 'temporal culture', which may well weaken the political and economic claim-making of the social policies.

Jan Drahokoupil

PhD Candidate; Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Central European University

On the Position of the New Member States within the EU and Its Implications for the European Regulatory Model

The war in Iraq, social unrest accompanying the controversial proposal of the Bolkstein directive on services, and the tax-system reform in Germany – all these events have recently made obvious that the enlargement of the EU is not only a matter of dealing with quantitative differences in terms of GDP and living standards, but also the problem of qualitative differences in terms of world outlooks and orientations of elites and wider structural socio-economic and regulatory features that may have profound consequences on the institutional operation of the European Union as a whole. What are then wider implications of the Eastern enlargement for the social and economic model of the European Union? In order to answer this question, I deal with the specific

features of the states of 'New Europe' by investigating their strategies of 'transition' from state socialism to capitalism. Thus, I analyze specific mode of socio-economic governance that has crystallised in Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs). These strategies and their outcomes, however, cannot be seen in isolation from the strategy of the European Union towards these countries in the process of transition. Then, I investigate the European regulatory framework of socio-economic governance as crystallised so far. Finally, I assess the implications of the Eastern enlargement for the European regulatory framework, its social content, and consequences for the European social model, on the one hand, and consequences of EU enlargement on the regulatory modes of socio-economic governance in CEECs, on the other hand.

13:30-15:00

Thematic Session #6 Dynamics and Drivers of Social Policy: Case Studies on the New Europe

Noel Dowling

PhD Candidate; National University of Ireland

Ireland's Immigration Policies and Immigrant Workers from New Member and Candidate Countries: Polish and Turkish Workers in Ireland

In Ireland 2005, a Turkish woman had both her feet amputated as a result of frost bite. She became homeless after losing her job, could speak no English and as such was unable to access any means of support. In 2000 a Polish woman died whilst operating a machine at a recycling plant, she had not been trained to use. These are not isolated incidents. These tragic event represent the 'underbelly' of a progressive, dynamic Irish economy.

It is difficult not to see the similarities in the human stories of immigrants coming to Ireland today and those of Irish emigrants in our recent history. As work and social mobility was curtailed by the Anglo Protestants in America, initially Irish Immigrants were refused access to business, commerce and industry, thus relegated to work in construction, dockyards and servile occupations. What connects the Irish experience in America to the Polish and Turkish experience in Ireland are relations of production and labour policies.

Taking immigrant labour as a focal point ,this paper sets out to show how Irish labour policies perform as inclusionary and exclusionary mechanisms ,in the everyday realities of the low/no skilled immigrant worker .A labourist perspective of Polish (accession state workers) and Turkish (candidate country workers) exploitation and isolation, within the workplace. The study of how freedom of mobility, access to resources, participation in society, is promoted or curtailed, by ones nationality within a segmented labour market, and the position of ones country regarding EU membership.

Barı Karaa aç

PhD Candidate; York University

Welfare Restructuring in an Enlarged European Union: Europeanisation or Americanisation?

This paper is an attempt to offer an alternative theoretical framework as to how the recent labour market restructuring in European countries should be analyzed. The focus of the enquiry will be employment policy at both EU and national level including the new member states with particular focus on the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary.

After presenting a critique of the two main approaches in the literature, it will be argued, from a historical materialist perspective, that the retrenchment or restructuring of European welfare states should be analyzed within the context of the 'long downturn' and the specific form of the internationalization of capital in this era (Bryan 1995). Any attempt to understand this process requires a framework, which begins with identifying the logic of capitalism, the form it takes at a certain stage of development, and looking at how the tendencies emanating from the imperatives of this specific mode of production enter a dynamic and dialectical relationship with particular social formations. While capitalism has tended towards universalisation since its emergence, its processes have always been mediated by the differing territorially bound social formations (Albo 2005). The convergence pressures of capitalist imperatives from the global market, particularly in the era of 'globalization,' have been internalized into the specific paths and forms of capitalist development and welfare. Accordingly, by embedding the restructuring of welfare states in a historically specific form of internationalization of capital as well as in European integration particularly in the post-Maastricht era, I will argue that what we have been witnessing in European welfare states has been processes of both convergence and divergence.

Maja Mitev Gerovska

Dr.; University SS. Cyril and Methodius; and South East European Research Centre, Research Centre of the University of Sheffield and CITY Liberal Studies, Thessaloniki

Effects of Europeanization in Social Policies of Slovenia and Macedonia: Convergence vs. Disparity?

This article explores the dominance of the Europeanization as a factor in setting the national social policy agendas. In doing so, it begins by outlining possible effects of Europeanization such as institutional, regulative and cognitive Europeanization, but it also refers to convergence, divergence and disparity as possible outcomes. A brief exploration of the EU influence in social policies of the newer member states follows and shows that the social policies of EU 10 have been more "Europeanized" than those of EU 15, mainly due to need of the former to substitute their previous ineffective welfare model.

But, the main empirical evidence in this article is drawn from the analysis of social policies of Slovenia and Macedonia, where the influence of the external and decisiveness of internal players show as most prominent agents for welfare reform. The external actors are analyzed not only through the EU impact, but also through the actions of the Breton Woods institutions (World Bank and IMF), which in some cases have managed to substitute and outplay the EU in the field of social policy prescriptions. The concluding part tends to demonstrate differences of the Europeanization effects in these two countries and thus indicate the prevalence of convergence or disparity in the enlarged European Union.

15:15-16:30 Closing lecture

Invited Speaker: Otto Holman

Dr.; Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam

Structural Policy. Disembedding Neo-liberalism and the Transnational Dimension of Core-Periphery Relations in the European Union

This paper will look at the reform of the EU's structural policy (in the context of the new financial perspective) as part and parcel of the neoliberal Lisbon agenda. More specifically, it will first reinterpret the core-periphery dichotomy away from its territorial connotation dominant in the 1960s and 1970s literature. Instead, a transnational and social meaning will be given to the notion of periphery. It will be shown that 25 years of free market integration, in combination with side payments in the form of structural funding, has decreased development gaps between member states in terms of GDPpc and unemployment rates, has reproduced development gaps between (subnational) regions at a somewhat higher level, but has increased intraregional differentials. The paper will argue that a further 'horizontalisation' of the EU's structural policy (which was set in motion through the Agenda 2000 reforms) will paradoxically bring in the social dimension, albeit through the backdoor, and hence potentially contribute to solving the current crisis of legitimacy.

16:15-17:00 Concluding Discussion

Akay, Hale	PhD. Candidate; Department of Economics, Istanbul Bilgi University
Atalay, Nurdan	PhD Candidate; Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University.
Ayata, Sencer	Prof. Dr.; Institute of Social Sciences and Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University
Bieling, Leo	Junioprof. Dr.; Department of Political Science, Philipps-Universität Marburg
Boratav, Korkut	Prof. Dr.; The Turkish Social Science Association
Bölükbaşı, Tolga	Post-Doctoral Fellow; Center for European Studies, Middle East Technical University
Cerami, Alfio	Dr.; Centre d'études Européennes, Sciences Po
Çalis, Suayyip	PhD. Candidate; Department of Labour Economics and Industrial Relations, Sakarya University
Dansuk, Ercan	PhD. Candidate; State Planning Organisation
Dedeoğlu Atılğan, Saniye	Dr.; Labour Economics and Industrial Relations, University of Muğla
Dowling, Noel	PhD Candidate; National University of Ireland
Drahokoupil, Jan	PhD Candidate; Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Central European University
Ercan, Hakan	Assoc. Prof. Dr.; Department of Economics, Middle East Technical University
Erdil, Erkan	Assoc. Prof. Dr.; Department of Economics, Middle East Technical University
Fink, Marcel	Mag. Dr.; Department of Government, University of Vienna
Ganssman, Heiner	Prof. Dr.; Fachbereich Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften, Freie Universität Berlin
Gerovska, Maja Mitev	Dr.; University SS. Cyril and Methodius; and South East European Research Centre, Research Centre of the University of Sheffield and CITY Liberal Studies, Thessaloniki
Göksel, Asuman	PhD Candidate; Institute for International and European Policy, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Middle East Technical University.
Hinrichs, Karl	Prof. Dr.; Zentrum fuer Sozialpolitik, Universität Bremen
Holman, Otto	Dr.; Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam

Kalaycıo lu, Sibel	Assoc. Prof. Dr.; Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University
Karaa aç, Barı	PhD Candidate; York University
Lendvai, Noemi	Post-Doctoral Fellow; School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol.
Manning, Nick	Prof. Dr.; University of Nottingham
Natali, David	Dr., Senior Researcher; Observatoire social européen, Brussels
O'Connor, Julia S.	Prof.; School of Policy Studies, University of Ulster
Sallan Gül, Songül	Assoc. Prof. Dr.; Süleyman Demirel University
Sayın, Aysun	M.S.; Istanbul Policy Center, Sabancı University
Tansel, Aysit	Prof. Dr.; Department of Economics, Middle East Technical University
Toshkov, Dimiter D.	PhD Candidate; Leiden University
Tsarouhas, Dimitri	Assist. Prof. Dr.; Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University
Uyan, Pınar	Assist. Prof. Dr.; Department of Political Science and International Relations, İstanbul Bilgi University
Üçkarde ler, Emre	PhD. Candidate; Department of Sociology, Carleton University.
Vural, Devrim	M.S.; Süleyman Demirel University
Yakut Çakar, Burcu	PhD. Candidate; Social Policy Forum, Bo aziçi University
Yalman, Galip	Assist. Prof. Dr.; Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Middle East Technical University
Yıldırım, Engin	Prof. Dr.; Department of Labour Economics and Industrial Relations, Sakarya University
Yıldız, Mete	Dr.; Hacettepe University