

# NEF working paper

## Solidarity: Why it matters for a new social settlement

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## Summary

Our vision of a new social settlement aims to achieve: social justice and well-being for all, a fairer and more equitable distribution of power, and environmental sustainability. We need solidarity to reach these goals.

By solidarity, we mean feelings of sympathy and responsibility between people that promote mutual support. It involves collective action towards a shared objective, to tackle a common challenge or adversary. For a new social settlement, it must be inclusive, expansive and active, both between groups who are 'strangers' to each other, and across generations. The 'adversary' is not other people, but the systems and structures that shore up inequalities, foster short-term greed, plunder the natural environment and blight the prospects of future generations.

Solidarity is essential to a new social settlement because none of the goals can be achieved by individuals or groups simply fending for themselves and pursuing their own interests. They depend on collective policy and practice: sharing resources and acting together to deal with risks and problems that people cannot cope with alone. So it is vital to create conditions for different groups and individuals to feel sympathy and responsibility for each other.

Social justice and well-being for all can only be achieved by pooling the means to meet common needs, by subscribing to shared values and obligations, and by encouraging mutually supportive relations between people.

A fairer and more equitable distribution of power means devolving decisions and actions as far as possible, to give people more direct control over their lives. Among much else, this calls for sympathy and responsibility between groups and for more open, inclusive and participative forms of governance.

Environmental sustainability relies on people recognising that they share an interest in safeguarding natural resources, within and between generations, and on people acting together to prevent environmental damage and help each other to respond to change.

What weakens or strengthens solidarity? It is undermined by neoliberal ideology and practice, widening inequalities and a divisive political narrative that shifts blame from elites to the poorest in society. Changes to the welfare state, an enhanced role for philanthropy, globalisation and digital technologies have the capacity both to weaken solidarity by creating new divisions, and to strengthen it by building bridges between groups and opening up new opportunities for mutual sympathy and support.

Factors that can strengthen solidarity between groups include:

- Measures to narrow inequalities
- Power to take decisions and actions devolved to the lowest possible levels
- Encouraging dialogue and participation
- Developing collective forms of ownership
- Building alliances between organisations that foster mutual support
- Promoting co-production
- An inclusive welfare system
- State institutions and actions that encourage solidarity
- Raising awareness and changing the narrative.

Together, these will help to create conditions for everyone to live well, have more control over their lives, understand and engage with others, and build experience of mutual respect and esteem by acting together to help and support each other.

Factors that can strengthen solidarity across generations include:

- Building habits of solidarity between groups within living generations
- Campaigning for intergenerational justice
- Raising awareness about impacts of past and current actions on future generations
- Government action at national and international levels to safeguard the interests of future generations, including institutions to 'future-proof' policies.

Associated ideas and initiatives that can shed light on solidarity and help to encourage it include 'bridging' social capital, social cohesion, shared social responsibility and sustainable development.

This paper aims to put solidarity on to the agenda and open it up for discussion. In an increasingly divided society, it is more important than ever for people to get together, pool resources and act collectively to support each other. But the role of solidarity – what it means and why it matters – rarely features in contemporary debates about social policy. We end with some questions for discussion:

- What factors are most likely to strengthen solidarity between groups?
- What factors are most likely to strengthen solidarity across generations?
- In the context of a new social settlement, what is the most important shared challenge or adversary?
- What is the best way to shift the balance of public opinion in favour of solidarity to support a new social settlement?

## Introduction

### Towards a new social settlement

This working paper is part of a series of discussions, publications and blogs that explore ways of building a New Social Settlement for the UK. It is NEF's contribution to broader debates about the future of the welfare system and a new economics.

At the heart of our work is a quest for policies and practice that recognise the vital links between social justice and environmental sustainability. We celebrate and champion the best elements of our embattled welfare state. And we address new problems such as widening inequalities, climate change, and the prospect of little or no economic growth over the coming decade. By valuing our abundant human assets, our relationships and our time – and fostering collective policies and practice – we envisage a new settlement to meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Our work on a New Social Settlement is jointly supported by NEF and Oxfam. Working papers, blogs and news of events will be posted on our website during 2014 with a final report published towards the end of the year.

Visit [www.neweconomics.org/newsocialsettlement](http://www.neweconomics.org/newsocialsettlement) to find out more.



### Why solidarity?

Solidarity matters because, in an increasingly divided society, it is more important than ever for people to get together, pool resources and act collectively to support each other. A new social settlement will depend on this. But the role of solidarity – what it means and why it matters – rarely features in contemporary debates about social policy. This paper is our attempt to put solidarity on to the agenda and open it up for discussion.

Solidarity is about feelings of sympathy and responsibility, shared by people within and between groups, encouraging inclusive, supportive action.<sup>1</sup> It implies a sense of shared values and purpose, and often suggests reciprocity (meaning an exchange of similar or equivalent value). It is more easily generated in smaller groups, and among people who share similar interests and identities. But it can also be applied to relations between groups. For a new social settlement, this kind of solidarity – between groups – is especially important, as we shall explain. Without solidarity, there are just groups fending for themselves, either in active competition or conflict with others, or indifferent to how their actions impinge on the capacity of others to fend for themselves.

Today, encouraging competition and conflict is a matter of political strategy. People with jobs are encouraged to see those not in paid work as scrounging off the state. New migrants are resented by second and third generation immigrants. The 'squeezed' middle-classes feel threatened by the poor. Divided and distracted, the great majority of the population is ill-equipped to confront the underlying causes of poverty, inequality, insecurity and ill-being. Meanwhile, a tiny minority accumulates wealth, consumes the lion's share of energy intensive goods, consolidates power and defends an economic system that serves its own short-term interests at the expense of everyone else.

In this paper we examine the concept of solidarity so that we can move towards a clear and useful understanding of what it consists of, what it can help to achieve and how it can be strengthened. Our aim is to provoke discussion rather than provide a definitive account. We look at the role solidarity can play in relation to the goals of the new social settlement. We consider what weakens and strengthens solidarity, explore associated ideas and political projects, and draw out the implications for policy and practice.

## Understanding ‘solidarity’

‘Solidarity’ is a word used to describe largely informal bonds between people, beyond close personal or family ties. It is woven out of subjective elements such as friendship, trust, caring for others, moral obligations and self-interested choices, rather than arising from laws or regulations. The concept can be traced back to Greek ideas of civic friendship and, later, to Christian ideals of universal brotherly love. It emerged as *‘Fraternité’* in the French Revolution, a collaborative companion to the goals of *‘Liberté’* and *‘Egalité’*, and an essential means of gaining both: if everyone is to have an equal chance of experiencing freedom, then ideally as many people as possible must work together to achieve that end. More recently, it has been a guiding principle of trade unionism and feminism, as well as contemporary catholic and socialist organisations.

Solidarity has much in common – but is not interchangeable – with such concepts as social capital, social cohesion and shared social responsibility (discussed later). All of these are more readily included in contemporary policy debates than solidarity – perhaps because the latter is linked with class politics. But solidarity is distinctive, in our view, because it carries a dynamic component. As well as connectedness, sympathy<sup>2</sup> and responsibility, it is historically associated with active mutual support in pursuit of a shared purpose. Typically, it implies concerted action to deal with a common challenge or adversary.

As we have noted, solidarity is more easily generated in smaller groups, and among people who identify with each other because they share values and experience, or depend on each other to pursue interests and goals. Durkheim maintained that in industrial societies it could be fostered ‘organically’ by difference, where divisions of labour rendered groups unlike yet aware of their interdependence, so that they supported each other out of reciprocal self-interest.<sup>3</sup> Marx and others have observed that solidarity is fuelled by adversity: unity in the face of a mutual foe.<sup>4</sup> Beck, Bauman and Giddens have, variously, described how solidarities forged in the industrial era have been eroded by globalised business, finance and technologies, while horizontally organised new social movements, social media and global threats such as climate change may arguably give rise to new forms of solidarity.<sup>5</sup>

### Solidarity between groups

A big challenge today is how to foster feelings of sympathy, responsibility and mutual support between groups of people who are aware of differences between them but have no compelling sense of interdependence. Within groups, bonds can be cemented by kinship protocols, clientelism and fear of others. By contrast, solidarity

between groups is unlikely to be imposed or enforced. It may be held in place through organisation and leadership, but it arises mainly from feelings and choices, which in turn are shaped by cultural, economic and political relations.

Leading thinkers have grappled with this challenge for centuries. Aristotle worried that societies with large discrepancies of wealth and different social classes would be unable to form relations of trust and reciprocity.<sup>6</sup> In contemporary politics, the European Union (EU) and the Council of Europe, among others, are concerned with building social cohesion within and between groups, in the face of widening inequalities and a dominant political narrative that sows distrust selectively. So long as the poor and less-than-rich are busy distrusting each other, they are less likely to close ranks against the causes of poverty and inequality. The strategy of 'divide and rule' has been pursued by elites throughout history to defend privilege and power.

### Examples of solidarity

Solidarity is not intrinsically virtuous. It can help bind together such groups as the Taliban, the mafia and the English Defence League. It can be exercised between members of the Bullingdon Club to the detriment of non-members. It can be felt between men to the exclusion of women, or between one gang, class, nationality or ethnic group against others.

On the other hand, there are countless groups, organisations and campaigns where people express sympathy and responsibility for one another, offer active mutual support and reach out to make common cause with others. Here are just a few examples drawn from the New Economics Foundation's (NEF) immediate networks (there are of course many others):

- Transition Network: a network that aims to encourage and connect communities as they self-organise around the Transition model, which creates local responses to peak oil and climate change.<sup>7</sup>
- Co-operatives UK: co-operative organisations and people who support co-operation working together to campaign for measures that will help to broaden and strengthen this approach.<sup>8</sup>
- Trades union campaigns that reach beyond their members' immediate interests, such as the Trades Union Congress (TUC) support for campaigns on child poverty<sup>9</sup> and human rights.<sup>10</sup>
- Coalitions and social movements connected largely through social media, such as the Everyday Sexism project<sup>11</sup>, 38 Degrees<sup>12</sup>, UK Uncut<sup>13</sup> and Occupy.<sup>14</sup>



- Networks aiming to get different kinds of organisation to work together for change, such as NEON (the New Economy Organisers Network).<sup>15</sup>
- Membership-based campaigning organisations such as the Jubilee Debt Campaign.<sup>16</sup>

### **Towards a definition...**

Theorists argue about the degree to which solidarity is generated by emotion or reason, by nature or nurture, by moral values or practical self-interest, by civil society or government institutions. In our view all these are possible. There isn't a pure form of solidarity, or a perfect blueprint. It's a kind of politics, open to negotiation and subject to change. Our immediate challenge is to understand how different catalysts can work together to generate the kind of solidarity that will help to achieve the goals of a new social settlement.

For this, we want a solidarity that is *inclusive, expansive and active, both between groups who are 'strangers' to each other, and across generations*. The 'common challenge or adversary' is not specifically other people, but the systems and structures that shore up inequalities, foster short-term greed, plunder the natural environment and blight the prospects of future generations.

## Solidarity and a new social settlement

Our vision of a new social settlement is based on the goals of social justice and well-being for all, a fairer and more equitable distribution of power, and environmental sustainability. None of these can be achieved by individuals or groups simply fending for themselves and pursuing their own interests. Resources, including power, are unevenly distributed and increasingly so. As a result, some people are much better equipped than others to fend for themselves. The nature and intensity of risks vary widely and new kinds of risk are emerging in a globalised setting with rapidly changing technologies and climate. At the same time, there are growing discrepancies in people's circumstances, and in the capacity of individuals and groups to cope with adversity.

There is therefore a stronger case than ever for mutual support: for people to share resources and deal collectively with risks that (some or all) individuals are unable to cope with alone. This was the vision that inspired the Beveridge Plan, published in 1942 (in wartime, when solidarity in the face of a shared adversary could not have been more keenly felt). The Plan laid the foundations for the post-war welfare state, which sought to provide free and universal healthcare and education, as well as full employment, decent housing and social security. All these things remain essential today and yet they are increasingly under threat and in need of support.<sup>17</sup>

For collective practice to flourish in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it will be important to create conditions for different groups and individuals to feel sympathy and responsibility for others, whether or not they know each other, or share the same experience or allegiance. Sharing resources involves raising taxes, which requires broad-based consent. If feelings of sympathy and responsibility are eroded, consent for mutual support becomes increasingly fragile and unstable. Learning how to strengthen solidarity between groups is therefore essential to the goals (set out below) of a new social settlement:

- **Social justice and well-being for all** can only be achieved by pooling the means to cope with risk and disadvantage, so that everyone has an equal chance to flourish, regardless of background or circumstance. To have traction, the goal of *social justice* depends on a sufficient majority of people subscribing to shared values and obligations – for example, about what is 'fair' and how 'fairness' can be achieved. *Well-being for all*, which is a separate and parallel goal, aims for everyone to feel good about themselves and be able to function well in the world (to flourish). This depends partly on sufficiency of material resources; it also, crucially, depends on conditions that

encourage mutually supportive relations between people, rather than simply on individuals having separate resources and characteristics.<sup>18</sup>

- **A fairer and more equitable distribution of power** underpins social justice and well-being for all. The aim is to increase opportunities for every individual to control their lives and destinies and – to that end – to find effective ways of devolving power, as far as practicable, to localities, groups and individuals (the principle of ‘subsidiarity’<sup>19</sup>). However, groups and localities differ widely from each other and have different strengths and weaknesses. They can use their power to strengthen their own position and exclude others. Alternatively, they can develop a shared sense of values and purpose, and join forces to support each other. Encouraging solidarity between groups is an important step towards distributing power more equitably. This calls for more open, inclusive and participative forms of governance along horizontal as well as vertical lines. The process of building and maintaining connections between groups will in turn help to strengthen and sustain solidarity.
- **Environmental sustainability** relies essentially on people recognising that they share an interest in safeguarding natural resources, within and between generations. It gives priority to long-term investment to meet common needs, over short-term consumption to satisfy personal preferences. Although interest in environmental issues has fluctuated over the past two decades, there is a growing scientific consensus, especially around climate change, of the urgent need for collective action. Some groups are more immediately vulnerable to the effects of environmental damage, but – as recent floods in affluent parts of Southern England have shown – when it comes to climate change and weather extremes we are all, unavoidably, in it together, and more so as time goes by. Most measures to prevent damage to the environment must be taken collectively in order to be effective and to offset people’s unequal capacities to respond to risk. There is evidence that, at a national level, states that express and support a ‘solidaristic’ ethos are better able to deal with the need to mitigate environmental damage and cope with its consequences.<sup>20</sup>

### **Potential scope of solidarity**

Bearing in mind these goals for a new social settlement (above), how broad do we expect the range of mutual support to be? Who should be included and who is bound to be left out? The main focus of this paper is on the UK, although we recognise the importance of solidarity at a global level. We have said we want an ‘inclusive, expansive’ solidarity, where action is taken to tackle systems and structures rather than groups or individuals. We have also noted that there are some actors and

institutions with an interest in creating divisions and defending the status quo. With that in mind, the aim is to build an increasingly broad alliance among those who have a stronger interest in change, to create a critical mass in support of our goals. Embedding an ethos of solidarity in human and institutional behaviour is an even greater challenge. A longer-term aim is to sustain and strengthen a culture and politics of expansive sympathy, shared responsibility and mutual support.

## What weakens and strengthens solidarity?

The idea of solidarity – what it means, how much it matters and how it can be enacted – is profoundly affected by changing political circumstances. In this section, we look at developments that are currently influencing the policy landscape in ways that impact – negatively or positively – on solidarity. Next, we consider potential building blocks – factors that are likely to create more favourable conditions for solidarity between groups, across generations and globally. We then explore associated ideas and initiatives that can help to provide a supportive policy environment.

### Factors that weaken solidarity

#### *Neo-liberal ideology*

This promotes individual choice, competition, consumer sovereignty, and the inherent ‘fairness’ of free markets. It supports commodification of public goods and services (including utilities and swathes of the welfare state). It creates distance between individuals and groups, and can generate feelings of indifference towards others<sup>21</sup> and narcissistic self-interest.<sup>22</sup> It dismisses solidarity as largely irrelevant to human progress, which – according to neo-liberal ideology - depends on market-based transactions rather than on social relations. It serves to widen and entrench social and economic inequalities.

#### *Widening inequalities*

In the last two decades, income and wealth inequalities have widened significantly and become more deeply entrenched. The wider the gap between rich and poor, the harder it is to build sympathy between them, or any sense of shared interests and purpose.

#### *Divisive politics*

Political and economic systems that breed inequality and injustice rely on dividing people to maintain political stability. As we have noted, elites need to shift the blame away from themselves and may do this by encouraging fear and distrust among others, for example by scapegoating benefit recipients and migrants. The current austerity measures, because of their severity, have triggered further efforts to divide and rule, played out in such narratives as ‘strivers v skivers’ and heightened anxieties about immigration.

### Factors that can weaken or strengthen solidarity

#### *Changes to the welfare state*

The post-war settlement can be seen as an attempt to build solidarity at a national level by ensuring that everyone is included in collective measures to meet needs and insure against risk. This has generated a shared interest in the institutions and services of the welfare state, in which most people have felt they have a stake. Some argue that this eroded traditional forms of solidarity by shifting dependence from family, philanthropy and friendly societies to dependence on the state. However, the suggestion that it is undesirable or even corrupting to depend on collectively provided essential services is highly contestable. NEF has argued elsewhere that action by families, charities and voluntary associations may build solidarity within groups: this can sometimes encourage more wide-reaching sympathies and shared responsibility, but there is also a danger of reproducing inequalities and tensions between groups.<sup>23</sup> Without mediation at national level – and collective provision by means of the state – little can be done to ensure that resources are fairly distributed, to promote equality or to defend the interests of marginal groups.

Solidarity between groups is still most apparent in welfare democracies, especially Nordic countries<sup>24</sup>. In the UK, changes to the welfare state since the early 1990s have tended to erode the inclusive nature of benefits and services by promoting market values of individualism, choice and ‘personalisation’,<sup>25</sup> by introducing swingeing cuts and by promoting a false dichotomy between ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ recipients. When people are described as welfare ‘consumers’, they are less likely to see the welfare state as a shared endeavour and more likely to consider how they are benefiting as individuals.<sup>26</sup> When cuts residualise the system and increase the use of means-testing, fewer of us are able to access support and services without paying for them. As a consequence, interests have diverged. For example: the rich engage little with the welfare state and tend towards private services; middle-income groups resent paying taxes for benefits and services they see going to others; and those in lower income groups feel fearful of newcomers, and betrayed and diminished by the way they are treated themselves.<sup>27</sup>

#### *A bigger role for philanthropy*

Changes in public policy – notably the Coalition Government’s efforts to diminish the role of the state and build a ‘Big Society’ – have tried to encourage charities (and businesses through their ‘corporate social responsibility’ function) to play a bigger role in helping poor and disadvantaged groups. While philanthropy incorporates ideas of sympathy and responsibility that feature in definitions of solidarity, it mainly expresses non-reciprocal transactions that legitimise and entrench unequal

relationships between those who give and those who receive. Where it consists of one-way transactions between rich and poor, philanthropy is the obverse of solidarity, rather than a catalyst for it. On the other hand, some charitable organisations, particularly those aiming to combat poverty, find they can best achieve their objectives by working to transform economic relations and to shift the balance of power in favour of the poor. Over time, this can help to foster the kind of inclusive, expansive and active forms of solidarity we need for a new social settlement.

### *Globalisation*

Globalisation is transforming relations between groups (within and between nations). Some effects of globalisation can provide new opportunities for distrust and antagonism as different groups become more acutely aware of each other. Globalised markets drive down wages and exacerbate inequalities. At the same time, global travel, communications migration and transactions can enhance interdependence and shared interests, and blur some identities between nations, regions and localities. New forms of politics and governance to address the need for decision-making at a global level may encourage co-operation and collaboration between nations and globally-based organisations and groups. On the other hand, they may entrench the powers of global elites, encourage competition and further exacerbate inequalities.

### *New technologies*

New technologies for data processing and communications may make it easier for information to be shared between groups and may stimulate wider participation in social movements and decision-making, at all levels. They will undoubtedly change the ways in which solidarity is developed and expressed – and they are already doing so. But they can also be a vehicle for spreading fear, distrust and misinformation between groups. Much depends on who has access to and who has control over these technologies, and on how they develop in future.

## Factors that can strengthen solidarity

In this section we consider practical ways in which the kind of solidarity needed for a new social settlement can be developed and encouraged. What follows is not a definitive list but describes examples that link to NEF's work on a new economics and a new social settlement.

### *Narrowing inequalities*

Reciprocity, implying an exchange of similar or equivalent value,<sup>28</sup> is often identified as a key component of solidarity.<sup>29</sup> Inequalities of income, wealth and power render this kind of reciprocal exchange difficult or impossible to realise. As we have noted, the greater the gap between rich and poor and between the powerful and powerless, the more difficult it becomes to generate feelings of mutual respect and support. Narrowing inequalities will therefore help to create conditions more favourable to solidarity.

This calls for a reversal of today's 'vicious circle', whereby widening inequalities increasingly undermine solidaristic feelings. Instead, measures are needed to build equality and solidarity in ways that are mutually reinforcing. Narrowing income inequalities requires a range of inter-related measures including more progressive taxation, better wages for the low-paid, affordable housing, more and better childcare, and a social security system that supports a decent standard of living for all. There is strong evidence that changes such as these will be good for the population as a whole<sup>30</sup> but they are unlikely to be achieved simply as a result of 'evidence-based policy making', because they impinge on some powerful interests. They are more likely to happen if there is pressure from alliances within the electorate, in which those most likely to benefit are actively involved. The process of working towards change requires an expression of shared values and purpose and can help to generate mutual support by providing a focal point for action.

### *Devolved power*

Local practice can be an important building block of solidarity. This is when people join forces to change something that affects their immediate circumstances – for example, a local campaign for childcare, or against a planning decision. It has been noted that people will turn out in greater numbers where they feel they have some power to influence a decision, or some control over what happens as a result of their action.<sup>31</sup> Indifference and inaction are often a consequence of feeling powerless to do anything to change the status quo. Top-down approaches to change encourage that kind of powerlessness. It follows that devolving power from Whitehall to local government and from local government to neighbourhoods may – subject to the dangers of unequal power addressed below – be a catalyst for solidarity.



### *Encouraging dialogue and participation*

Equally important is the quality of exchange that takes place between people who exercise power locally. If a few assertive individuals monopolise decision-making or if most people lack sufficient information and confidence to participate, there is a danger that power will simply be devolved from national to local elites. There are tried and tested models of deliberative dialogue and participatory decision-making,<sup>32</sup> as well as co-production (see below) that can build capacity to share power and control at local levels. These will help to generate the kind of inclusive solidarity we need for a new social settlement. There is a role for national as well as local governments in making sure these methods are applied and that sufficient resources are available for them, as well as in promoting equality between groups to whom power is devolved.

### *Collective ownership*

Forms of ownership that allow people to collectively control and manage resources, goods and services can help to strengthen solidarity. Solidarity is fostered when people come together to take responsibility for meeting a shared objective. This can apply to such things as providing high quality childcare, generating affordable and sustainable energy or managing a community green space. Small-scale co-operatives are one example of this kind of ownership. In Italy, social care services for almost five million people are met by social co-operatives, initially known as 'solidarity co-operatives', which are owned and run by service users, staff and community volunteers. By bringing together different stakeholders with an interest in high quality care provision to collectively design and deliver the service, these organisations help foster solidarity within and between groups.

There are other ownership models with the potential to catalyse solidarity, including employee-owned organisations such as John Lewis and building societies such as Nationwide. As we note above, devolving power and encouraging dialogue and participation can help. On a larger scale, it is possible for the state to own and manage resources, goods and services in ways that help to foster solidarity – for example, by devolving power and budgets to local authorities and neighbourhoods, and by giving service-users and frontline staff more decision-making power via co-production and participatory decision-making.<sup>33</sup>

### *Building alliances between organisations that foster mutual support*

As Robert Putnam argues in *Bowling Alone*,<sup>34</sup> (discussed below under 'Social Capital'), bonding within groups is a starting point for building bridges between groups. However, much depends on how bonding is developed and enforced. For example, bonds may be generated by fear of more powerful group members or by hostility towards outsiders; they may be more about closing ranks than about

developing sympathy and responsibility for others. On the other hand, bonds within groups can be built on shared experience of collective action, on mutual respect and confidence and on equal and reciprocal partnerships. These are generic qualities that can help group members to develop inclusive, expansive and active relationships beyond the confines of the group.

Organisations such as social movements, trade unions, self-help and mutual aid groups and membership-based NGOs and campaigning organisations embody important elements of solidarity, including sympathy and responsibility, shared interests and values, reciprocity, and concerted action towards common goals. Some are inward-looking and exclusive, but many are well-prepared by their experience of mutual support to form broader alliances for working towards shared objectives.

### *Encouraging co-production*

Co-production, discussed in a number of NEF's publications,<sup>35</sup> is about individuals working together in equal and reciprocal partnerships, pooling different kinds of knowledge and skills to achieve shared goals. It is often applied to defining needs and planning and delivering services. Distinctively, co-production involves individuals who are usually described as 'service users' in collaborative working arrangements with informal carers and professional service workers. The term 'co-production' is applied in various ways in different settings, but the approach rests on certain principles that are described below:

- Recognising that people have assets, not just needs or problems
- Building on people's existing capabilities
- Promoting mutual aid and reciprocity
- Developing peer support networks
- Breaking down barriers between professionals and recipients
- (For professionals) facilitating rather than delivering services

These principles include, most obviously, mutual aid and reciprocity. They also promote other components of solidarity. For example, learning to recognise that everyone has assets (such as time, knowledge, energy and experience), is an important step towards building mutual respect and trust. Building peer support networks can be a way of connecting individuals with others beyond their immediate groups. Breaking down barriers between people with different kinds of knowledge and skills can encourage awareness of interdependence between those otherwise divided by status. Experience of co-production can be an expression of bonding within groups and at the same time help to develop qualities needed to build solidarity between groups. NEF has called for co-production to become the 'standard way of getting things done'. Certainly, more widespread and consistent application of

the principles of co-production could help to create conditions that encourage solidarity.

### *An inclusive welfare system*

We have seen that the welfare state was set up to provide everyone with the means to employment, health, education, housing and a living income. It aimed – at least in part – to provide shared social insurance against risks that individuals and families could not cope with alone. It fostered the idea of universal entitlement, according to need, to free benefits and services provided by the state. It was intended to put an end to stigma associated with hand-outs to the poor. Over time, more and more complex conditions have been attached to benefits and services. For some 50 years now, debates have raged about the pros and cons of conditional versus universal eligibility, and about the virtues or otherwise of means-tested benefits. Today, politicians of all the leading parties promote a false dichotomy between ‘hard-working people’ (who pay taxes and deserve support from the state when they need it) and others variously described as benefits cheats, scroungers and skivers (who don’t pay taxes and represent the undeserving poor, grudgingly afforded as little support as possible).

It has been argued by the Fabian Society that ending poverty requires a ‘solidarity settlement’ that would profoundly re-shape the welfare system by enshrining ‘equal citizenship’ and fostering ‘a sense of mutual interdependence’.<sup>36</sup> This ‘solidarity settlement’ would rest on the principle of reciprocity, which is usually taken to mean making a contribution in return for benefits received or receiving benefits in return for contributions. Much hangs on what constitutes an acceptable ‘contribution’ – and who has power to decide.

The Fabians suggest replacing the ‘contributory’ principle with a ‘participatory principle’, so that eligibility depends on individuals participating in ways that suit their capacity, rather than on making a material contribution. Only those who refuse to participate would be excluded from the system. They point out that ‘free-riding’ (getting something for nothing) is undesirable and unappealing to voters. However, ‘free-riding’ is a term borrowed from economics, which obscures a more complex social landscape. Some people are unable to contribute materially but need benefits and services for reasons beyond their personal control: family circumstances, disability, location, bad luck, past history or caring responsibilities, to name a few. Some contribute to society in ways that are not valued or taken into account. Conventional economics affords no worth to unpaid work or what NEF calls the activities of the ‘core economy’, without which the formal economy would be unable to function at all.

Widening inequalities diminish opportunities for reciprocal exchange in material terms. Conditionality can have the effect of dividing claimants according to degrees of need, and fuelling suspicion that some are cheating the system to get what they don't deserve. One option, building on the Fabians' suggestion, is to extend the notion of a 'contribution' to include – and give credit for – unpaid activities and other forms of civic participation. What counts as a contribution could be determined through deliberative dialogue. Such strategies could be mutually reinforcing, helping to establish a shared commitment to benefits and services that are broadly available and inclusive rather than selective and divisive. If they are to be realised, however, they will need a dramatic shift in the politics of social security, which in turn requires a transformation of public opinion.

### *State institutions and actions that encourage solidarity*

Institutions of national and local government may be used to create conditions for solidarity or to entrench inequalities and imbalances of power. As we have noted, mediation at national level – and collective provision by means of the state – are needed to distribute resources fairly, to promote equality and to defend the interests of marginal groups. In addition, states can help to build habits of solidarity by devolving power so that decisions are taken, as far as possible, by the people directly affected, by encouraging different kinds of ownership and by promoting democratic practice based on open dialogue and active participation. As Newman and Clarke argue, what is needed is “an approach to the state that enhances notions of the commons, that reasserts collective (public) interests and enables collective (public) action”.<sup>37</sup> Governments have a crucial role to play, at national and international levels, in tackling climate change and other environmental issues that depend on concerted action. They can also fashion and re-fashion the dominant political narrative (see below). It follows that an important step towards strengthening solidarity is to pay attention to the state – not as a drain on taxpayers' money that must be 'rolled back', but as a precious resource that citizens own and (should) control. The aim must be to harness its potential to embody and support a solidaristic ethos and practice.

### *Raising awareness, changing the narrative*

The more people understand who really gains and who loses from an economic system based on accumulations of wealth and power, how the system generates inequalities and how it is heedless of planetary boundaries, the greater the chance of building solidarity between groups based on shared interests in social justice and environmental sustainability, and on an understanding that there is a common challenge or adversary.

Raising public awareness depends on more than assembling good evidence and constructing rational arguments about why the current system is wrong and how it should be corrected. No amount of evidence or reason will change public opinion without a new narrative. That means changing the amalgam of stories we are told and tell each other about how things are and why.

Recent surveys show that solidaristic feelings remain strong among people in the UK. These include positive attitudes towards shared responsibility and collective action. For example:

- People are much more likely to agree that it is important ‘to help people and care for others’ well-being’ (80.7% say this is ‘very much like me’ or ‘like me’) than to agree that it is important ‘to be rich, have money and expensive things’ (only 15.3% say it is ‘very much like me’ or ‘like me’).<sup>38</sup>

### It is important to help people and care for others’ well-being

■ like me or very like me   ■ somewhat or a little like me   ■ not like me or not at all like me



### It is important to be rich, have money and expensive things

■ like me or very like me   ■ somewhat or a little like me   ■ not like me or not at all like me

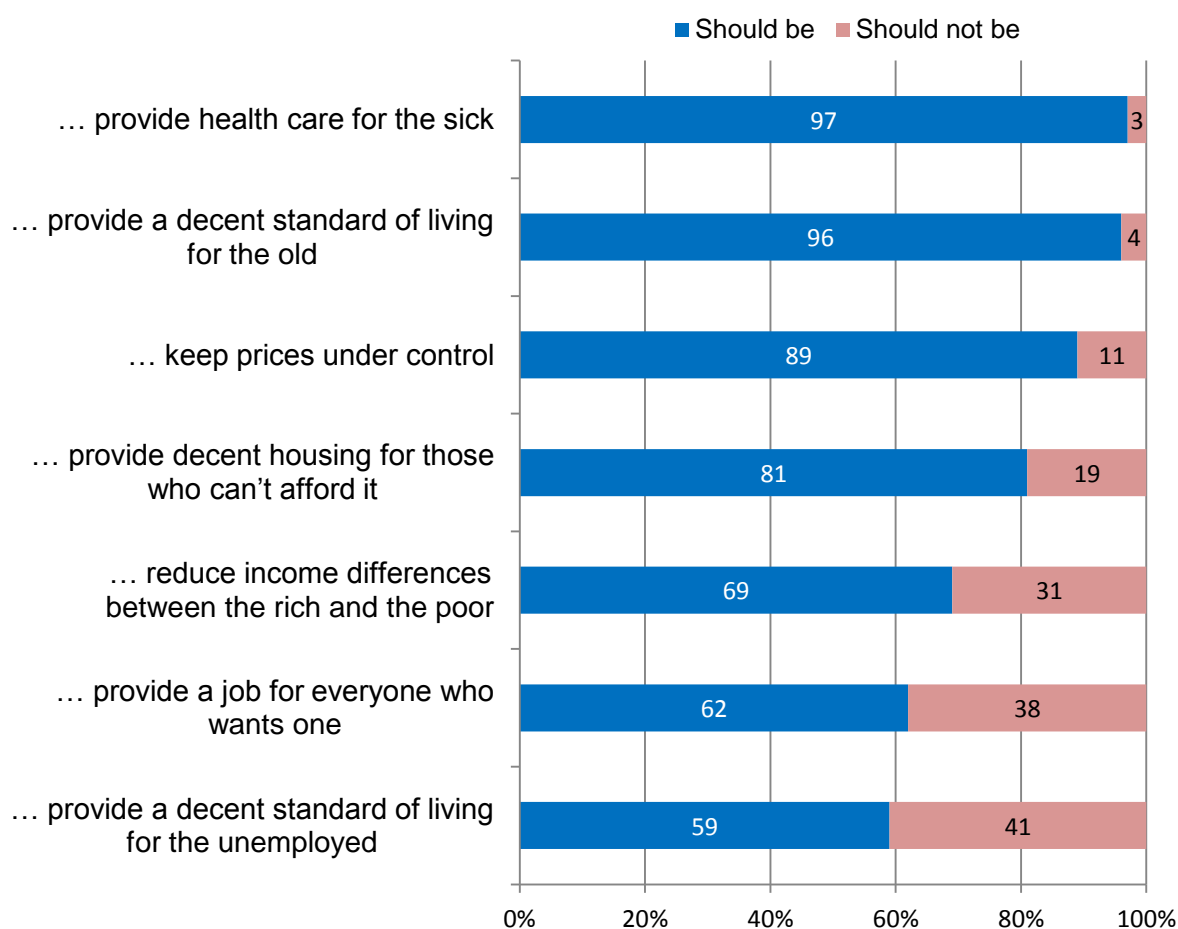


Source: European Social Survey (2012)

- Most people agree that it is important to understand different people. When asked whether they identified with the statement ‘it is important to understand different people’, 70.1% say this is either ‘very much like me’ or ‘like me’.<sup>39</sup>
- More than three-quarters (78%) say it is the government’s job to ‘ensure that rich and poor children have the same chances to get ahead’ and just under three-quarters (74%) say it is the government’s job to ensure ‘a decent basic minimum income for every family’, while more than half (52%) say it is the government’s job to redistribute across the income range.<sup>40</sup>

- Asked what they think should be the government’s responsibility, more than nine in ten people say it is to provide healthcare for the sick (97%) and to provide a decent standard of living for the old (96%). More than eight in ten say it is to provide decent housing for those who can’t afford it (81%) and to keep prices under control (89%). Between a half and just over two thirds say it is to reduce income differences between rich and poor (69%); to provide a job for everyone who wants one (62%); and to provide a decent living standard for the unemployed (59%).<sup>41</sup>

**Do you think it should or should not be the government’s responsibility to...**



Source: British Social Attitudes Survey (2013)

- More than half want to keep tax and spending at current levels (53%) and more than a third (34%) want to increase taxes and spend more, compared with fewer than 10% who want to reduce taxes and spend less.<sup>42</sup>

- More than 8 in 10 people think the income gap between rich and poor in the UK is too large (82%).<sup>43</sup>

These figures suggest there is a solid base of opinion on which to build a new narrative that encourages feelings of reciprocal sympathy and responsibility, and mutual support between groups.

However, today's dominant narrative takes no account of such views. Its dominance depends on protagonists in politics and media telling a story that is sufficiently compelling to override contradictory evidence and opinions. NEF has shown elsewhere<sup>44</sup> how the Coalition Government has built a powerful political narrative to justify austerity measures. This can only be countered by promoting an alternative set of frames to convey a different – and no less compelling – story. Narrative can never be a substitute for politics. But if the aim is to take politics in a new direction, this requires a strong vehicle based on persuasive framing and storytelling. It's not about engineering public attitudes, but about working with existing strands of opinion that are potentially supportive, to weave an alternative narrative that will affirm and strengthen them.

### **Building solidarity across generations**

Solidarity between current and future generations is of a different order from solidarity between living groups, as there can (rather obviously) be no expectation of mutual support or reciprocity. Nevertheless, feelings of sympathy and responsibility, directed towards future generations, are an essential underpinning for action to promote intergenerational justice and environmental sustainability. An important first step is to raise awareness of the potential effects of past and current actions on the well-being of future generations, for example in relation to inequalities, the quality of everyday life and the state of the natural environment. But this must be turned into strong support for collective action to safeguard collective futures.

Some of the building blocks of solidarity between groups can help to catalyse solidarity across generations: greater equality, devolved power, organisations based on mutual support, habits of respecting other people's assets and experience, a solidaristic ethos embodied in state institutions, a political narrative that supports collective action to deal with shared risks – all these can strengthen people's feelings of sympathy and responsibility beyond their immediate networks.

NGOs, trade unions, social movements and campaign groups have an important role to play. But ultimately governments must act, nationally and internationally, to combat climate change, protect natural resources and plan long-term for development that, in the words of the Brundtland Report, "meets the needs of the

present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".<sup>45</sup> By and large, governments respond to pressure from the electorate. Voter opinion fluctuates according to how environmental issues are treated by the media, how they are perceived by the public, and how governments themselves behave.

International agreements, national legislation and strong, stable institutions to support them are crucial to sustainability. The UK's 2005 Sustainable Development strategy, described below, is one example. Subsequently, the 2008 Climate Change Act has enshrined in law a long-term plan to reduce emissions with binding targets and monitoring mechanisms overseen by the Committee on Climate Change.<sup>46</sup> Several countries have set up institutions for 'future-proofing' policy and practice.<sup>47</sup> This approach can help to raise awareness and to embed the idea of intergenerational justice in the public consciousness.

### **Global solidarity**

We have noted that globalisation can have both positive and negative impacts on solidarity, and that government action through international coalitions and agreements has a vital role to play in tackling environmental issues. The prospect of solidarity at a global level is highly relevant not only to the goal of environmental sustainability, but also to goals of narrowing inequalities between nations and regions, promoting human rights, addressing imbalances of power, and tackling exploitation, injustice and unsustainable practices on the part of transnational organisations. Global solidarity faces some of the same obstacles as intergenerational solidarity: the distance and differences between groups reduce opportunities for reciprocal exchange or mutual support. However, the emergence of international organisations and social movements that use digital technologies to communicate and plan concerted action, suggest that these obstacles may not be insuperable. The World Social Forum, a range of initiatives to conduct interfaith dialogue, and feminist organisations such as Women in Black are cited as examples of incipient global solidarity.<sup>48</sup> Pan-European efforts to build social cohesion and shared social responsibility (see below) may also be seen as attempts to generate an ethos of solidarity across nations. Waterman's mapping of components of global solidarity<sup>49</sup> and Wilde's exploration of its roots, sources of influence and potential<sup>50</sup> offer useful perspectives. While we recognise the relevance of global solidarity, we have confined the main focus of this paper to solidarity within the UK and across generations.



## Associated ideas and initiatives

Here we briefly consider ways in which certain contemporary ideas and policy initiatives relate to our understanding of solidarity. This is to clarify relationships, similarities and differences between various concepts, but also to indicate how they may contribute to efforts to build solidarity between groups and across generations.

### Social Capital

Social capital has become increasingly prominent in policy debates in the last two decades. Developed by Pierre Bourdieu in 1980 and famously re-construed by Robert Putnam in *Bowling Alone*, the term 'social capital' is used to describe and assess the nature and effects of social networks, and feelings of trust, belonging and reciprocity. The UK Office of National Statistics (ONS) uses a definition from the Office for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups". The ONS, the OECD, the EU and the World Bank have all tried to measure degrees of social capital within different countries and to establish shared indicators for comparative analysis.<sup>51</sup>

Putnam usefully distinguishes between 'bonding', 'bridging' and 'linking' social capital. These describe, respectively, connections between individuals within groups; between groups; and between individuals and groups on the one hand, and institutions of power on the other. Putnam contends that bonding is a precondition for bridging, as it fosters feelings of reciprocal sympathy and responsibility. As we have noted, however, strong bonds can generate groups that look inwards, exclude others and thrive on competition or antagonism with outsiders.

The idea of 'bridging' social capital is close to our interpretation of solidarity. It underlines the crucial role of social relations in human flourishing and helps to bring this to the attention of policymakers. It sheds light on potential catalysts for solidarity between groups. But it lacks some important associations. It is about civil society without politics, networking without momentum, and shared values without a shared challenge or goal. It is more about gluing together than active collaboration. It contributes little to understanding how 'bridges' may be built between present and future generations. One reason why the idea of social capital has been embraced by elites is that it shifts attention away from economic relations towards 'communities': we are invited to explore the condition of civil society, how groups can become more resilient and how individuals can do more to help each other, without disturbing the status quo.

### **Social cohesion**

Social cohesion, defined partly in terms of solidarity, has featured strongly in the aims of the European Union. The EU is committed to achieving “economic and social cohesion” under the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, and reports on progress at three-yearly intervals. According to its first Cohesion Report in 1996 the goal of economic and social cohesion means combining a free market economy with “a commitment to the values of internal solidarity and mutual support which ensures open access for all members of society to services of general benefit and protection”. The Report refers to “the solidarity dimension” of cohesion, which is given practical effect through “universal systems of social protection, regulation to correct market failure and systems of social dialogue”. It maintains that “policies which promote solidarity and mutual support are themselves a factor in strengthening the productivity of European society and contributing to economic and social well-being.” It takes unemployment and poverty to be “measurable aspects of social cohesion”. The apparent centrality of social cohesion to the founding treaty of the European Union provides some high-level endorsement for the idea of promoting solidarity between groups. That said, the next round of EU Cohesion Policy, 2014-2020, has been refocused “for maximum impact on growth and jobs”. The reforms include no clear plans for how, if at all, the goal of social cohesion will be pursued in coming years.

### **Shared social responsibility**

The Council of Europe, like the EU, is committed to promoting ‘social cohesion’. In pursuit of this aim it formally adopted in January 2014 the Charter of Shared Social Responsibilities, which it defines as a “means of securing social justice, sustainability and intergenerational solidarity.”<sup>52</sup> The Charter acknowledges that social justice involves not just meeting fundamental human needs, but “striving through redistribution mechanisms to reduce inequalities and securing collectively the conditions conducive to the development of every individual and his or her skills”. It asserts that “no group or individual should have to bear in a disproportionate way the harmful consequences of any damage to the environment” and places “future generations and their possibilities for development at the heart of present-day decisions...”

The Charter is an attempt by the Council of Europe to ensure that its founding principles (“human dignity and the freedom and equality of everyone in Europe”) are implemented in practice – and particularly to prevent their erosion in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. It emphasises the need for “special care for the weakest

members of society”, for full inclusion and participation of all “stakeholders”, for co-operation between institutions, and for recognition of “common goods” that are “essential for a decent life for all”, including natural resources.

The Council was set up to promote democracy and protect human rights and the rule of law in Europe. Its members are bound by the European Convention on Human Rights to respect fundamental rights and freedoms, enforced through the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg and, under the 1998 Human Rights Act, through courts in the UK. One of 47 members of the Council of Europe, the UK is party to the decision to adopt the Charter – although this has attracted no interest whatever in UK media or policy circles. We think it worth mentioning here because it provides, on paper at least, a strong and detailed endorsement of the case for solidarity between groups and across generations.

### **Sustainable Development**

In 2005 the UK Government set out its strategy, *Securing the Future*, for delivering sustainable development.<sup>53</sup> This is based on five guiding principles, described as follows:

- Living within environmental limits: respecting the limits of the planet’s environment, resources and biodiversity – to improve our environment and ensure that the natural resources needed for life are unimpaired and remain so for future generations.
- A strong, healthy and just society: meeting the diverse needs of all people in existing and future communities, promoting personal wellbeing, social cohesion and inclusion, and creating equal opportunity for all.
- Achieving a sustainable economy: building a strong, stable and sustainable economy which provides prosperity and opportunities for all, and in which environmental and social costs fall on those who impose them (polluter pays), and efficient resource use is incentivised.
- Promoting good governance: actively promoting effective, participative systems of governance in all levels of society – engaging people’s creativity, energy, and diversity.
- Using sound science responsibly: ensuring policy is developed and implemented on the basis of strong scientific evidence, whilst taking into account scientific uncertainty (through the precautionary principle) as well as public attitudes and values.

The strategy states that environmental sustainability can only be achieved by promoting “social cohesion and inclusion”, as well as participative systems of

governance “at all levels”. This reflects our approach to building a new social settlement and our interest in appropriate forms of solidarity.

The UK Sustainable Development Commission, which was intended to promote the strategy and hold Government to account for implementing it, was scrapped by the Coalition Government in 2010. The strategy has not been rescinded, but the emphasis has changed. Sustainable development is currently defined as “encouraging economic growth while protecting the environment and improving our quality of life – all without affecting the ability of future generations to do the same”. While *Securing the Future* has less political traction today, the strategic framework is a useful reference point and remains influential in some quarters.

The Welsh Government is introducing legislation to make sustainable development the central organising principle of devolved public services in Wales. The *Future Generations Bill* will be introduced in Summer 2014, enshrining in law a set of long term sustainable development goals. According to Jeff Cuthbert, Assembly Member, Minister for Communities and Tackling Poverty, the Bill’s aim is “to develop strong, cohesive communities, which flourish, and in which families can have a decent standard of living now and foresee the same for their children and grandchildren. This includes the environment that we pass on to future generations.”<sup>54</sup> Another example is *Sustainable, Resilient, Healthy People and Places*, the sustainable development strategy for the NHS, Public Health and Social Care systems in England, published in January 2014, which builds on the approach of *Securing the Future* to create a detailed programme of action.<sup>55</sup>

## Conclusion

Our vision of a new social settlement rests on three essential goals: social justice and well-being for all, a fairer and more equitable distribution of power and environmental sustainability. To achieve these goals, we argue, we need to reclaim and strengthen the idea and practice of solidarity.

We take the term 'solidarity' to mean feelings of sympathy and responsibility shared by people within and between groups, encouraging mutual support. It involves collective action towards a shared objective, to tackle a common challenge or adversary. For a new social settlement, it must be inclusive, expansive and active, both between groups who are 'strangers' to each other, and across generations.

Solidarity has been consistently undermined by neoliberal ideology and practice, widening inequalities and a divisive political narrative. The post-war welfare state expressed and tried to cement solidarity at a national level, but more recent trends towards privatisation, consumerism and individualism have weakened it.

Globalisation, a bigger role for philanthropy and new communications technologies have the capacity both to intensify divisions between groups, and to open opportunities for new kinds of solidarity.

Factors that can strengthen solidarity include

- Measures to narrow inequalities
- Power to make decisions and take action devolved to the lowest possible levels
- Encouraging dialogue and participation
- Developing collective forms of ownership
- Building alliances between organisations that foster mutual support
- Promoting co-production
- An inclusive welfare system
- State institutions and actions that encourage solidarity
- Raising awareness and changing the narrative.

Factors that can strengthen solidarity across generations, where there can be no expectation of reciprocity or mutual support, include:

- Building habits of solidarity between groups within living generations
- Campaigning for intergenerational justice and environmental sustainability
- Raising awareness about the potential impacts of past and current actions on the well-being of future generations

- Government action at national and international levels to ‘future-proof’ policies and promote sustainable development.

**Questions for discussion**

What factors are *most likely* to strengthen solidarity between groups?

What factors are *most likely* to strengthen solidarity across generations?

In the context of a new social settlement, what is the *most important* shared challenge or adversary?

What is the *best way* to shift the balance of public opinion in favour of solidarity to support a new social settlement?

## References

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<sup>1</sup> Wilde, L. (2013) *Global Solidarity*, Edinburgh University Press, p1.

<sup>2</sup> We use the word 'sympathy' rather than 'empathy' because it conveys understanding of others and fellow-feeling, which seems more appropriate for a discussion of solidarity between groups and across generations. 'Empathy' carries a range of meanings and implies a more intensive emotional experience which is a possible but not essential condition for sympathy.

<sup>3</sup> Durkheim, E. (1984) *The Division of Labour in Society*, New York: The Free Press

<sup>4</sup> Marx and his followers are interested in working class solidarity – the bonds between members of the working class on the basis of shared societal position and shared interests – as a foundation of political action to disrupt the dominant social order. Marx and Engels thought that class solidarity required recognition of a shared opponent among the working class, writing: “[t]he separate individuals form a class only insofar as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors.” (Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1972), *The German Ideology*, New York: International Publishers Company, p.82)

<sup>5</sup> See: Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society*, London: Sage Publications; Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity; Giddens, A. (1994) *Beyond Left and Right – the Future of Radical Politics*, Cambridge: Polity; Crow, G. (2002) *Social Solidarities: Theories, identities and social change*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

<sup>6</sup> In Book Four, Part XI of Aristotle's *Politics*, Aristotle argues that 'friendship' and 'good fellowship' are difficult to foster in unequal societies: “those who have too much of the goods of fortune, strength, wealth, friends, and the like, are neither willing nor able to submit to authority. The evil begins at home; for when they are boys, by reason of the luxury in which they are brought up, they never learn, even at school, the habit of obedience. On the other hand, the very poor, who are in the opposite extreme, are too degraded. So that the one class cannot obey, and can only rule despotically; the other knows not how to command and must be ruled like slaves. Thus arises a city, not of freemen, but of masters and slaves, the one despising, the other envying; and nothing can be more fatal to friendship and good fellowship in states than this.”

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.transitionnetwork.org/about>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.uk.coop/>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.tuc.org.uk/social-issues/child-poverty>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.tuc.org.uk/international-issues/human-rights>

<sup>11</sup> <http://everydaysexism.com/>

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.38degrees.org.uk/>

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/>

<sup>14</sup> <http://occupylondon.org.uk/>

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.apeuk.org/new-economy-organisers-network-neon/project-344>

<sup>16</sup> <http://jubileedebt.org.uk/>

<sup>17</sup> See: Baumberg, B. (2012), 'Three ways to defend social security in Britain', *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice* 20(2); Clarke, J. and Newman, J. (2012) 'The alchemy of austerity', *Critical Social Policy* 32(3); Slay, J. and Penny, J. (2013) *Surviving Austerity*, London: New Economics Foundation.

<sup>18</sup> The meaning of 'well-being' and its determinants are discussed in detail on NEF's website at: <http://www.neweconomics.org/issues/entry/well-being>. **The Five Ways to Well-Being include:** "Connect with the people around you. With family, friends, colleagues and neighbours. At home, work, school or in your local community. Think of these as the cornerstones of your life and invest time in developing them." and "Give: do something nice for a friend, or a stranger... Join a community group. Look out, as well as in."

<sup>19</sup> The principle of subsidiarity in Article 5 of the Treaty on European Union ensures that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen and only taken at a higher level if this can be shown to be more effective.

[http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/glossary/subsidiarity\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm)

<sup>20</sup> Gough, I., Meadowcroft, J., Dryzek, J., Gerhards, J., Lengfeld, H., Markandya, A. and Ortiz, R (2008) 'Climate change and social policy', *Journal of European Social Policy*, 18(4): 325-344.

<sup>21</sup> For a powerful account of mutual indifference, see N Geras (1998) *The Contract of Mutual Indifference*, Verso. <http://www.questia.com/library/3039701/the-contract-of-mutual-indifference-political-philosophy>

<sup>22</sup>

[http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/archives/39782?utm\\_content=buffer6047f&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_source=twitter.com&utm\\_campaign=buffer](http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/archives/39782?utm_content=buffer6047f&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer)

<sup>23</sup> [http://s.bsd.net/nefoundation/default/page/file/fe562b1ef767dac0af\\_g0m6iykyd.pdf](http://s.bsd.net/nefoundation/default/page/file/fe562b1ef767dac0af_g0m6iykyd.pdf)

<sup>24</sup> European Social Survey data shows that Nordic countries display higher levels of social trust than other European countries. This data also shows that of the 19 European countries included in the Survey, only the Nordic countries buck the trend of the majority of the population believing that people manage to obtain benefits and services that they're not entitled to. See:

[http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/findings/ESS1\\_5\\_select\\_findings.pdf](http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/findings/ESS1_5_select_findings.pdf).



<sup>25</sup> For an account of challenges associated with limited forms of 'personalisation' see Slay, J. (2013) *Budgets and Beyond*, New Economics Foundation, p.3, <http://www.neweconomics.org/publications/entry/budgets-and-beyond>

<sup>26</sup> Sanderson, B. (2013) 'Money talks: the impact of economic framing on how we act and feel', Common Cause Blog, retrieved at: <http://valuesandframes.org/money-talks-the-impact-of-economic-framing-on-how-we-act-and-feel/>

<sup>27</sup> Taylor-Gooby, P.F. (2013) [The Double Crisis of the Welfare State and What We Can Do About It](#). Palgrave, Basingstoke.

<sup>28</sup> Gouldner, A. (1960), 'The Norm of Reciprocity: a Preliminary Statement', *American Sociological Review* 25(2)

<sup>29</sup> See, for instance: Gregory, J. and Horton, T. (2010) [The Solidarity Society](#) Fabian Society

<sup>30</sup> Wilkinson, R. and Pickett, K. (2009) *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always do Better*, Allen Lane; [Fair Society, Healthy Lives \(The Marmot Review\)](#), 2009

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, Ramsay, A. (2014), 'On Brighton beach: austerity, alienation and the battle for democracy', *Our Kingdom*, retrieved at: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/adam-ramsay/on-brighton-beach-austerity-alienation-and-battle-for-democracy>

<sup>32</sup> See, for instance: Wainwright, H. (2003) *Reclaim the State*, London: Verso; Involve and National Consumer Council (2008) *Deliberative Public Engagement: Nine Principles*, retrieved at: <http://www.involve.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Deliberative-public-engagement-nine-principles.pdf>; and *Seeds for Change* (nd.) *Consensus Decision Making*, retrieved at: <http://www.seedsforchange.org.uk/consensus.pdf>.

<sup>33</sup> For new thinking on public ownership and how this can incorporate participatory democracy and more local control, see Cumbers, A. (2012) *Reclaiming Public Ownership*, London: Zed Books

<sup>34</sup> Putnam, R.D. (2000) ***Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community***, New York: Simon & Schuster.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, [http://s.bsd.net/nefoundation/default/page/file/ca0975b7cd88125c3e\\_ywm6bp3l1.pdf](http://s.bsd.net/nefoundation/default/page/file/ca0975b7cd88125c3e_ywm6bp3l1.pdf)  
[http://s.bsd.net/nefoundation/default/page/file/94484874cc98c5a5c7\\_r1m62yltf.pdf](http://s.bsd.net/nefoundation/default/page/file/94484874cc98c5a5c7_r1m62yltf.pdf)  
[http://s.bsd.net/nefoundation/default/page/file/8678a9d67320a294b4\\_38m6ivak1.pdf](http://s.bsd.net/nefoundation/default/page/file/8678a9d67320a294b4_38m6ivak1.pdf)

<sup>36</sup> Gregory, J. and Horton, T. (2010) [The Solidarity Society](#). Fabian Society

<sup>37</sup> Newman J. and Clarke J. (Spring 2014) '[States of Imagination](#)' in *Soundings*.

<sup>38</sup> European Social Survey, 2012, retrieved at: <http://nesstar.ess.nsd.uib.no/wbview/>

<sup>39</sup> European Social Survey, 2012, retrieved at: <http://nesstar.ess.nsd.uib.no/webview/>

<sup>40</sup> YouGov (2013), retrieved at:

[http://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus\\_uploads/document/3zjo47cyde/YG-Archive-030413-GB-economic-problems-crossbreak.pdf](http://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus_uploads/document/3zjo47cyde/YG-Archive-030413-GB-economic-problems-crossbreak.pdf)

<sup>41</sup> NatCen (2013) *British Social Attitudes Survey*, retrieved at: <http://www.bsa-30.natcen.ac.uk/downloads.aspx>

<sup>42</sup> NatCen (2013) *British Social Attitudes Survey*, retrieved at: <http://www.bsa-30.natcen.ac.uk/downloads.aspx>

<sup>43</sup> NatCen (2013) *British Social Attitudes Survey*, retrieved at: <http://www.bsa-30.natcen.ac.uk/downloads.aspx>

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.neweconomics.org/publications/entry/framing-the-economy-the-austerity-story>

<sup>45</sup> [http://www.unece.org/oes/nutshell/2004-2005/focus\\_sustainable\\_development.html](http://www.unece.org/oes/nutshell/2004-2005/focus_sustainable_development.html)

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.theccc.org.uk/tackling-climate-change/the-legal-landscape/global-action-on-climate-change/>

<sup>47</sup> Some of these are described in WHO (2013) *Review of social determinants and the health divide in the WHO European Region: final report*. [UCL Institute for Health Equity](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/ehc/research/whoeuropeanregion), p.119-22.

<sup>48</sup> Wilde, L. (2013) *Global Solidarity*, Edinburgh University Press, p. 142-190.

<sup>49</sup> Waterman, P. (1998), *Globalisation, Social Movements and the New Internationalists*, Continuum, p. 236

<sup>50</sup> Wilde, L. (2013) *op cit*.

<sup>51</sup> [http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171766\\_233738.pdf](http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171766_233738.pdf)

<sup>52</sup> Recommendation CM/Rec (2014)1 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the Council of Europe Charter on shared social responsibilities (adopted 22 January 2014 at the 1189<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Ministers' Deputies).

<sup>53</sup>

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/69412/pb10589-securing-the-future-050307.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/69412/pb10589-securing-the-future-050307.pdf)

<sup>54</sup> Jeff Cuthbert, AM, Minister for Communities and Tackling Poverty (2013) *Written Statement - Future Generations Bill - Better Choices for a Better Future*. Retrieved at: <http://wales.gov.uk/about/cabinet/cabinetstatements/2013/futuregenerationsbill/?lang=en>

<sup>55</sup>

[http://www.sduhealth.org.uk/documents/publications/2014%20strategy%20and%20modules/NewFolder/Strategy\\_FINAL\\_Jan2014.pdf](http://www.sduhealth.org.uk/documents/publications/2014%20strategy%20and%20modules/NewFolder/Strategy_FINAL_Jan2014.pdf)