Polish Journal
of
Political Science

(this page is intentionally left blank)

(this page is intentionally left blank)

Table of Contents

Articles

Joanna Hetnarowicz

University of Warsaw

Solidarity in the structure of the European Union's axionormative system in the context of the refugee crisis

Abstract

The paper concerns the value of solidarity in the structure of the European Union's axionormative system in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis. For the needs of these considerations Florian Znaniecki's concept of axionormative system was chosen. It has a form of three-level hierarchical structure, which consists of the institutional level, the awareness level and the implementation level. All as these levels were analysed in relation to the value of solidarity, in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis. The results of these considerations indicate that while the institutional and awareness levels of the European Union's axionormative system are compatible with each other, there is a clear break between them and the level of implementation, in the context of the refugee crisis.

Introduction

The value that is absolutely special in the context of buil-
ding an united Europe after the World War II is solidarity.
In European society, which includes many countries whose
citizens are associated with diverse cultures and traditions,
it was solidarity that turned out to be the binder allowing
to build peace and prosperity in our part of the world. It was
without no doubt the basis of both axionormative and politi-
cal order of today's European Union (hereinafter: „the EU").
But is it still that relevant?

In the Schuman Declaration, which proclamation in 1950
is considered as the beginning of modern European integra-
tion, one can read: *"Europe will not be made all at once,
or according to a single plan. It will be built through conu
crete achievements which first create a de facto solidari-
ty"*[1]. This and other quotes from the Declaration create not
only a grand vision of an united Europe, but also give very
pragmatic clues on how to achieve it. Thanks to following
them these *"concrete achievements"* include many initiati-
ves that indeed contributed to economic development and
building a peaceful political community with international
management over coal mining and the steel industry and
abolition of border controls between countries that belong
to the Schengen agreement among them. However, the re-
fugee crisis, which has erupted in Europe in 2015, questions
whether indeed solidarity continues to be the basis of the
EU's axionormative and political order.

Although the postulates for showing solidarity in the con-
text of refugee crisis are extremely often used recently - both

---

[1]   The Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950.

by representatives of EU institutions and politicians repre-
senting European member states - it is much easier to see
the desire to pursue particular interests of individuals and
entities in these statements, rather than a willing to realize
the vision outlined in the Schuman Declaration. Therefore,
the purpose of this paper is to show this inconsistency and
the thesis, which aims at achieving is: **institutional, aware-
ness and implementation levels of the European Union's
axionormative system are not compatible with each other
in relation to the value of solidarity in the context of the
2015 refugee crisis.**

In order to prove above presented thesis, in this paper
will be discussed first of all definitional issues related to the
notion of an axionormative system, then issues related to un-
derstanding the idea of solidarity as a key value in the EU
axiormative system and then at the end compatibility of the
various levels of the EU axionormative system. The conc-
lusions that will be drawn from it will be synthetically inc-
luded in the summary in the last part of the paper.

Axionormative system – definitional issues

Each community creates a certain social order, which is un-
derstood as the way it is organized and functioning. This
order is made up of various norms, institutions, values and
social roles, characteristic for a given society and constituting
a context for its existence and development[2].

The dimensions of the social order, associated with par-
ticular spheres of the functioning of society, are for example

---

[2] Ł. Zamęcki, *Społeczne podstawy ładu politycznego*, Wydział
Dziennikarstwa i Nauk Politycznych - Uniwersytet Warszawski, War-
szawa 2011, p. 22.

political order, economic order and axionormative order[3]. This last one includes norms and values aimed at structuring particular elements of order according to specific rules[4]. In sociological terms social norms are a set of regulations and prohibitions in interpersonal relationships, while social values are states or phenomena that occupy a high position in the hierarchy of values in society common perception[5].

According to the definition proposed by Piotr Sztompka, an axionormative system is *"a related set of rules - norms and values - concerning all manifestations of social life, characteristic for a given culture"*[6]. Florian Znaniecki's concept of axionormative system refers to the situation in which the values underlay actions aimed at compliance with the current ideological system were *"selected and defined on the basis of the same patterns, and the intentions were shaped in accordance with the same norms"*[7].

Znaniecki presents the structure of the axionormative system as a three-level hierarchical system, which consists of:

1. Institutional level, constituting the superior institutionalized order, connected with the ethical system in force in a given society, which consists of norms and values promoted by institutions (e.g. norms and values propagated by the national state, the Church etc.).

---

[3]   E. Budzyńska, *Rząd czy nierząd? Socjologiczna refleksja nad kondycją moralną społeczeństwa polskiego*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Sociologica" 2012, nr 40, p. 12.

[4]   Ibidem.

[5]   Ł. Zamęcki, op. cit., p. 16-17.

[6]   P. Sztompka, *Socjologia. Analiza społeczeństwa*, Wydawnictwo ZNAK, Kraków 2002, p. 278.

[7]   F. Znaniecki, *Nauki o Kulturze*, PWN, Warszawa 1992, p. 297.

2. Awareness level, which is a socially recognized and shared order, which consists of norms and values declared in a given society (e.g. moral norms).
3. Implementation level, which is an arrangement of norms and values felt and actually implemented in social life (e.g. the application of norms and values in everyday life)[8].

According to Znaniecki keeping of order consists in maintaining the state of permanence by accepting the ideological basis of all human activities intact. On the other hand, a departure from accepted norms and values resulting from the ideological system in the area of social activities would be, in his opinion, synonymous with disorder (anomie), disorganization and even chaos[9].

The author of another concept of anomie, is Émil Durkheim. According to him, the state of disorder is associated not so much with departing from accepted norms and values as with unlimited social tolerance for acts worthy of condemnation, resulting in blurring of the boundaries between moral good and moral evil. Among the causes of anomie he mentions: in a situation of economic crisis - inability to reduce the requirements and needs, in a situation of economic growth - awareness of the inability to satisfy constantly growing aspirations, lack of moral authorities capable of restraining human passions and increasing individual freedom at the expense of social solidarity[10].

---

[8]   E. Budzyńska, op. cit., p. 1-13.
[9]   F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 277.
[10]   É. Durkheim, *Samobójstwo. Studium z socjologii*, PWN, Warszawa 2006, p. 313-329.

Solidarity in European Union's axionormative system

The sphere of politics is strongly conditioned by norms and values constituting the essence of the axiormative order. The system of values functioning in a given society is a source for adopting specific political attitudes and for legitimizing (or not legitimizing) activities of individual political institutions. Political ideologies are also structured through the prism of what their creators and believers regard as valuable and what they do not [11]. It can be said that in this sense, the axionormative order „translates" into the political order functioning in a given society.

As it has already been indicated in the introduction, solidarity is a particularly important value, both in the context of the axionormative and political order of the European Union.Due to the fact that it is an extremely complex and multidimensional concept, it will be discussed in its essential contexts - etymological, related to its historical feature (including meaning for beginnings of European integration), legal and functioning in the current discourse considering refugees in the EU.

The concept of solidarity is derived from Latin (in Latin: *soliditas*), in which it means density, power. However, it owes its idea of meaning to Roman law. The codex obligation of the *obligate in soldium* concerned providing assistance in settling financial obligations for the members of a family while at the same time bearing responsibility for the consequences of the decisions made by them[12]. Later, it also referred to

---

[11] S. Feldman, *Wartości, ideologia i strukturyzacja postaw politycznych*, [in:] *Psychologia polityczna*, ed. D.O. Sears, L. Huddy, R. Jervis, Kraków 2008, p. 446–452.

[12] Piotr D. Dobrzański, *Nowożytna idea solidarności*, [in:] D. Dobrzański, A. Wawrzynowicz (ed.), *Idea solidarności w kontekstach*

guarantees for granting credit. Now it is used in civil codes of most European countries in the formula of the so-called solidary commitments, both on the part of creditors (passive solidarity) and on the part of debtors (active solidarity)[13].

The word solidarity came into common use at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that is in times of great social changes. Interestingly, one can even indicate the first text in which it was used in a non-legal context. Pierre Leroux himself admitted: *„I first borrowed the term" solidarité „from legal language to introduce it to philosophy, that is, according to my concept of religion: I wanted to replace the Christian caritas with human solidarietas. [...] Christianity is the greatest religion of the past; but there is something greater than Christianity: humanity. [...] By means of the principle of mutual solidarity, the present society is capable of organizing the love of one's neighbour"*[14]. On this basis, it can be concluded that solidarity was to become the fundamental value around which modern societies should be organized.

The classic understanding of the concept of solidarity shaped as a result of the events taking place during the French Revolution and the development of self-help in the United Kingdom as well as social policy in Germany[15], and

---

filozoficzno-historycznych, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Instytutu Filozofii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Poznań 2006, p. 13.

[13]　Ibidem, p. 13-14.

[14]　P. Leroux, *De l'humanité* (1840), cited after: P.J. Cordes, *Communio. Utopia czy program?*, translated: B. Widła, Wydawnictwo Księży Miranów, Warszawa 1996, p. 28; see Z. Stawrowski, *Solidarność a idea doskonałej wspólnoty*, [in:] *Wokół idei wspólnoty*, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, Kraków 2012, p. 187-198.

[15]　K.H. Metz, *Solidarity and History, Institutions and Social Concepts of Solidarity in 19th Century Westerm Europe*; [in:] K. Bayertz (ed.), *Solidarity*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht 1999, s. 191.

in this sense it is close to the meaning Leroux wanted to give it. It assumes, first and foremost, help for weaker members of a community, mainly of an economic and social nature, but whose goal is essentially to stabilize political order. The richer social classes should feel to show solidarity to the poorer in order to counteract the antisystemic or even revolutionary movements, thus ensuring the stability of social and state structures.

No wonder that the founding fathers of a united Europe followed the same line of thought. Wanting to ensure peace and security on the continent, where the World War II left a severe mark, they referred to solidarity - a grand idea, having the character of a moral principle imperative, which at the same time contains the „instruction" of its implementation, based on economic and social help for the poorer part of society.

At present, an important place of solidarity in the European Union's axiormative system reflects its place in current legislation. Although in the so-called EU's constitutional law legal definition of this concept has not been included, in the the Treaty on European Union (hereinafter „TEU)" and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (hereinafter „TFEU") can be pointed to its use, one can point out its multiple usage.

For instance, the term solidarity falls within the preamble of the TEU, when the representatives of the member states signing it state that they want to "deepen the solidarity between their peoples while respecting their history, their culture and their traditions"[16]. Article 3 of TEU says that the EU

---

[16]   Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

"promote economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States"[17] and a particularly important part of this treaty from the point of view of the considerations contained in this paper is that in Article 24 states that *"the Union shall conduct, define and implement a common foreign and security policy, based on the development of mutual political solidarity among Member States, the identification of questions of general interest and the achievement of an ever-increasing degree of convergence of Member States' actions"*[18].

Then in Article 67 of TFEU one can read that the EU *"shall ensure the absence of internal border controls for persons and shall frame a common policy on asylum, immigration and external border control, based on solidarity between Member States, which is fair towards third-country nationals. For the purpose of this Title, stateless persons shall be treated as third-country nationals"*[19] and in Article 80 of TFEU that issues in the field of border control, asylum and immigration policies are subject to the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility between Member States, including these in the financial field[20].

Solidarity in discourse considering European refugee crisis

Although the migration itself is not a new phenomenon, its intensity on the old continent in recent years, definitely is. The European Commission in a joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council "Addressing the

---

17   Ibidem.
18   Ibidem.
19   Ibidem.
20   Ibidem.

Refugee Crisis in Europe: The Role of EU External Action" issued in September 2015, stated that the EU is currently facing the "the largest refugee crisis since the end of World War II"[21]. In fact, at the moment many people coming to the EU are moving not only for profit, but above all in seeking refuge from wars and persecution. According to Eurostat, in the years 2015-2016 alone, the number of asylum applications in its member states amounted to nearly 2.5 million[22].

How has the European Union and its member states responded to this crisis? In accordance with the above-mentioned provisions of the TFEU, does the Union develop a common policy in the field of asylum, immigration and external border control, based on solidarity between member states and a fair to third-country nationals? Unfortunately, it seems to be the opposite. The intensification of migrations in Europe in recent years has so far resulted in unprecedented disputes between Member States regarding the relocation of refugees, limiting the functioning of the Schengen area, increasing national tendencies (which may result in the leaving EU by several countries, as in the case of Brexit), and some say that it can even contribute to bring to an end of European integration in general[23].

---

[21] Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council "Addressing the Refugee Crisis in Europe: The Role of EU External Action" of 9 September 2015.

[22] *Asylum and manager migration* [access: 12.09.2018], <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/asylum-and-managed-migration>.

[23] B. Rudawski, *Konsekwencje kryzysu migracyjnego dla Niemiec i Unii Europejskiej. Sprawozdanie z konferencji*, 08.06.2016 [access: 16.09.2018] <https://pl.boell.org/pl/2016/06/08/konsekwencje-kryzysu-migracyjnego-dla-niemiec-i-unii-europejskiej-sprawozdanie-z>.

In the discourse on the refugee crisis, which is related to the concept of solidarity, two main contradictory narratives can be distinguished:

1. Appealing to the failure of implementation of common arrangements in the area of EU migration and asylum policy in the name of arrangements made on the basis of EU legislation, including the above-quoted treaties, and also failing to implement the arrangements for the relocation of refugees throughout the European Union. This narrative was to used to mobilize relocation of refugees in the name of solidarity and sharing common responsibilities.

2. „Pulling" Europe into a crisis by Germany, caused by Angela Merkel and the so-called *Willkommenskultur* (in German: welcome culture). Germans were accused in this narrative of demonstrating the lack of solidarity towards other member states of European Union. The decision made by Germany to allow hundreds of thousands of immigrants to be let into its area, began to be considered as a source of refugee crisis in Europe in general, and solidarity with the refugees shown by Germany also meant a lack of solidarity towards other member states because it exposed them to this crisis.

The concept of solidarity, as a result of fierce political disputes regarding the refugee crisis, was slowly losing its traditional meaning, which aimed at helping the weaker members of the community, mainly by economic and social support, but whose goal is essentially to stabilize the political order. The word itself was often treated instrumentally, in order to push through some particular political options, and its usage began to be associated with hypocrisy of politicians.

Analysis of compatibility of institutional, awareness and implementation levels of the European Union's axionormative system in relation to the value of solidarity, in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis

Analysis of compatibility of institutional, awareness and implementation levels of the European Union's axionormative system in relation to the value of solidarity, in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis will be carried out using the structure of the axionormative system presented by Florian Znaniecki, which was discussed in the first subsection of this paper. As a reminder, it constitutes a three-tier, hierarchical system, which consists of the following levels: institutional level, awareness level and implementation level. When they are compatible with each other, one can talk about an order and when they are not compatible with each other, one can talk about disorder (anomie).

The institutional level refers to the superior, institutionalized order, which consists of **norms and values promoted by the institutions**. In this case, this level should be referring to the EU law and institutions that uphold its obedience. Solidarity is a key value for this level. Numerous passages of the treaties refer to its application as a principle to guide the activities of the EU as a whole and its member states. This also applies to the field of asylum and immigration. Article 80 of TFEU clearly shows that it is subject to the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility between member states, including in financial terms.

The level of awareness concerns the socially recognized and shared order, which is made up of **norms and values declared in a given society**. *Nomen omen* it is the Schuman Declaration that puts solidarity at the center of the EU's

axionormative order. Solidarity is the justification for the EU structural policy, which aims to equalize the disparities between regions and remove delays in the development in the poorest areas, which in turn is to translate into a harmonious growth of the entire European Union. The politicians of various options also refer to solidarity in the discourse on the subject of refugees as to the value that is supposed to justify taking (or not taking) individual actions. It can therefore be said that the level of awareness is compatible with the above-described institutional level.

The level of implementation is a system of **norms and values <u>felt and actually implemented in social life</u>**. The refugee crisis has shown that not all EU member states are able to show solidarity to refugees. Some of them - Poland and Hungary, refused to help in the form of relocation to even one person[24]. It can be considered as a drastic inconsistency with the above described institutional and awareness level in the context of the implementation of actions based on solidarity. Instead of helping refugees, politicians from member states who do not participate in the relocation mechanism, on the contrary, argue that it was the states that accepted refugees that showed a lack of solidarity, because their unilateral actions were the source of the crisis and thus created the need to create a relocation mechanism.

Summary and conclusions

Solidarity is the core value of the EU axionormative and political order. However, the 2015 refugee crisis made it legitimate

---

[24] *Migracja: Raport o relokacjach* [access: 07.09.2018], <https://ec.europa.eu/poland/news/170906_migrations _pl>.

to ask, whether it still remains that important. The purpose of this paper was to try to answer this question with the help of following thesis: **institutional, awareness and implementation levels of the European Union's axionormative system are not compatible with each other in relation to the value of solidarity in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis**. The argumentation, carried out for the purpose of proving this statement, proved its validity. While the institutional and consciousness levels are compatible with each other, there is a clear break between them and the level of implementation. Solidarity still is deeply rooted in EU legislation, and European politicians are still referring to it, but often distorting its classical understanding and acting in its name in ways that have nothing to do with solidarity.

At this point, it is worth to recall the assumptions of the concept of anomia by Émil Durkheim. According to him, the state of disorder means not so much an open departure from the adopted values (after all, on the institutional and conscious level, solidarity still remains a value recognized by all), but unlimited social tolerance for acts worthy of condemnation. In such case, it remains to hope that those who ignore these acts will remind oneself one day, that solidarity means above all to help the weaker.

Bibliography

Budzyńska E., *Rząd czy nierząd? Socjologiczna refleksja nad kondycją moralną społeczeństwa polskiego*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Sociologica" 2012, nr 40.

Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

Dobrzański P., *Nowożytna idea solidarności*, [in:] D. Dobrzański, A. Wawrzynowicz (ed.), *Idea solidarności w kontekstach filozoficzno-historycznych*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Instytutu Filozofii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Poznań 2006.

Durkheim É., *Samobójstwo. Studium z socjologii*, PWN, Warszawa 2006.

Feldman S., *Wartości, ideologia i strukturyzacja postaw politycznych*, [in:] *Psychologia polityczna*, ed. D.O. Sears, L. Huddy, R. Jervis, Kraków 2008.

Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council "Addressing the Refugee Crisis in Europe: The Role of EU External Action" of 9 September 2015.

Leroux P., *De l'humanité* (1840), cited after: P.J. Cordes, *Communio. Utopia czy program?*, translated: B. Widła, Wydawnictwo Księży Miranów, Warszawa 1996, p. 28; see Z. Stawrowski, *Solidarność a idea doskonałej wspólnoty*, [in:] *Wokół idei wspólnoty*, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, Kraków 2012.

Metz K.H., *Solidarity and History, Institutions and Social Concepts of Solidarity in 19th Century Western Europe*; [in:] K. Bayertz (ed.), *Solidarity*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht 1999.

Sztompka P., *Socjologia. Analiza społeczeństwa*, Wydawnictwo ZNAK, Kraków 2002.

The Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950.

Zamęcki Ł., *Społeczne podstawy ładu politycznego*, Wydział Dziennikarstwa i Nauk Politycznych - Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa 2011.

Znaniecki F., *Nauki o Kulturze*, PWN, Warszawa 1992.

Websites:

http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/asylum-and-managed-migration　[access: 12.09.2018].

https://pl.boell.org/pl/2016/06/08/konsekwencje-kryzysu-migracyjnego-dla-niemiec-i-unii-europejskiej-sprawozdanie-z [access: 16.09.2018].

https://ec.europa.eu/poland/news/170906_migrations _pl [access: 07.09.2018].