



Globalization and Social Policy: Theoretical Reflections and Policy Impacts

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Abstract

Globalization has definitely become one of the most important phenomenon in social world. It entails the reshaping of social space and time, the manner in which the global becomes both bigger and smaller. Many claim that globalization is unavoidable; its effects penetrate the way we live, locally and globally. If it is true, it is a social policy field's concern as social policy is essentially the study of social relations for human wellbeing and the system that wellbeing located. The article explores the relationship between globalization and social policy, focused more on European context. It also provides some general ideas and debates about globalization and its impacts on the state and policy. To some extent, by exploring these issues, it will make us realize how the globalized world works and shapes our lives (or vice versa).

Keywords: Globalization/ Social Policy/ Cross-National Flows/ The State/ Europeanization

Introduction

Becoming 'the leitmotif of our age' (Held and McGrew, 2000, p.1), globalization represents a contemporary process through which different parts of the world become increasingly interconnected and interdependent, and information and communication technologies (ICTs) are the crucial elements that have connected the world together (Fitzpatrick, 2007).

The recent improved flows of information have allowed 'action at a distance' (Giddens, 1994, p.4), and built a 'global village', where *"everything happens to everyone at the same time: everyone knows about, and therefore participate in, everything that is happening the minute it happens"* (Carpenter and McLuhan, 1960, p.xi). Hence, globalization entails the reshaping of social space and time (Giddens, 1991; Harvey, 1989): the manner in which the global becomes

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both bigger and smaller. We can retrieve more of whatever it is and do so more quickly than ever before, no matter how far it is.¹

If globalization has changed everything in social life, as many people claim, we cannot avoid it; globalization has relatively shaped the way we live. How globalizations affect our lives is thus a common question in society. When it comes to something that affects the kinds of life, it automatically goes into the realm of social policy, which involves *“the study of social relations necessary for human wellbeing and the systems by which wellbeing may be promoted or, for that matter, impaired”* (Dean, 2014, p.1). And since *“social policy is about much more than picking over the runes of the past. It is about the challenges of the future and about human wellbeing in a worldwide context”* (Ibid., p.26), it is reasonable to address the relationship between influential globalization phenomenon and social policy because it will make us realize how the globalized world works and shapes our lives (or vice versa).

There are several ways to study what impact globalization has had on the welfare state. One sensible way, for example, is to survey the role of supranational agencies in the making of social policy as well as to consider historicizing and internationalizing context (Yeates, 2007, p.629). Therefore, this paper will mainly deliver three key points; the synopsis idea of globalization, its impacts on social policy in relevant dimensions, and the ways which social policy functions and is made in a globalized world. All arguments here specifically consider European context.

Globalization, Its Definitions and Debates: A Synopsis

Globalization is a complex, slippery and controversial term. For example, some academics happily use the term globalization interchangeable with other terms such as internationalization (Moran and Wood, 1996) while others employs globalization as an explicitly intense form of internationalization (Hirst and Thompson, 1999). However, there is remarkable different between the words ‘international’ and ‘global’, as Scholte (2005) describes, international exchanges can

¹ To be more specific, take the case of 9/11 for example, after the collapse of the World Trade Center, there can be no doubt that it was the existence of this chain of global interconnections, especially contemporary media networks, that made possible the instant broadcast of Bin Laden’s speech to a worldwide audience (Steger, 2009, p.2), the event occurred as people were watching them (Fitzpatrick, 2007, p.687). This case also represents the tensions between localism and globalism have reached unprecedented levels precisely because the links connecting them have been growing faster than at any time in history (see Steger, 2009, p.7).



happen just between country units, whereas global transactions occur within a planetary one (p.65). Pennycook (1994) also maintains that globalization incontrovertibly guides to an increasing peripheralization of the developing world, its institutions and its languages, which is not necessarily an attribute of internationalization. Besides, it is sensible to note that not only internationalization is not identical to globalization, but transnationalization is also distinctive (Turner 2010, p.9).

The term is mainly used to refer to a range of economic, political, cultural, social and technological processes claimed to have collectively created a network of interconnectedness and inter-dependencies that routinely transcends national boundaries, which is professed to involve intensive and extensive connections that are occurring at increasing speed (Yeates, 2001, 2007). Occasionally, globalization is also variously depicted as a condition, a system, a force, an age, a policy, marketing strategy, a predicament, and an ideology. Thus, globalization can be seen as “*the buzzword of our time*” (Heywood, 2011, p.9), dominating political, popular and academic discourse (Yeates, 2007, p.628).

The word ‘globalization’ was not a popular term until the 1990s, especially after the end of the Cold War.² Globalization now is cited in various contexts and employed in diverse directions; and because of its hard-to-measure attributes and impacts, it, unfortunately, is applied in disorganized ways and is exaggerated by academics and practitioners. One crucial reason of this come from the way globalization is used. Wilding (1997) offers that this term can simultaneously be both *descriptive*, representing existing processes and phenomena, and *prescriptive*, to endorse how the world should be developed. Globalization partly entails politics of language “*used to serve rhetorical objectives*” and may be “*advocated or rejected merely to justify a particular strategy*” (Ruigrok and van Tulder, 1995, p.139). Undoubtedly, globalization has been in question and sometimes is used in selfish ways (see Yestes, 2007; Fitzpatrick, 2007; Steger, 2009).

Although definition of globalization is contested, there are some agreements on the notion of globalization. Generally, globalization depicts the appearance of a complicated network of interconnectedness, which progressively formed our lives; we are shaped by events that occur, and decisions that are made, at a great distance from us (Heywood, 2011, p.9)

² For example, in German the amount of times this term appears in a major German newspaper, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, has considerably risen from 34 in 1993 to 1,136 in 2001 (German Bundestag, 2002).



To put it in the simplest way, agreement (or disagreement) about this term could be thought of in two perspectives: a ‘strong’ and a ‘weak’ globalization thesis (see Yeates, 2001).

The strong side asserts that global capitalism has been liberated from political control, the nation-state and its power to follow social policies are now matter of the old days, and “*economic liberalism now reigns supreme*” (Dean, 2014, p.27). From this point, globally social, cultural, and political changes are unavoidable. When the world becomes effectively smaller, Meyer (2007) claims that systems of governance and processes of management inclined to comply with increasingly triumph of capitalism assumptions (see also Fukuyama, 1992). In cultural sense, this thesis sees that ‘McDonaldization’ (Ritzer, 2004) or ‘Disneyfication’ (Fevre, 2000) has ideologically organized people across the globe in everyday life according to globalized shared norms.

On the other side, the weak one argues that the aforementioned claims are quite overstated. This thesis admits that the contemporary world has faced the rapid cross-national flows which connected with socio-economic changes. Also, it acknowledges the risk of a ‘race to the bottom’ thesis, generally competitively deregulate constraints of business environment for attracting internal investment, among countries (Dean, 2014, p.27).

The former thesis has strong faith in the power of globalization, particularly in an economic sense. The interesting point lies in the latter thesis believing in the value of international organizations and process of global governance. It seems that “*capitalism still needs social policy interventions since even all-powerful transnational corporations need local stability in order to function on the ground*” (Dean, 2014, p.27). In this regard, national competitiveness and economies can gain benefits, particularly in economic sense, from social policies (Deacon, 2007; Gough, 2000). In reality, these two theses engage a number of supporters and critics.

Another compelling categorization about globalization divides variety of opinions into four groups: sponsors, doubters, sceptics, and resisters (see Fitzpatrick, 2007). In relation to social policy, these four camps opine different views about globalization.

For sponsors who wholeheartedly welcome globalization, and have confidence in the retrenchment of nation-state (see Ohmae, 1995; Bhagwati, 2004), welfare state should reform itself, by advocating either its entire dismantling or its substitute by several safety-nets that the state can provide for the very poor. With this, for example, citizens need to purchase private



forms of insurance and welfare in the free market (Bartholomew, 2004). Fitzpatrick (2007) describes that nations refused to go down this way will loss attractive to investors, which will potentially lead to economic collapse that will eventually destroy the welfare state. This camp normally speaks about the way in which countries attempt to underbid each other by proposing ever-lower wages and rates of taxation, and ever-more residual types of state welfare (p.690). It seems from this view that social institutions and practices should be shaped to meet the needs of global free market, accord with discourse of Bretton Woods institutions (IMF, WB, and WTO).

For doubters, because they refuse that globalization is a suitable description of what is happening in the world nowadays and disagree that globalization in our time is unique as something already happened in the past, they surmise that there is no easy association between welfare states and economic prosperity (Pierson, 2001). This camp argues that the sponsor camp's arguments such as the ever-flourishing of few state welfare services are overstated. The belief that *"a country can deregulate and then, directly, experience higher productivity and affluence was just too simplistic"* (Fitzpatrick, 2007, p.690). Accordingly, globalization is ideologically constructed by the sponsors for convincing their implicitly desire, an unequal, low-taxation society (Ibid.).

Then, sceptics regards our time as an age of globalization but with more pessimistic eye about its implications for social policy than the sponsors (see Bonoli et al., 2000; Taylor-Gooby, 2001). For them, welfare states have already attained their limits; and the way to secure them is to think within the rule of game: favouring competition over solidarity, inclusion over equality (Fitzpatrick, 2007, p.691).

Last but not least, resistors account globalization as an absolute myth advocated by those who have most to gain from the global adoption of rampant capitalism (Bourdieu, 1999). For this camp, globalization is reduced to just the final phase in the capitalist backlash against the postwar agreement, *"when the interests of capital and labour balanced each other out in the context of a mixed economy and a welfare state"* (Fitzpatrick, 2007, p.689). They thus announce that the debate about globalization is *"a diversion from some deeper conflicts"*, reflect *"a capitulation to the conservative, neoliberal agenda"* (Ibid., p.691).



Due to the fact that globalization involves a diverse amount of dimensions,³ it has been interpreted in three major ways: economic, cultural, and political (see Yeates, 2007; Heywood, 2011). Reducing globalization to a single theme as economic globalization or, more specially, ‘neoliberal globalization’ is dangerous and inappropriate.

Neoliberal globalization is a form, but very dominant, of globalization that has shaped by mechanism of neoliberal agendas within Bretton Woods institutions (see Chomsky, 2000; Yeates, 2007), which Margaret Thatcher of the UK, for instance, pursued and used it to radically reform social welfare and public sector in domestic and foreign arenas throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Heywood (2011) even claims that the era of ‘triumph of markets over the state’ (p.11) is coming. This globalization, however, has not gone uncontested as the protest of anti-globalization movements emerged around the world (see Yeates, 2001, 2007; Engler, 2007; Della Porta, 2006).

Nonetheless, among the diverse perspectives, globalization happens to swamp our collective capacity to mould our personal and social destinies; everyone, eventually, would agree that globalization are “*forces and processes that are said to have collectively produced the characteristic conditions of contemporary life*” (Yeates, 2007, p.629).

Globalization and Approaches to the Study of Social Policy

Undoubtedly, national social policies are increasingly framed by globalization. There has been the intense discussion about impacts and significances of globalization. The fundamental question “*is globalization actually happening and causing impacts?*” frequently pop up in the debate.⁴ Arguments on social development have gained important and considerably addressed by supranational and international institutions, implying the need for global or international perspective to study social policy.

³ Noteworthy, Heywood (2011) mentions that globalization “is not so much an ‘it’ as a ‘them’: it is not a single process but a complex of processes, sometimes overlapping and interlocking but also, at times, contradictory and oppositional ones” (p.9).

⁴ Actually, academic and relevant communities appeared to have common consent that globalization was ‘changing everything’, by the mid of 1990s, but hold dissimilarity in detail (see Heywood, 2011). Global community accepts that globalization is an intricate phenomenon that has had far-reaching impacts, and without question, it acquires many emotive connotations and become a contested topic in current affairs. On the one hand, globalization is depicted as an irresistible and mildly power for providing economic prosperity to people all around the world; on the other hand, it is condemned as an origin of all contemporary ills (ILO, 2004, p.24).



To study globalization vis-a-vis social policy is rather challenging for many reasons. As an academic subject, social policy studies has been traditionally focused on national affairs and has only considered the global and international context of social policy development since the mid of 1990s (Yeates, 2001, p.1). It is a quite new subject and needs more intellectual development although there are a lot of interesting works contributed to this field.⁵

Moreover, Dodds (2013) argues that it is a highly complicated task to draw the impact of cross-national pressures on policy-making (p.269), because, in general, these pressures deploy influence in 2 ways: by altering the structural incentives for policy-makers, and by advocating or proscribing particular courses of action (Jakobsen, 2010, p.895). Besides, Yeates (2007) identifies that there are problems when it comes to study the effects of globalization toward social policy and welfare states. Few researches are interested in the comprehensive view of level of analysis, most of them normally focusing on particular sector or area (Ibid., p.639). Globalization is frequently regarded as “*a monolithic phenomenon, reducible to its economy dimensions*” (Ibid., 642) despite the fact that there are many other dimensions of globalization. Another trouble is a vague distinction between causation and association which received little attention; the effects of globalization, which are technically hard to address, are often deficiently untangled from the consequences of other social, political, and demographic courses (Ibid). Carroll (2003) also argues that much of the debate is still often speculative rather than evidence-based, make it hard to grasp the reality of what is happening.

It is sometimes so difficult to separately identify domestic from cross-national forces. For example, it is hard to say what impact globalization has on social policy because of the problems about various definitions of globalization and the perception of people towards existence and results of globalization. However, several captivating approaches to look into impacts of it on welfare state and social policy were established (see Yeates, 2007); these approaches are the decline of welfare states due to the neoliberal policies (see Beck, 2000; Mishra, 1999); the resilience of welfare states (see Esping-Andersen, 1996; Rhodes, 1996); globalization as

⁵ As a matter of fact, multitude of interesting literature about globalization and its impacts on social policy has been published over decades (see Mishra, 1999; Hay, 2005; Yeates, 2001, 2007; Cerny, 1997; Wilding, 1997; Stryker, 1998). Most of them emphasize what economic globalization places on welfare states, and, unfortunately, many of them are criticized for too prescriptive with few concrete evidences.



peripheral to welfare change (see Pierson, 1998); and the welfare states which generate globalization and limit its future development (Rieger and Leibfried, 2003).

There is disagreement on how globalization has impacted social policy and welfare state. Nevertheless, as Held et al. (1999) defined globalization as the widening, intensifying, speeding up, and growing impact of world-wide interconnectedness, it is possible to conclude that objection of any impact of globalization on social policy is unreasonable. ‘Globalization of social policy’ (Deacon, 1997) therefore gains interested over time as the better way to study social policy today.

Globalization, Its Social Impacts and the Development of Social Policy

Optimistically, globalization should aid all countries and improve the welfare of people, raising the rate of economic growth in poor countries and reduce world poverty, decreasing inequalities or undermine socio-economic security within countries. However, in reality even in the relatively successful countries in Europe, important social costs are involved such as transitional adjustment costs (ILO, 2004, p.35). In the global scale, there is an uneven growth across countries, among both developed and less developed nations. Most less developed states have suffered negative growth; they are encountering the increased income gap between the richest and poorest countries. As a result, globalization has shaped a new global socio-economic geography (Ibid., p.36). Furthermore, throughout Europe, migration and increased mobility, for example, have been crucial problems. More intensified flows of people as a consequence of globalization raises an issue of social cohesion which is regarded as a heart of the European social system (see Rodrik, 1997; Dodds, 2013).

On an individual level, people perceptions towards effects of globalization are heavily based on who they are, where they live and what they possess. Steger (2009) asserts that because globalization refers to a gigantic ‘*set of social processes*’ that appear to transform our present social condition of weakening nationality into one of globality, it is thus ‘an uneven process’, people being in varied corners of the earth receive effects very differently by this change of social structures and cultural zones (p.9, 11). In broader perspective, Yeates (2001) mentions that not all states have historically attained the identical degrees of sovereignty, autonomy or regulatory capacities, created the same strengths of civil society, or displayed the similar kinds of welfare



provisions. Consequently, the ways in which they undergo globalization, and their responses to it, can be presumed to differ rather significantly (p.3). To fairly comprehend what happened in the world, emphasizing international aspects of impacts is remarkably important, it helps us “*avoid the trap of generalizing about the effects of globalization based on experiences of some of the advanced industrialized countries, which contain only a minority of the world’s population*” (Yeates, 2007, p.629).

Not all globalization’s impacts involve contents of social policy and the way states react, but it also notifies us to the broader context of social policy, including how social policies have been created and developed across the globe.

The development of social policies absolutely refer to the global circumstances of particular nations or their relationship to the others, or to events somewhere else in the world.⁶ Studying globalization along with concerning the development of social policy is logical and appropriate as social policies are never the outcomes of just domestic forces. For instance, Yeates (2007) argues that given the early phase of welfare state building around 19th and 20th centuries, its driving forces emerged within the world order marked by international trade and migration, transnational corporations, etc. In addition, there were examples of global movement, which function internationally and go beyond Europe, before the appearance of anti-globalization movement (see Yeates, 2007, 2008).

Besides, Yeates (2008) contents that historical colonialism and slavery can regarded as a significant driving force that shaped the development of social policy in countries (p.17). Take the development of British welfare state for instance, it is delicately bound to Britain’s position as a colonial nation. Meanwhile, its colonies unintentionally assisted Britain’s economic infrastructures, established a goal for “*criminal classes and other socially deviant groups and individuals could be exported and formed a labour pool from which Britain drew to staff its welfare services*” (Yeates, 2007, p.636). Alternately, since Britain passed on welfare ideologies and systems, which still exist in previous colonies nations today, and with the particular domestic

⁶ Globalization is indeed not a totally new phenomenon (see Steger, 2009). However, people in ‘globalization studies’, all too often, focused too much on contemporary world and neglect of longer historical trends; this results in an over-emphasis on the ‘newness’ of current circumstances and policy issues (Yeates, 2007, p.629). This led to the lack of international historical concern within the field of social policy.



force absorbed their economic interests to British ones, their histories highly influenced the initiation of their social policies. The British social security system is a case study of this (see Ibid.).

Rivetingly, the Western Europe's golden period of welfare state structuring between 1950s and 1970s, as Milward (1994) addresses, was insured by development aid of the US, the Marshall plan. Another example is the creation of social protection policies in Western European, which were influenced by ILO, the dominant IGO in this field (Kay, 2000). National social policies are therefore the product of a marriage of political, social, cultural, and economic factors “*entangled in a matrix of intersecting multi-level, multi-scalar (local, national, regional, and global) sites and spaces*” (Yeates, 2007, p.637).

Cross-national Flows and Social Policy

Needless to say, flows of capital and trade across the globe, as constitutive of globalization,⁷ have generally rocketed over time, especially in recent years (see OECD, 2010; ILO, 2004; Glyn, 2004). Consequently, the emerging openness of national economies causes possibility for a ‘race to the bottom’ in regulatory and welfare norms.⁸

These flows and the increasing of transnationalization of business, as process of globalization, have decreased regulatory principles and then change the government-corporation relations in terms of power interaction. Business corporations are able to move their base of production to a new place in the world quickly and easily (Dodds, 2013, p.273-274). This is significant to social policy and welfare state because, as a consequence of this process, Ohmae (1995) contends that governments will inevitably end up focusing more on ensuring that they can attract the most profitable and best-performing companies to their activities which may supply employment to the people in the long run, and no longer interested in traditional Western political goal such as the creation and maintenance of a welfare state.

⁷ It is impossible to grasp the overall phenomenon that have been happening in the world, but for the purpose of this paper there are cross-national flows that usually regarded as important ones and related to human activities: flows of capital, trade, people and information; those of capital and trade frequently understood as constitutive of globalization (Dodds, 2013, p.271).

⁸ Moreover, the rising of economic influence of multinational corporations and their actions related to national economies have prompted impacts as well (Waters, 1995). Yeates (2001) notes that the freedom of these kind of business to relocate as the main characteristic of globalization has been referred as ‘strong’ globalization (p.9-10).



As a result, the ‘dilution of regulatory standard’ has happened and, given the freedom of movement of companies across countries, nations will involve in regulatory competition to lower existing standards and keep as well as attract new business to their nations (Dodds, 2013, p.274). However, this ‘race to the bottom’ thesis is conducted based on assumptions and do not accurately reflect the entire reality⁹ (see Drezner, 2001).

Although the ‘race to bottom’ thesis is not perfect, it generates useful considerations. In relation to welfare state, some assert that expanded capital mobility, for example, tends to subvert the tax base which is used to spend for social programs, and lead to a shift away from the taxation of business towards those of labour and consumption (Garrett, 1998). A good example comes from once one country lowers its corporation tax rate, others evaluate doing the same to keep their mobile corporate tax base (Devereux et al., 2003). Additionally, the transnationalization of business has potentially threatened the foundation of social insurance (Rodrik, 1997).

In general, welfare states will go into minimalist mode considered the pressures of international economic competition (Mishra, 1999). And, because of international competition, Dodds (2013) concurs that not only will welfare expenditure be reduced but the nature of welfare provision will also be altered to encourage national competitiveness (p.276). Jessop (2003) gives an interesting comment on this, writing that a ‘new state form’ has been established, the ‘Schumpeterian workfare state’, which emphasize reinforcement “*as far as possible the structural competitiveness of the national economy by intervening on the supply-side; and ... [less prioritizing] social policy to the needs of labour market flexibility and/or to the constraints of international competition*” (p.10). In the same way, Cerny (2007) concludes that the traditional welfare state will transform to a competition state, favour profitability, enterprise, and innovation across the economy over welfare goals.

⁹ The ‘race to the bottom’ thesis, in practice, does not smoothly go without problems. Hirst and Thompson (1999) reasons that the business entities might not be as mobile as is usually presumed because of intangible factors such as culture and network, thereby may be transnational but might not be extraterritorial. Also, when it comes to policy-making in the real world, for politicians, there are a ton of factors that might be important, not only their abilities to maintain and engage business and cross-national flows to their countries (Dodds, 2013, p.278). These other relevant components, contended Yeates (1999), encompass the distinct nature of the welfare states, historical and cultural conventions, political systems, and powerful veto actors that could avert considerable reform (p.380).



In contrast to the ‘race to the bottom’ argument, there is the so-called ‘compensation thesis’ which challenges the opinion that increased cross-national flows will necessarily usher countries to reductions in welfare protections. This argument recommends that they can bring greater demands for social protection (Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003). Trade-reliant European economies, for instance, can be seen that risen competition could correspond with greater efforts at concentration and encompassing welfare programs, facilitating adjustment to rapidly changing external economic situations (Katzenstein, 1985; see also Rieger and Leibfried, 1998). Visser and Hemerijck (1997) found it understandable in the Netherlands as well due to the fact that it can adapt to global competition while conserving an extensive welfare state.

Interestingly, Walter (2010) suggests that welfare spending is not only determined by just a number of simple factors and discovers that, in Switzerland, ‘globalization losers’, those individuals whose labour market position places them at risk from increased economic internationalization, have experienced high levels of job insecurity; and these people consequently are inclined to favour an expansion of the welfare state, which partly reflect in term of vote for Social Democrats (p.421).

Overall, the compensation argument proposes that countries should supplement exposure to trade which likely to cause purposive political action to protect people from increased competition rather than reducing welfare effort (Castles, 1998, p.37). Van Kersbergen and Manow (2008) even proclaim that, considered the early pessimistic projections, it is most astonishing that the welfare state has ‘basically survived’ (p.538).

In effect, it is totally unreasonable to support either only the ‘race to the bottom’ thesis or the ‘compensation’ thesis; the interaction between cross-national flows and social policy tend to be greatly subtle and is not linear (Dodds, 2013, p.278). For example, at the time of the beginning of French private pension funds were illustrated as essential for increasing the share of domestic investment in French business, opposition to globalization, as Palier (2007) argues, seemingly stimulated some politicians and trade unions to agree what seems to be a liberalizing measure in France in the late 1990s.

Moreover, it is hard to point out the actual and immediate interaction between financial crisis and welfare provision. Dodds (2013) reminds that during the crisis, capital movements were highly unpredictable, and pressures on governments to cut expenditure are so heavy. Although the



‘compensation’ thesis might gave the explanation, supposed there is a sufficient time to assess its impact in social welfare, “*it is unclear whether political support for welfare provision will continue if the crisis continues*” (p.278). Vis et al. (2011) also professes that this thesis is far less predictive within liberal market economies likes the United Kingdom, especially when it is about income-maintenance schemes (p.340-343).

However, to understand how welfare state is being affected by globalization, the features of the welfare state should be included to consider. This explanation can answer why social policies have been affected differently as they employ the different types of welfare ‘regimes’ (see Esping-Andersen, 1990; Gough and Wood, 2004), which make them have distinct social foundation. Given Esping-Andersen’s theory (1990), for example, liberal welfare regimes tend to prefer market-led forms, which easily connect to the dominance discourse of globalization, while social democratic clusters such as Sweden and Denmark, where states invest the highest money in social programs, may resist the neoliberal globalization better and, to some extent, maintain welfare provisions. Moreover, regimes theory might help to see how some nations possibly be ‘path dependent’ and unable to change (Dean, 2014, p.33), because local contexts and legacies is still matter and there can be the case that global stuff has integrate with the local one as well (Fitzpatrick, 2007, p.691). In this respect, globalization could be also understood as the interpretation of the local and the global, as local happenings often have global effects and global ones customarily have local consequences (Robertson, 1992). Contrasted with liberal market economies (UK) where globalization has assumed of bringing retrenchment, Swank (2002), for instance, holds that coordinated market economies (Denmark, Finland, Switzerland, etc.) likely to resist competitive forces better which might humbly generate social protection.

Other than aforementioned concerns, regional pressures and characteristics are important as well, because they perhaps interface with those of global and then mediate their impact on welfare programs of different countries (Dodds, 2013, p.279). This reasons why many Asian nations spent greater amount of money because of economic shocks, compared to declines in social spending in Latin American nations (Carnes and Mares, 2007, p.872).

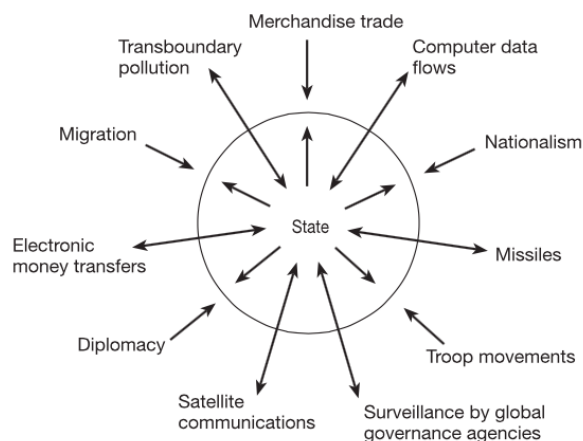


A Mode of State Policy-making and Power Relationship

No development has challenged the traditional state-centric model more radically than the appearance of globalization (Heywood, 2011, p.9). The idea of a ‘borderless world’, which urges that national borders and states are no longer relevant in a global system and new international actors become more important, came into the stage. Besides, Yeates (1999) strongly states that *“social policy making, implementation and provision takes place in a context in which states are no longer the exclusive subject of international politics, the sole mediators of domestic politics, or even the principle representative of their populations”* (p.381). Generally, in globalized period, power relationships are considerably changed. There was consent on the need for a renewed role for the state, built on the rule of law and democratic institutions, and working in partnership with other social actors. States are only one level in an intricate structure of overlapping and often challenging units of governance (Hirst and Thompson, 1999). In other word, government has been being ‘moving up’ in governance language (Pierre and Peters, 2000).

Overall, state is affected by several factors such as migration problems, cross-national transfers and flows, wars, global communications, etc. (Scholte, 2001; see figure 1). Yeates (2007) reasons that the states is impinged upon by regional formations like the European Union (EU), lost control power over economy by Transnational Corporations (TNCs), and Multilateral economic institutions (MEIs), loosen other regulatory works to supranational organizations such as the WTO and international trade agreements, and faces strains from NGOs, domestically and internationally (p.630).

Figure 1: The state in a globalized world



Source: Scholte (2001, 22).



However, states, in effect, have not been “*idle, passive, powerless actors in these processes*” (Yeates, 2007, p.631). Conceptions of the ‘end of sovereignty’ and the ‘twilight of the nation-state’ can be said to feature amongst the myths of globalization, sometimes called ‘globalony’ (Heywood, 2013, p.11). Even among states that have actively taken pro-globalization policies, they often are a crucial creator and mediator of globalization (Cerny, 1997; Evans et al., 1985; Palan et al., 1996; Weiss 1998; 2003).

Indeed, states have changed their roles and significances, rather than become irrelevant. Some states have altered to be more ‘entrepreneurial’, developing strategies for enhancing their competitiveness in the global economy. Some, especially in the EU, are playing with wider aspects of sovereignty, more willing to pool it by working in and through international organizations.¹⁰ Others use more ideological apparatuses or soft power in global scale. The state, in fact, still matters in its own way.

Alcock and May (2014) deduce that no government, even the British, can function independently of such global forces; social policies in Britain, for example, are thus “*no longer exclusively British - if indeed they ever really were*” (p.11). Major decisions on economic and social development are taken on an international scale by bodies like the EU for European nations, which have a direct impact upon policy development in its member countries.

Additionally, being afraid of uncertain future calls for the need of better governance at all levels. For instance, common perspectives including European people are differentiated on if globalization would continue or be hindered by rising nationalism (ILO, 2004, p.20). Consequently, there has been a necessity for international institutions to help guide the process. These organizations contains the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations, the

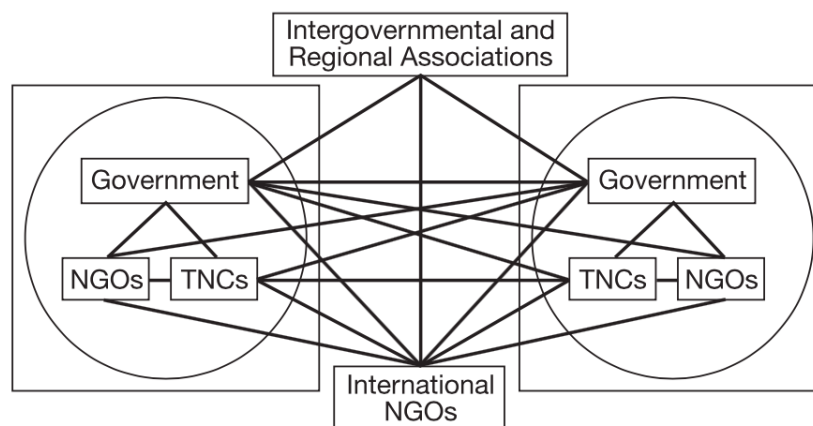
¹⁰ By ‘pooling’ sovereignty, Heywood (2013) describes that, “member states transfer certain powers from national governments to EU institutions, thereby gaining access to a larger and more meaningful form of sovereignty”, which “is not a zero-sum game: the pooled sovereignty of the EU is at least potentially greater than the combined national sovereignties that compose it, because, in this case, a regional body is able to exert greater influence in a globalized world than the member states could if each acted individually” (p.118).



World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Labour Office (ILO) and other specialized units as well as business and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).¹¹

Essentially, globalization has shaped the way the world functions dramatically, lead to the new global governance with more diverse interactive actors (Steger, 2009; see figure 2). It has changed the geography of power system around the globe.

Figure 2: Emerging global governance



Source: Steger (2009, 69)

Furthermore, given the increased availability of information, greater access to it unquestionably impacts the way policy is made. The emerging of popularity of policy transfer from one jurisdiction to another (see Evans, 2004; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000) is concrete evidence of this claim. Policy learning amongst policy-makers becomes more reasonable in a globalized world, where few problems happen in one country alone, as a means to do better social programs by learning good from those that successful of others and adapt them to our territories in order to overcome ‘wicked context’ problems¹² (Rose, 2005, p.10).

¹¹ Unluckily, their actions, in particular IMF, causes social damages in some area, especially in developing countries (see Bird and Rowlands, 2001; Dicks-Mireaux et al., 2000; Hutchison, 2001). Their effectiveness thus still be controversial issue in less developed countries.

¹² The problems countries face is more or less contain common points, as Rose (2005) contends, while different policies might have different histories, this does not mean they are sui generis and cannot be applied elsewhere (p.18). Moreover, the need for policies to be transferred is quite obvious in themselves due to the fact that contemporary problems span jurisdictions, namely ‘intermestic’, combining both international and domestic influences (Ibid., p.4) and ask a coordinated way of solving. It is essentially one way to improve policy development in this era.



The flows of information also affects attitudes of citizens towards governments in terms of what is and is not successfully reachable by the governors (Dodds, 2013, p.283). Democratization and economic liberalization movements around the world, in particular some European countries, accompany with the high flexibility of individual mobility and extensive media plurality are strong instances. Glyn (2004) shows that the information about money spending on health conceivably pressures the New Labour government in the UK to raise expenditure up to the European standard (p.11). Globalization allows people to comparatively look for other countries' standard of living and to ask for policy alternations (Dodds, 2013, p.284).

Europeanization, the European Union and Social Policy

It is possible to contend that 'Europeanization' is one of the most important and popular topic represented the imposition of particular policy models from outside on different countries.¹³ Nevertheless, the exact contribution of cross-national forces to policy reform could be inconvenient to cite. This is partially because globalization and Europeanization not only relate to changes in rhetoric or ideology, but also in policies themselves (Dodds, 2013, p.269).

Currie (1998), for instance, suggests that globalization as a concept merges a market ideology with corresponding material set of practices drawn from the world of business, comprising managerialism, accountability, and privatization (p.1,5). This shows the complexity of idea of globalization that combines other ideologies: seeing globalization as an umbrella conception. In contrast, globalization can be seen as a conceptual subset as well. Rodrik (1997) states that globalization is part of a broader trend, specifically the so-called marketization, which associates with practices such as receding government, deregulation and the shrinking the state and social obligations (p.85). In this sense, fairly speaking, it is, practically and theoretically, hard to separate Europeanization from globalization (Buller and Gamble, 2002; Hennis, 2001). As a result, the EU is only one, but very critical, example of a transnational governing organization (Dodds, 2013).

¹³ There are many works attempt to make explicit the limitations the EU imposes on policy design of member states as well as to compare EU member nations with non-EU ones in order to make sense of the EU's relative influence on policy change, contrasted with other cross-national pressures (see Knill and Lehmkuhl, 2002; Verdier and Breen, 2001; Schneider and Häge, 2008).



The meaning of Europeanization has been contested. It can represent many things: only the creation of EU-level institutions and networks (Risse et al., 2001), the impact of the EU on member nations (Knill and Lehmkuhl, 2002), or; otherwise, both to member countries' implication in policy-making at the EU-level and to the imposing of EU policies on them (Bulmer and Burch, 2000). Notably, the latter one gives the fact that Europeanization is interactive phenomenon, namely EU institutions both reflect and form member preferences while coercively suggest particular policy ways upon them. Europeanization, hence, symbolizes Janus-faced, same as globalization: *"it impacts upon member states' policy-making and the power and opportunities held by different policy actors, at the same time as member states shape it in multifarious ways"* (Dodds, 2013, p.270).

Such international cooperation on social policies *"long predate the recent concern with globalization"* (Yeates, 2007, p.644), which traced back to 1860s. What globalization did is increasing the number and diversity of the organizations and made them more sophisticated, resulting in directly and indirectly influence the nature of social provision made in national contexts. In turn, the international institutions as conduits for globalization can push globalization as well.

How these organizations impact social policies depends on various factors such as the clearness and directness of multilateral rules (Schmidt, 2002), the level of difficulty of consent on common policies, which redistributive type proves more complex to deal cross-nationally (Dodds, 2013, p.284), and the character of domestic context.

Steger (2009) claims that globalization is *"most visible in the rise of supraterritorial institutions and associations held together by common norms and interests"* (p.66). For instance, there were attempts to integrate regional economies in Europe in 1950 and then several decades after, many European states have created a close community with political institutions that build common public policies and design binding security arrangements called the EU. This institution is the result of effort to build a social model that could be replicated elsewhere to some extent, in order to response to the pressures of globalization (ILO, 2004, p.20)

The EU is the most integrated international governing organization in the world regarding social policy issues, emerged from the reconstruction of Western Europe after the World War II for its member sake. Since its institutionalized in the 1950s, the EU has expanded not only in



scale but also influence, particularly as Britain participated in 1973, has moulded the way economic and social policies have developed.

As the EU is comprised of varied welfare regimes, there are many dimensions to this diversity. Each countries emphasize different social issues, which sometimes led to conflicts over the scope of EU operation. Efforts to administrate employment rights under the title of health and safety measures, for example, have caused opposition from some nations, especially the UK (Alcock and May, 2014, p.90). That is partially why the EU has altered the methods of policy-making over time¹⁴ (see Buounanno and Nugent, 2012). Also, problems still appear in broader development of EU policy-making. Harmonization of welfare provision within a single European model, foe example, is the original ends once it was found for perhaps the interest of policy transfer. When time pass, this hope becomes less visible because of EU's expansion and more diversity. Moreover, as Britain and Ireland turned to be more liberal or residual system and Eastern European nations still show limited and underdeveloped system, the expectation to be corporatist, labour-market and family-based protections seemed to be sabotaged (Alcock and May, 2014, p.90).

Haas (1958) argues that there would be functional spill-over, as integration in one arena would make it more rational in another, which prioritize the influence of the EU on policy-making over than between those of member states. In effect, decision-making in European countries will become 'a self-fulfilling process' whereas political actors will increasingly look to the EU, rather than to domestic institutions, to resolve policy problems¹⁵ (Dodds, 2013, p.285).

Impacts made by the EU could be divided into two types: upwards (positive integration) and downwards (negative integration). Tinbergen (1954) described the positive integration as creating new policy measures, which include regulations and spending to advocate common economic development, and the negative one as removing barriers to trade. Some contend that the constitutional design of the EU seems better go along with negative integration (Leibfried, 1991: Scharpf, 1999).

¹⁴ Generally, the EU manages like 'a club' within which members must agree to share in policy-making and abide by the regulations conducted (Alcock and May, 2014, p.88). Wallace and Wallace (2000) even illustrates EU's policy process as 'moving pendulum' between the 'magnetic field of the domestic arena and the magnetic field of the transnational arena' (p.38).

¹⁵ It is so very interesting for policy transfer studies as this argument move beyond common phenomena of policy transfer between nations but emphasize the transfer from the supranational institutions.



On the other hand, it can promote positive integration too, at least in sense of the shifting upwards of regulatory standards, as nations with high level of regulation have an incentive to inflict similar qualities on their competitors in order to meet the same costs of regulation and then avoid gaining a competitive advantages from laxer standards (Dodds, 2013, p.291; see also Holzinger et al., 2011). The idea of social dumping, suggested that the disadvantage will move to other countries where they can make use of more generous social security, illustrates the upward harmonization of welfare provision as levelling the playing field for trade (Dodds, 2013, p.291). Structural Funds of the EU, for example, is said to conduct a redistributive social policy aims to upward harmonization of economic activity and employment chances (Deacon, 1997). Multinational regulatory apparatus tend to indirectly support welfare as well (see Hartlapp and Rauh, 2011).

Domestic factors, in a certain degree, are also critical for making the EU impose policies on member nations easier. Schmidt (2002) asserts that *“the European policies have tend to follow national policy changes as much as lead them, with national policies having shaped those of the EU as often as EU policies have shaped those of its member states”* (p.894-895). There is a need for national supports for EU’s policies to be translated into domestic policy change (Graziano, 2011, p.600).

Overall, EU system of doing policies is interactive, as a process of both ‘downloading’ from the EU and of ‘uploading’ from countries at an international level (see Bulmer and Burch, 2000). Dodds (2013) speculates that *“involvement in multinational decision-making can provide domestic policy-makers with opportunities, as well as constraining them”* (p.292). Nevertheless, the greater interrogation of social policy across the EU’s member nations is seemingly inevitable, and for some, a desirable future.

Conclusion

Globalization is a complex set of processes which world-widely affects social, political, and economical practices of people. Its impacts can be positive or negative depending on many variations. Globalization has not certainly wounded the role of the state, but has changed the scale at which policy is delivered (Jessop, 2000), altering the matter of policy-making, but not automatically transforming power relationships. Cross-national flows have occasionally been



illustrated as guiding to deregulation in regulatory and welfare principles, but the strong evidence for this is still in question. In Europe, transnational governing institutions like the EU play an important role in social policy areas, functions in both an intergovernmental, collecting and advocating the interests of the members, and a supranational way, solo operating of the members in at least some policy areas. Therefore, globalization has undeniably posed and still keeps raising challenges on welfare states.

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