Introduction: trajectories and frictions of European social policy

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As the European Union (EU) marks its sixtieth anniversary, coming to terms with continuous economic challenges post-2008 and confronted with the first member state to leave after the UK referendum, this *Handbook* takes stock, tracing, reflecting and commenting upon the unique historical trajectories of EU integration as well as its relationship with European social policy.

A crucial element of this trajectory is the emergence and development of the EU as a unique and experimental supranational project, which has witnessed an unprecedented expansion both geographically as well as institutionally during the course of its 60-year long history. The Treaty of Rome signed in 1957 by Belgium, France, Italy, West Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands has developed into a European Union of no less than 28 countries, with a vast institutional and administrative capacity at the 'centre' managing substantial disparities in terms of economic and social development. Both the geographical and institutional expansions have led to the emergence of a vast body of novel and not-so-novel policy frameworks, new patterns of economic, social and political relations and practices and unprecedented levels of complexity in terms of policy-making, implementations, resource negotiations and allocations. While we have a good range of theoretical and empirical works capturing these dynamics across disciplines such as international relations (IR), politics, economics, it has been long argued that the 'social' has been a rather neglected element of EU integration both in terms of attention from policy-makers but also academic works capturing and theorising the dynamics of supranationalisation of social policy.

The supranationalisation of social policy has brought about a new and increasingly complex multi-tier system of competences, regulations, discursive frames and institutional imprints. Importantly, frictions within this seemingly ever expanding and experiential evolution of the EU, have continued to play a central conceptual tool in understanding EU social policy. As early as 1995, in an edited volume by Leibfried and Pierson, the friction between fragmentation and integration had been highlighted. They foresaw a fragmented system of shared political authority beyond the control of any one actor. For many observers this shared authority has resulted in a loss of overall authority and control, as member states have lost more than the EU has gained (see Falkner 2009). Scharpf (2010) sees two key asymmetries at the core of the EU integration project, first, favouring policy-making as non-political actors and impeding political action at EU level (that is, the asymmetry between judiciary and legislative action), and secondly, the asymmetries between negative and positive integration. Scharpf (2010, p. 223) notes an important shift in social citizenship within this emerging multi-tier system creating a new notion of social citizenship, which does not rest on classic notions of collective self-determination but, rather, is defined and enacted as individual rights of exit from and

entry into, democratically negotiated and collectively financed welfare states. Throughout the book we are tracing the effect and consequences of these multi-tiering processes across a variety of policy sectors, welfare regimes and cross-cutting issues.

The multi-tiering processes, alongside other forces such as globalisation, have also called us to revisit 'welfare regimes' and their variety. Comparative social policy in Europe has long been dominated by Esping-Andersen's typology and its revisions but, as this *Handbook* shows, many open questions remain about differentiation and convergence within and across regime types. Conceptualising the uneven impact of 'austerity', 'social investment' and 'dualisation' is key to examining the supposed coherence of regimes. With the semi-sovereignty of welfare states and regimes, our terminology should come under serious scrutiny in terms of capturing complex changes at the intersection of institutional and social practices.

In this book, however, our notion of 'European' takes us well beyond the EU. The 'European social' denotes issues of both societal changes and claims for changes, as well as the transformation of social citizenship. This book captures key elements of this transformation of the social, such as territoriality, engendering, multiculturalism, socio-ecological changes and public attitudes. We argue that understanding both the multi-tiering as well as the transformation of the social requires an interdisciplinary approach if we are to capture the dynamics of European social policy.

The aim of this *Handbook* is to bring together leading scholars of European social policy to reinvigorate theoretical, conceptual and substantive debates around European welfare states and societies as well as the 'social dimension' of the EU. This collection comes together at a time of substantial economic, social and political turbulence across Europe, changing narratives, ideas and attitudes towards welfare, increasing institutional complexity in the delivery of services, and a 'crisis of legitimacy' for the European project itself compounded by a vote by a small majority of UK citizens to leave the EU. It is against this backdrop that this collection draws together key commentators in European social policy to engage with and further develop theoretical, conceptual and substantive understandings of social policy in post-crisis Europe, as well as to highlight intellectual, political, institutional and societal challenges confronting Europe as we move forward in the twenty-first century.

The *Handbook* is organised around five key themes. Part I brings together leading academic scholars discussing state-of-the-art theoretical approaches to contemporary welfare studies and comparative social policy. It is this part that highlights newly emerging theories such as the ideational turn, cultural political economy approaches to welfare, and feminist theories of political intersectionality, as well as taking stock of welfare regime typologies and of the conceptualisations and potential of the challenges for the social investment model. Part II signals the impetus for understanding European social policy as a multi-scalar subject, which requires us to interrogate the ways in which the national and the supranational co-construct policies across different policy areas. This part offers a comprehensive overview of the EU, including its historical trajectories as well as the political, social and economic obstacles to 'Social Europe'. It goes on to consider the external dimension of EU social policy, as well as the EU's different modes of governance and the implication of this complex multi-tiered governance on forms and practices of social citizenship. Part III revisits the welfare typology debate by offering an in-depth contemporary analysis of the five welfare regimes identified in Europe

over decades of scholarly debate: the liberal, conservative, Nordic, Mediterranean and eastern European varieties. All the chapters in this section share the view that there is a considerable and persistent variation and diversity even within those seemingly singular regime types, and yet, in a post-crisis European landscape, austerity, retrenchment and fiscal constraints are important features for all the varieties. Part IV is centred on different policy areas. Labour markets, pensions, care, education, urban and territorial policies, and climate change are investigated, with their specific policy challenges and patterns of change, attention and contestations. Finally, Part V addresses cross-cutting issues and themes, which intersect and integrate not only across policy areas, but also welfare regimes. This part offers a discussion on multiculturalism and integration; on populism and nationalism as well as on public attitudes, trust and welfare states in Europe.

PART I: PERSPECTIVES ON EUROPEAN WELFARE STATES

In Part I, Daniel Béland and Klaus Petersen's chapter explores the ideational turn and its application to social policy and welfare state studies. This approach is a promising new direction for comparative social policy as it offers an actor-centred approach that moves away from both structuralist and functionalist frameworks. The authors map different types of ideas and the actors carrying them, in order to show how ideas can play a direct role in social policy change, at both the national and the transnational level. They call attention to an analysis that studies the role of ideas, the different forms they can take, the diversity of actors carrying them, and the diffusion and translation processes through which ideas move back and forth between the national and the transnational level. They assert that international organisations are typically more dynamic than national systems and are able to change their social policy concepts and language according to the changing political goals of the organisation. This analysis highlights the uneven scalar landscape of ideational dynamics.

Bob Jessop and Ngai-Ling Sum, in Chapter 2, provide a comprehensive overview of cultural political economy in signifying the cultural turn within the political economy of welfare. The cultural turn represents a break from structuralist approaches and, uniquely, is also an advance on constructivist approaches in so far as they argue for a theoretical approach that is able to synthesise semiotic and structural perspectives. In a nuanced and analytically rigorous approach, they combine Marxism, constructivism, and Foucauldian critical theory in an effort to conceptualise the post-crisis welfare polity and the resilience and metamorphosis of neoliberalism.

In Chapter 3, Martin Schröder engages with theories of welfare capitalism and combines Esping Andersen's welfare typology with the variety of capitalism school and develops what he calls a 'unified typology of capitalisms'. Schröder offers a state-of-the-art analysis of welfare regime classification and types of economic coordination in Europe and argues that while liberal and coordinated economies are still very different, the conservative and social democratic varieties of coordinated capitalism are now increasingly difficult to distinguish and, as such, coordinated and social democratic welfare states have become less different than they used to be. Schröder's chapter shows that typology work in comparative welfare studies is crucial for mapping the shifts and

drifts both within and across welfare regimes and that there is a constant need to revisit and reconsider the ideal types, their key characteristics, as well as their diversity or convergence.

Feminist theory has been at the forefront of developing new, critical approaches to the theorisation of welfare states. Birte Siim and Anette Borchorst, in Chapter 4, consider these perspectives and argue that new concepts, approaches and strategies are needed to understand the contemporary transformation of European welfare. The authors theorise the concept of political intersectionality in an effort to interrogate the gendering of European welfare states and forms of citizenship across a variety of policy domains and social groups. They call for an approach which would allow for a new, more transnational and global agenda for solidarity, justice and equality.

In Chapter 5, Jon Kvist discusses the social investment model, which he argues, is ‘the’ blueprint for welfare reforms across Europe both at national and at supranational level. Kvist argues that social protection in the form of social assistance and social insurance is no longer the only social policy paradigm on offer. The new paradigm of social investment does, he argues, have the potential to reconcile the trade-off between states and markets, and between equality and efficiency. Importantly, he asserts that there will always be a variety of social investment models depending on how narrowly or broadly the scope for interventions is defined, and to what extent the model is able or willing to talk to both old and new social risks.

PART II: INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL POLICY

Part II starts with Mary Daly’s chapter which provides a state-of-the-art overview of both the key features of EU social policy as well as its uneven historical trajectory. Daly argues that the EU has assembled an innovative, and in many respects unique, social policy portfolio. She offers an analytical framework to compare the key elements and drivers of EU social policy in comparison to those of social policy at national level in terms of their similarities and differences in their relationship to market making, redistribution, and citizenship. Daly highlights the multiple definitions and understanding of EU social policy and its regulatory and redistributive features. Daly argues that we need to develop a theoretical framework for EU social policy that recognises its distinctive character and that treats EU social policy as an opportunity to interrogate some of the fundamental elements of social policy in the contemporary period. She argues that the stop-and-start character of EU social policy is not a failure but integral to the evolution of the type of economic and political project that it is.

In Chapter 7, David Bailey also offers a comprehensive overview of ‘Social Europe’ and in particular, the systematic institutional, political and social obstacles to the very notion of social Europe. Bailey catalogues the wide-ranging institutional barriers, political obstacles and the social limits which impedes the expansion, consolidation and embeddedness of social Europe. Departing from Daly’s argument, Bailey argues that the 2008 economic crisis has intensified more market-enhancing measures, and crucially, he argues, in terms of obstacles associated with broader social relations, the continued influence of pressures for commodification and depoliticisation has been asserted. Bailey argues that a critical

realist approach is best suited to capture the multiple dynamics of institutional, political and social obstacles.

Valeria Fargion provides innovative and ground-breaking work about the ‘external dimensions of EU social policy’ in Chapter 8. While the external role of the EU is an ever-growing subject for academics, the external dimension of EU social policy is a new field of inquiry. Fargion focuses on two key policy areas: development and health policies. Fargion takes us through the uneven development of the EU’s approach towards socialising globalisation and the emerging Brussels consensus as compared with the Washington consensus. Highlighting the ongoing gap between rhetoric and practices, Fargion argues that there is ‘a mismatch between what EU institutions say and what they actually do’ (Chapter 8 in this volume, p. 137). She argues that aid fragmentation and lack of concentration continue to characterise European development cooperation policies, thereby undermining EU’s official commitments and its profile as a global social policy actor. Finally, while the external dimension of EU social policy witnessed a meteoric rise during the early 2000s owing to a favourable political context and a proactive Commission, this only lasted a few years. The outbreak of the international crisis combined with a shift to centre-right governments across most of Europe quickly overshadowed the social dimension of globalisation.

In Chapter 9, Caroline de la Porte conceptualises EU social policy through four modes of governance: social regulation, hard coordination, soft coordination and redistribution. She argues that through the regulatory mode of governance, the EU has developed a comprehensive regime of social rights for EU citizens, especially based on equal treatment and anti-discrimination. These principles represent the anchor of the complex legislative regime of coordination of social security systems. Hard coordination intensified particularly after the 2008 economic crisis and followed a hard and consistent line on financial sustainability, backed up by the monetarist paradigm. Soft coordination has taken a backseat, and redistribution remains a marginal element of the architecture of EU governance.

Cecilia Bruzelius and Martin Seeleib-Kaiser, in Chapter 10, highlight the complex relationship between European citizenship and social rights for EU migrants. They focus on freedom of movement as a social right of EU citizens. They argue that (both institutional and geographical) stratification is an important element of social rights. Since this stratification is based on economic status, a uniform multinational citizenship has not yet been accomplished in the EU. With the intensification of intra-EU migration in the post-Enlargement period, they argue that freedom of movement has brought about paradigmatic change, in that the two core principles of sovereign welfare states – territoriality and membership – are no longer at the disposal of member states as they have, in effect, been transferred to the EU. In this context welfare states are subject to competing pressures of closure and openness.

PART III: COMPARING WELFARE STATES AND SOCIETIES ACROSS EUROPE

Part III begins with a chapter by Anton Hemerijck, on conservative-continental welfare states in which he considers their recalibration in terms of both dualisation and the shift towards social investment, two crucial dynamics underpinning welfare state changes in

Europe over the past three decades. The author argues that continental welfare states have an ambivalent approach to the social investment model. While there has been a considerable effort to move away from social insurance towards social investment, this shift has been coupled with a stronger dualisation in Germany and France, while less so in Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands. Recalibration, he argues, manifests in new institutional patterns such as 'one-stop centres', thereby ending the archetypical separation of social security and public employment administration in continental welfare states.

In Chapter 12, Borbála Kovács, Abel Polese and Jeremy Morris track welfare state development and welfare changes in Central and Eastern Europe. They argue that a complex layered, welfare state regime-type emerges with Bismarckian foundations, communist legacies and institutional imprints with liberal pressures during post-communist transformation. Yet, they show very convincingly that despite these similarities, diverse sets of welfare patterns emerge even within the region. Their chapter offers an impressive and comprehensive catalogue of a wide range of policy areas to trace the uneven and diverse set of welfare changes in Hungary and Romania. They argue that post-socialist welfare states are unique hybrid regimes with distinct patterns of dualisation, which are characterised by residualising welfare provisions for those in greatest need, while maintaining a relatively generous welfare system for the middle classes, broadly understood as more or less secure labour market insiders. They also highlight informality, as an inherent and analytically significant component of the post-socialist welfare regimes, which they argue is not only a permanent feature of economic life, but of social welfare provision across a number of welfare sectors, including healthcare, childcare and other social services.

Chiara Saraceno's chapter focuses on the Southern European welfare states to map out the trends and dynamics of the transformation of the 'Mediterranean' variant of welfare capitalism in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Saraceno argues that the late and compressed modernisation had consequences both for the labour markets in these four countries, with their comparatively low employment levels and dualised structures which, in turn, contributed significantly to both pronounced dualisation and polarisation in terms of income maintenance and pensions. She argues that the 'recalibration process' initiated under multiple external and internal pressures of the Maastricht Treaty, globalisation, changing gender arrangements and women's demands, and demographic change, for example, pushed these countries in partly similar and partly different directions, with varying intensities and timing. This uneven and differentiated recalibration also had a distinctive national character. She argues that, in the pre-crisis period, Italy privileged retrenchment over rebalancing, in Greece recalibration was almost non-existent, and in Portugal it was partial and mostly limited to provisions for the poor and for the frail, with recalibration more coherent and systematic in Spain. Importantly, Saraceno argues that the crisis has introduced a new constellation of conservative governments, austerity measures dictated by the EU and the prevalence of budgetary rules – all of which have acted as drivers of the retrenchment dimension of the recalibration process in all four countries, with a negative impact particularly on those areas of social policy that were most undeveloped.

In Chapter 14, Fiona Dukelow and Elke Heins look at the liberal welfare states in the UK and Ireland. They offer a nuanced and insightful analysis of the 'liberal' nature of the Anglo-Saxon welfare states and their distinctive patterns of dualism, which, on

the one hand, offers residual welfare with low public spending and, on the other, offers extensive fiscal welfare – a ‘hidden welfare state’ which primarily benefits the middle classes. While they trace strong liberal elements in both countries, they also emphasise the hybridity of the regimes, particularly with regards to Ireland with its Catholic roots and pull effect towards a more familialistic conservative regime. They interrogate claims as to whether the Irish and UK welfare states are still as divergent as some scholars have asserted or whether the crisis has meant that these two welfare states are moving in a common direction. Drawing on social expenditure, taxation, social investment policies and selected welfare outcomes, they argue that while both countries might be said to be reverting to the liberal type, the UK remains the more proto-typical, which raises the issue of the deepening of the influence of neoliberal ideas and the liberal trendsetting well beyond its borders.

The next chapter turns to explore Nordic welfare state development since 2000 in order to map the Nordic path both before and after the financial crisis. Bent Greve argues that the Nordic model displays both strong similarities and common socio-economic features, and considerable difference at the same time. He asserts that while the Nordic welfare model still prevails, seemingly it is not as distinctive in all areas and for all the countries classified as displaying the characteristics of this model, as it used to be. Distinctively, the Nordic countries still spend more directly on welfare than most other European governments, however with fiscal and occupational welfare included, the Nordic countries are not the highest spenders on social welfare in Europe. Greve also highlights patterns of inequalities and highlights labour market inequalities especially with regard to the position of migrants, where they are more likely to be in precarious and low income employment.

PART IV: DIMENSIONS AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY

Daniel Clegg begins Part IV with a focus on labour market policies. He starts Chapter 16 with the seemingly ultimate paradox, labour market expenditures are relatively small compared with other policy areas, yet they are at the centre of key ideational debates around welfare state changes. Their significance lies not only in national wage–labour relations, but also as an influential policy field within the EU’s supranational systems of governance. Clegg places labour market policies within a long historical pathway from the post-war years to the present. He demonstrates from a political economy approach how labour market policies in Europe mapped onto the paradigmatic changes of the structure and operation of the European economy. Importantly, he argues that the EU’s economic and monetary integration amplified competitive pressures on welfare states, while the free movement of labour and firms has become a factor in the domestic politics of labour market and social protection reform. Similarly, he asserts that labour market policy responses to the crisis have been constrained by a supranational straitjacket, particularly in the countries of the Eurozone and therefore, the future of labour market policy in European countries will depend decisively on the overall direction of European integration.

In Chapter 17, Manuel Souto-Otero’s chapter is addressing an emerging policy field, often on the margins of social policy and welfare studies, that of education policies. He

focuses his attention at the supranational level and outlines EU education policies and its discursive underpinnings. This chapter shares the assumption with Clegg's chapter – that the supranational level has an increasing influence and role on national policy-making and policy-setting priorities. Souto-Otero challenges the view that characterises EU education policy as purely neoliberal in nature. He asserts that the EU coordinates fundamentally contradictory demands; global, European and national actors tend to underline the economic value of education, whereas institutional and individual views tend to give a greater role to personal development, cultural and social aspects. His central argument is that it is not only discourses that 'speak through policies', but that political actors and policies can also 'speak discourses', selectively adapting them to achieve strategic aims, such as survival, stability or expansion. Discourse is important because it contributes to the establishment of possibilities for thought and action. At the same time, it cannot be assumed that the link between discourse and policy is univocal: it is also a terrain for struggle, debate, interpretation and strategic behaviour. Discourses both describe and shape reality, but do not determine it – they both constrain social actors, while also providing them with resources and opportunities.

Yuri Kazepov and Eduardo Barberis's chapter highlights the territorial dimension of social citizenship, and the role of cities as building blocks of social inclusion strategies – something which has long been neglected in comparative social policy analysis. They interestingly argue that, while the etymological and historical roots of citizenship are tied to cities, from the 1950s onwards citizenship has been connected primarily to the national scale. Their chapter calls for a new research agenda that interrogates territorialised citizenship systems with its resources, trends and challenges. They argue that despite the recent devolution and decentralisation processes across Europe, it is still the case that most welfare systems rely to a large extent on regulations existing at national level. Citizenship systems in general and social policies in particular have evolved towards complex multiple governance arrangements in which passive contributory based policies (for example, unemployment benefits and pensions) are still defined mainly at the national level in most countries, while activation policies, in-kind provisions and innovative experimental projects are defined predominantly at the local level. It is for this reason that the national states' influence on urban and sub-national policies is still relevant in all European cities.

In her feminist scholarship, Birgit Pfau-Effinger in Chapter 19 turns her attention to care work in welfare states of Western post-industrial societies since the end of the 1980s, which she argues have increasingly been faced with the task of re-organising childcare and care of the elderly. Her research opens up new frontiers in analysing the main trends in the development of welfare state policies towards care work within and outside the family in European societies. She argues that the analysis of the change in welfare state policies towards care work reveals that the boundaries between family care work and extra-familial care work are becoming increasingly blurred and that the general categorisation of care work carried out by parents and family members in a family context as 'unpaid' and 'informal' has become obsolete. Crucially, as welfare states have introduced principles of pay and financial interest into the mutual support between family members, this development raises important issues about gender and the new role of the family in post-industrial welfare states, which requires further investigations from a variety of theoretical approaches.

Traute Meyer's chapter on pensions offers an innovative perspective on a policy area where institutional and structural explanation have long dominated the field. Meyer asserts that the pension system is an important element of the welfare state, not least in terms of it being the biggest spending programme of European welfare states, with different drivers of austerity and modernisation. Meyer focuses on how change has affected individuals with different means across the EU. Her central argument is that while there is a decline in pension promises in most countries, interestingly, regardless of institutional type of pension system, replacement levels remain fairly high for most and especially for those on lower incomes. She challenges the dualisation thesis by pointing to the fact that, with the exception of Germany, Sweden and the UK, the low paid have the highest replacement rates, which is inconsistent with the dualisation process. In addition, she argues that more care needs to be taken when contrasting Beveridge and Bismarck as analytically distinct pension systems, asserting that this distinction has become very much more blurred in recent years.

PART V: EMERGING CHALLENGES AND ISSUES FOR EUROPEAN WELFARE STATES

In the final section of the *Handbook*, Chapter 21 by Brian Nolan traces the development, expansion and layering of social inclusion indicators by the EU. He argues that what decades of measuring poverty demonstrates is that the range of complex phenomena that come under the heading of social exclusion cannot be treated simply as by-products of low income and relative income poverty. Poor housing, neighbourhood deprivation, poor health and access to health services and low levels of education are clearly related to low income but have to be both understood and addressed in policy terms as distinct aspects of social exclusion. He asserts that the limited overlap between them in a cross-sectional context means that the very sizable numbers conventionally measured as at risk of poverty in income terms – from one-tenth to one-fifth of the population in EU-25 countries – are not to be seen as distinct, separate groups removed from the rest of their respective society. This raises questions for the implications of the social investment strategy on poverty reduction strategies in the future.

Chapter 22 by Mi Ah Schoyen and Bjørn Hvinden on climate change offers a multi-disciplinary perspective on the environmental dimensions of welfare state sustainability across scales. The authors argue that the emergence of new risks and vulnerabilities is a continuously evolving process as societies undergo structural changes, and climate change is a key factor in understanding those new risks. They assert that while welfare researchers tend to conceive such sustainability in terms of social outcomes and long-term aggregate financial considerations, a broader perspective is needed. Climate change pushes us towards a notion of welfare state sustainability that includes ecological considerations and explores issues such as justice, restriction and consumption, and social consequences of climate change, as well as welfare state adaptation to these new risks.

The focus of Tariq Modood's chapter is the theoretical discussion on modes of integration, ideas and policy paradigms in Western Europe. He questions the meaning and future of different modes of integration and post-immigration difference and identity. Modood points to the possibility that models of integration are in crisis but suggests that

by recognising that the discourses and conceptualization of post-immigrant difference operate as sociological and political assumptions, and as a societal vision of the 'whole' into which difference is to be inserted, then progress can be made. He highlights the merits and deficits of different modes of integration – assimilation, individualist-integration, cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism – and concludes by emphasising that along with integration and citizenship rights, a 'sense of belonging to the whole' is vital. This can be achieved through the 'enlargement, hyphenation and internal pluralising of national identities' (Modood, Chapter 23 in this volume).

In Chapter 24, Noemi Lendvai-Bainton is concerned with the cross-cutting challenges of populism, nationalism and welfare reforms governed by far-right governments, a phenomenon which has become increasingly evident across Europe. In her chapter, she argues that while there is an extensive literature around populism and welfare states in Western Europe, the rise of radical politics in Hungary demonstrates how nationalism, populism and authoritarian neoliberalism emerges in a post-enlargement context with a radical new discourse envisioning the end of the welfare state. The chapter argues that this domestic regime is not only co-produced by the EU and emerges within a distinctly transnational contexts, but also might mark a new populist turn within the European integration project.

Femke Roosma and Wim van Oorschot's chapter offers an insight into public welfare attitudes. They argue that the European Social Survey (ESS) opened up the possibility of analysing welfare state legitimacy in a multidimensional and a cross-national perspective, a similar point made by Brian Nolan in respect of new data-sets on social inclusion. They assert that while debates about welfare retrenchment and restructuring in relation to welfare support have been ongoing since the 1970s, public attitudes towards welfare states are complex, layered and highly differentiated. While, for example, overall support for the substantive dimensions of the welfare state is high across Europe, at the same time people are concerned about the efficient and effective implementation of welfare policies. Most notably, the geographical differences are significant: in Northern and Western welfare states people are overall more positive (about the role and the outcomes of the welfare state), while in Southern, and especially Eastern European, welfare states people are mostly critical about how their welfare state performs. Importantly, Roosma and Oorschot argue that the gap between different regions in Europe in their welfare state support should warn policy-makers who want to take the integration of the European project a step further by including a pillar of social policies. They assert that as long as European welfare states show such different results in the social legitimacy of their policy outcomes, this will remain a huge challenge.

The final chapter by Patricia Kennett considers the nature and dynamics of the multi-dimensional crisis in the European project, as it addresses the most significant tensions and challenges in its history. The analysis highlights crisis and disjuncture across three dimensions: a political crisis of legitimacy and (dis)integration; an economic crisis and uneven development; and a social crisis of solidarity, lack of trust and growing inequality and insecurity. Kennett argues for a reassertion of the 'social' within European institutions and a reassessment of the policies and politics of austerity.

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