

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

**GREEN PAPER**  
**EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY**

**Options for the Union**

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DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EMPLOYMENT,  
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# INTRODUCTION – THE PURPOSE OF THE GREEN PAPER



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European social policy<sup>1</sup> is entering into a critical phase. This is due to three main factors:

- (i) the present Social action programme is reaching its natural end. The Commission has presented all of the 47 proposals involved and, while some of the most important proposals are still pending before the Council, the majority have been adopted;
- (ii) the entry into force of the Treaty on European Union has opened up new possibilities for Community action in the social field, particularly by giving a stronger role to the social partners; and
- (iii) the changing socio-economic situation, reflected notably in the serious

levels of unemployment, is requiring a new look at the link between economic and social policies, both at national and Community level.

The Commission considers that this situation requires the launching of a wide-ranging debate about the future direction of social policy, before it proceeds to put forward specific proposals in the form of a White Paper.

To prepare this Green Paper, the Commission issued a public appeal for contributions and comments; 150 contributions have been received, including official responses from Member States and from a wide range of bodies and individuals. These are listed in Annex I. The contributions have demonstrated a firm interest in clarifying various aspects of EC social policy in the next stage of development of the European Community.

The intention is to stimulate a wide-ranging debate within all Member States about the future lines of social policy in the European Union. It is being issued to coincide with the rati-

fication of the Maastricht Treaty, an opportune time to take stock and consider the different options for the future.

The Green Paper is, therefore, designed to form the basis of such a debate, which, it is hoped, will take place not only at national level within each Member State but also between all interested parties, including, of course, the social partners, as well as specific interest groups. The Commission will follow these discussions carefully and seek to draw from them the major themes of the future White Paper. This Green Paper does not deal with the procedural implications of the new Maastricht provisions as these will be the subject of a separate Communication.

Of course, this process will be taking place at a moment when the attention of the Community is focused on the whole issue of how to reconcile economic and social objectives in the face of rising unemployment and growing concern about Europe's ability to remain competitive into the 21st century.

There is much debate in all Member States about how to

address the problem of unemployment, much of which is now recognized as being structural in character. The issues under discussion include the need for greater labour market adaptability, the suggestion that wage differentials should be widened and that wages should vary more in function of economic conditions, and questions about whether social benefits should be reduced or targeted so as to provide greater incentives to seek work. This is linked to the problems which all Member States are having in funding the growing demand on social protection systems and the search for greater efficiency in the operation of these systems as one means of making savings.

At the same time, there exists a growing degree of public concern that, contrary to the objective of ensuring that economic and social progress should go hand in hand as clearly stated in both the Treaties of Rome and Maastricht, the net impact of the integration process could be a levelling down of social standards. This is reflected in the fear that the creation of a single market could open the way to a form of social dumping, that is the gaining of unfair competitive advantage within the Community through unacceptably low social standards. But there is also a concern that, somehow, the imperative of action at European level can become a pretext for changes in social standards at national level.

In this context, this Green Paper, and the process of debate which it is designed to trigger, will be interactive with the discussions around the forthcoming White Paper on growth, competitiveness and

<sup>1</sup> The term 'social policy' has many different meanings which also vary from Member State to Member State. For the purposes of this document it is taken to mean the full range of policies in the social sphere including labour market policies.

employment, due to be presented to the European Council on 10 December. Since the Green Paper is designed ultimately to channel ideas into the development of the next phase of social policy at European level, it is clear that analysis and proposals for action contained in the White Paper on growth will help also to shape the climate and the substance of the coming debate on how best to combine the objectives of economic success and social progress.

The premise at the heart of this Green Paper is that the next phase in the development of European social policy cannot be based on the idea that social progress must go into retreat in order for economic competitiveness to recover. On the contrary, as has been stated on many occasions by the European Council, the Community is fully committed to ensuring that economic and social progress go hand in hand. Indeed, much of Europe's influence and power has come precisely from its capacity to combine wealth creation with enhanced benefits and freedoms for its people.

In current conditions this will not be easy. But Europe's continuing contribution to the search for a model of sustainable development which combines economic dynamism with social progress can only be made if the issues are openly debated and a consensus arrived at. The rich diversity of the cultures and social systems within the European Union is a competitive advantage in a fast-changing world. All societies are in the same process of learning. But diversity may deteriorate into disorder if the common goals, which embody the distinctive values of European society and are set out in the

Treaty on European Union, are not defended by the efforts of Member States and by people themselves.

Part I sets out what the Community has already achieved in the social sphere. Part II looks at the social challenges now facing us all. It examines the risks of declining social cohesion in Europe and the threats to important common goals such as social protection, solidarity and high levels of employment. A new medium-term strategy is needed which will draw together economic and social policies in partnership rather than in conflict with each other. Only in this way will sustainable growth, social solidarity and public confidence be restored. It is acknowledged that European production systems need to be based on the new technologies. There can be no social progress without wealth creation. But it should also be recognised that the consequent structural changes will have considerable impact on other important areas, such as employment intensity, working and living conditions, the quality of life and the development of industrial relations. Part III discusses the possible responses of the Union to these challenges, both in terms of what Member States want and of what the Community is trying to achieve. Part IV provides a brief conclusion. Part V brings together the questions raised in different parts of the Green Paper. These will be the focus of the debate to follow.

Graphs in the Green Paper are drawn from the Employment in Europe report 1993, except Figure 19 which comes from the Report on social protection 1993.

Europe is at a turning point. Decisions taken in the coming period will set the direction of social policy for many years to come. Now is the time for all sections of opinion to make their views known.

*The Community is fully committed to ensuring that economic and social progress go together*

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# I – ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY

## SOCIAL DIMENSION

Community social policy has covered a wide range of areas. These include equality of opportunity, health and safety matters, employment and labour law matters, issues of social protection and social security, as well as action focused on specific points such as poverty and the role of the disabled. It has been developed both through the evolution of the Treaties and by social and economic change, and has drawn on a variety of instruments, depending on the objective concerned. It has, in this respect, fulfilled three major functions:

- (i) to provide a legal framework in specific given areas of the Treaty designed to connect the dialogue between the social partners, thereby contributing to the definition at various levels of fundamental social rights for workers;
- (ii) to give substantial financial support in particular for training and employment measures, thereby contributing to the redistribution of financial resources;
- (iii) to stimulate and encourage cooperation between various actors of social policy, the setting-up of networks and partnerships, the exchange of information and experience and the promotion of innovation, good practice and policies.

Legislation has, therefore, been only one of a number of tools at the disposal of Community social policy and is too often considered in isolation. Often it has complemented other instruments. Legislation itself can be used in various ways; only rarely has it been used to

prescribe certain specific actions in the social policy sphere.

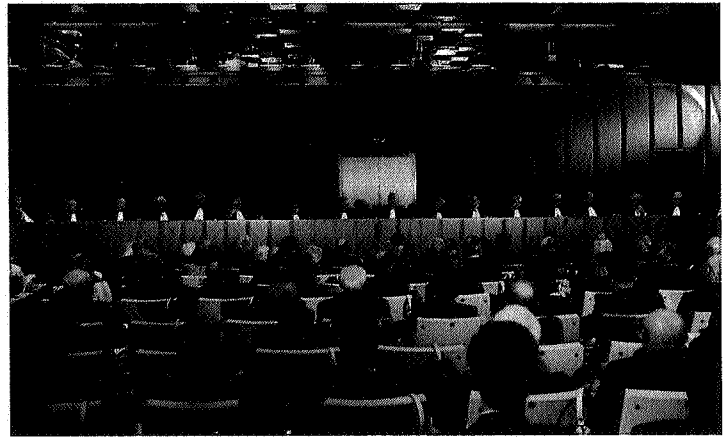


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*Fundamental social rights for workers have been further consolidated in the case-law of the European Court of Justice*

### A. LEGAL ATTAINMENTS OR 'ACQUIS'

Legal provisions have been put in place over a long period. They have furnished a sound basis for the guarantee of fundamental social rights for workers, rights which have been further consolidated in the case-law of the European Court of Justice. The amount of legislation is relatively small in relation to other instruments.

The first regulations adopted in the social field relate to free movement of workers, one of the four freedoms of the Treaty, and specifically concern coordination of social security systems for migrant workers. These regulations provide basic rights for the free movement of workers, which have been widely used by European citizens including through recourse to the European Court.

Another area of Community legislation is equal treatment between men and women. It is worth noting how a Treaty provision (Article 119) based originally on a competition argu-

ment has been able to serve in practice as a basis for a comprehensive policy combining rights and the promotion of equal opportunities for women. It is an example of how on the basis of legal rights complemented by positive actions, the Community has been able to make an active contribution and to stimulate a response to a major issue of a progressive society.

A third area of more recent legal development concerns the protection of workers as regards health and safety at work. On the basis of a framework directive minimum requirements to encourage improvements in the health and safety of workers at work have been adopted at Community level and constitute a major set of rights covering all sectors of activity.

Other legislation concerning the protection of workers and labour law has been significant in particular for preventing risks of social dumping, even if a

number of major pieces of proposed legislation have yet to be finalized. They should, however, be seen as priority items for adoption by the Council.

Details of the scope and content of Community legislation are to be found in Annex II.

## **B. THE COMMUNITY CHARTER OF THE FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL RIGHTS OF WORKERS AND THE ACTION PROGRAMME**

The instruments used by the Community either singly or in combination culminated in the Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers adopted in 1989 and in the Commission's action programme. The Charter represents a framework of principles, covering many aspects of working and living conditions. The 1990/91 action programme is aimed at giving a tangible expression to these principles.

The Charter as such was a new point of departure for the Community – not only in operational terms but also as a political signal. It expressed the political will that the completion of the internal market should not be achieved without taking the 'social dimension' into account.

All of the 47 initiatives announced in the action programme have been presented by the Commission. Many of these measures did not require legislative action; 29 of the measures required Council approval and of these, 16 have been adopted.

The action programme was based on four fundamental premises:

- (i) subsidiarity, i.e. taking account of the specific nature of social policy and its objectives and ensuring that the type of action (harmonization, coordination, convergence, cooperation, etc.) is matched to the subject matter; also that due consideration is given to known needs and to the

potential added value of Community action;

- (ii) the diversity of national systems, cultures and practices, where this is a positive element in terms of the completion of the internal market;
- (iii) the preservation of the competitiveness of firms, taking into consideration economic and social issues;
- (iv) reducing disparities between Member States without interfering in the comparative advantage of the less-developed regions.

Details of the progress of individual initiatives are set out in Annex III.

In each initiative a balance was sought and achieved. This is the essential background to the Commission's action programme, which seeks to establish a sound base of minimum provisions, with regard given to the need to avoid any distortion of competition, to support moves to strengthen economic and social cohesion and to contribute to the creation of jobs, which is the prime aim of competition in the internal market. The dynamic thus created has had the beneficial effect of enabling many Member States to bring their national legislation up to date as part of the process of transferring Community law.

The wide variety of tools used by the Commission in its action

programme has led to the mobilization of many actors: national authorities, employers, unions, regional and local authorities, non-governmental organizations, social workers, practitioners, experts involved in observatories and specialist groups.

Although proposals for binding legislation have played a part, notably on free movement of workers, working conditions and health and safety issues, specific programmes (for example, Poverty III, Helios II, older people and solidarity between generations), convergence strategies for social protection and cooperation activities have enjoyed a somewhat higher profile in social policy deve-

lopment. In the case of certain areas, such as equal opportunities for women, the balance between legislative and programme-based activity has been much more even.

## **C. FINANCIAL SUPPORT**

The massive financial support of the European Social Fund (ESF) for training and employment measures has contributed greatly to the development of national measures, especially as far as young people and the long-term unemployed are concerned. The role of the ESF has been especially significant in developing training in the least-favoured regions of the Community.

During the period 1989-93 the ESF devoted more than ECU 21 billion to these activities, benefiting around 17 million people in the Community.

The scope of the European Social Fund (ESF) has been widened as a result of the recent revision of the ESF regulation. Its tasks now include broad human resources development

and the improvement of the workings of the labour market. There is an explicit commitment that the principle of equal opportunities for women and men should be respected in the implementation of actions financed by the ESF.

The revision of the ESF regulation has also equipped it with new tools to provide a more effective and flexible response to the changing labour market requirements and specific challenges facing Member States. A new Objective 4 has been created which aims to facilitate the adaptation of workers to industrial change and changes in production systems. This not only adds a preventive dimension to the fight against unemployment but contributes to competitiveness and growth. Moreover, in addition to conti-



Photo: © CEC

*During the period 1989–93 the ESF devoted more than ECU 21 billion to training and employment measures*

ning its focus on young people and the long-term unemployed, ESF support under Objective 3 has been extended to cover those exposed to long-term unemployment and exclusion from the labour market. Particular emphasis is also placed on strengthening employment services, broadening the scope of direct aids to employment, extending the range and quality of initial training and,

in the least favoured regions, reinforcing education, training and research, science and technology systems.

nize exchanges of experience for long-term unemployment, local development, integration of disabled persons, etc. Other programmes have concentrated on research and awareness campaigns (in particular in the health area, e.g. the cancer programme).

On certain issues, more comprehensive programmes combine financial support and exchanges (PETRA, IRIS, LEI, poverty, older people and solidarity between generations) and/or support concrete actions and legislation. These are good examples of the combining of instruments in social policy.

Community added value is clearly identifiable. They encourage innovation, good practice and policies, the exchange of ideas and experience, the transfer of know-how and the development of exchange of practitioners.

In this way, participants have been mobilized; partnerships at various levels have been established and developed; and the search for more coherent and comprehensive approaches on social issues has been stimulated. The setting-up of durable and effective networks and the achieving of Community added value are significant benefits.

#### **D. COOPERATION, MOBILIZATION, EXCHANGES**

In response to social and economic change and to common challenges facing Member States, a number of programmes and exchanges have been developed. These have led to the creation of large and successful networks. In some cases, this has involved promotion of

exchanges of information on national situations and/or policies (e.g. observatories/networks on employment, equal opportunities, family policies, ageing, exclusion). In addition, exchange programmes have tried to identify and evaluate innovative actions and to orga-

Whether the programmes concern categories of people (older people, disabled people) or issues (employment, health, equal opportunities for women and men, local development, training, poverty/exclusion), they are based on the same approach, one in which the



UNICE

*The Single European Act reinforced structures for social dialogue*

*Photo: © CEEC*

## **E. SOCIAL DIALOGUE: A CONSENSUS APPROACH TO SOCIAL POLICY**

A key feature of the Commission's method of work in bringing forward proposals in the social field has been the practice of extensive consultation of the social partners at various stages in both the conception of initiatives and the detailed writing of texts. This has taken place principally via the network of tripartite consultative committees which exist in all the main areas of policy, such as health and safety and equality of opportunities. But it has also involved a more *ad hoc* process of seeking the views of a wide range of representative bodies, including those three organizations, UNICE, ETUC and CEEP, which make up the present social dialogue at European level.

In parallel with legal provisions and complementary to them, the development of social dialogue between employers and unions is a major feature of the evolution of European social policy. This has

already provided a number of joint opinions (see Annex IV) on important issues concerning training and labour market policies, together with a framework agreement between three organizations: ETUC, CEEP and UNICE. Moreover, this consensus approach has been promoted through regular and separate consultation of the social partners for each relevant proposal. This clearly illustrates the method chosen: dialogue and a search for consensus. The Single European Act reinforced structures for social dialogue, which are now a component of the Social Agreement of the Treaty on European Union. The emphasis placed on this in the Agreement, following from a consensus between employers and unions, is an illustration of the ways and means by which the Community intends to promote the development of social policy: concertation, negotiation, consensus.

## **F. CONCLUSION**

This brief and necessarily succinct overview of the achievements of the Community's social policy to date shows clearly its breadth and vitality. The search for agreement has not always been easy and has even, on occasions, been controversial. But the overall thrust remains clear: the social dimension has been an integral and significant element of the process of integration since the inception of the Community.

This is the foundation upon which the next phase of action must be built. The nature and

scale of the challenges which Europe must face in the coming years, as set out in Part II, show clearly that many changes will be necessary both at national and at Community level. But the fundamental objectives will remain constant; the advancement of economic and social progress as two sides of the same coin and the search to ensure that the process of integration is clearly identified in the minds of all the population as bringing in its wake an incremental improvement in social and living standards rather than the reverse.



closer to the living and working needs of the population. In this context social policy is bound to be of growing importance in its own right, as well as providing accompanying policy for other strategic objectives such as the single market and economic and monetary union.

Indeed, the Treaty on European Union (Article 2) clearly establishes that the tasks of the Union will include:

- a high level of employment and social protection,
- the raising of the standard of living and the quality of life;
- economic and social cohesion and solidarity between all its Member States.

The Articles of the EEC Treaty specifically related to social policy spell out the objectives to include the working and living conditions of workers (117), health and safety at work (118a), equal treatment between women and men at work (119) and the development of the social dialogue between the social partners (employers and trade unions) at European level (118b) and the European Social Fund (Article 123). The Treaty on European Union, in its Agreement on Social Policy, recalls and strengthens these objectives with a sharper accent on the dialogue between the social partners and its potential results. At the same time it broadens the scope of the objectives of social policy (human resources, employment, social protection and social exclusion), and defines the areas for decision by qualified-majority.

Thus, the main social objectives of the Union cover issues close to the daily lives of the citizens and workers. These objectives provide the thread running throughout this Green Paper. But since we are now in the phase of constructing a more democratic Europe, let us begin by asking, as a basis for discussion and debate, a fundamental question.

## **B. WHAT SORT OF A SOCIETY DO EUROPEANS WANT?**

Europe's strength lies in its ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity, not only because of the rich quality of life that this brings, but also because the complex social challenges ahead call for a variety of solutions through which all Member States can learn from one another. But for this strength to be preserved there needs to be a common sense of purpose, cooperation to seek out solutions, and common policies and Community instruments when these prove to be necessary, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. Indeed, throughout the history of the Community there have been European values which, though a source of controversy on occasion, nevertheless provide common ground in the long run. Democracy, individual rights and freedoms, equality of opportunities, diversity of culture, respect for human dignity, social security and the rule of law are not as such a matter of controversy. These are shared values which need to be translated into political action by the Member States and the Union together, and to involve the civic society. What is not at issue is that they are fundamental to the future development of European society.

There is no doubt that, in one form or another, all Europeans want a world in which economic and social progress go together – a society in which women and men can participate on an equal footing. But it has to be admitted that the recessions that were ushered in by the oil-price shocks of the 1970s have revealed the new challenges facing employment,

the welfare State and equality of opportunity. Although there was a substantial European recovery in the 1980s, with over 9 million new jobs created, unemployment has continued to rise and the welfare State is confronted by new pressures. Poverty and social exclusion are to be seen on the streets.

It is important to underline that high standards of social protection have been a major contributory factor in Europe's economic success in the past. Many would argue that high social standards should not be seen as an optional extra, or a luxury which can be done without once times get hard, but rather as an integral part of a competitive economic model.

The debate between this view and those who argue that Europe's present level of social standards have become unaffordable goes to the heart of issue.

So what is going wrong? With the great depression of the 1930s behind them, the founders of the modern European socioeconomic system saw the world in terms of boom and depression. The 'full employment' of economic resources could be maintained through government action on the level of economic demand; the welfare State would transfer income to those at risk of poverty through unemployment, ill-health or old age. The active population would thereby finance a guaranteed and/or minimum income for the non-active population. In this sense, social policy was largely based

*So what is going wrong?*



Photo: © J.-J. Patricola

on the transfer of income to the needy through the tax system, and the development of social security systems based in certain countries on contributions by employers and workers so as to maintain incomes in times of need.

There are a number of major reasons for looking afresh at this approach:

First, the citizens of advanced, industrialized democracies such as those in the European Community have difficulty in forging a personal and social identity when they are part of the 'non-active' population. As new jobs are created in Europe, new groups enter the labour market because there is a latent 'social' demand for work, as

well as the economic demand arising from the wish to maintain or expand family income. Many women, for example, seek work for reasons of emancipation, dignity, social identity and the ordering of their lives, as well as for income. Beyond paid work there is a demand for voluntary activity, as witnessed by the rapid and healthy growth of community organizations and associations, and by the active involvement of older people in them. People want to participate and need to have that activity recognized, whatever it is and whether it is carried out inside or outside the home.

Second, we are in a world of continuing structural change rather than one dominated by

boom, depression and world wars. It will soon be 50 years after the end of World War II and the record shows that somehow or other the economic policy-makers have succeeded in evening out some of the worst parts at the top and the bottom (the boom and the recession periods) of the economic cycle. Despite the local and regional conflicts that have followed the collapse of communism, it is probable that we are emerging into a world dominated by peaceful socio-economic competition based on self-generated change, rather than economic and social restructuring forced by boom, depression and war. But economic policy is still dominated by short-term cyclical policies and has not yet succeeded in

wedding cyclical and structural policies. An additional factor is the effect of the 'globalization' process which implies ever greater ability on the part of economic actors to cope with permanent change and a need to adjust more rapidly.

Third, demographic trends include several components which have a significant bearing on the future of social and economic policies:

- the ageing of the population and its effects on social protection, future employment trends, the shifting balance between active and non-active population, the integration and participation of older people in social and economic life;

- population movements, in particular new trends in immigration flows with their social and political consequences, as well as internal movement such as the rural-urban balance and its consequences for rural development and urban policies;
- at the same time, family structures have been changing profoundly, seen in particular in the increasing incidence of family break-up, the changes in traditional family solidarity, the new and emerging relationship between older and younger people, the development of the respective roles of mothers and fathers and the results of these changes on children.

Fourth, the development of new technology has deeply altered the organization and even the concept of work. It has brought new forms of work, the adaptation of skills and new approaches to work. This has also affected relationships in the workplace; it has led to new forms of working time, pay and job specification and to new challenges for methods of negotiation and collective bargaining between firms and their partners. A further complication is the growing number of people excluded from the labour market and the increasing concern among the social partners regarding the external conditions affecting the development of firms.

Fifth, we have to take into account the growth of the black

economy in certain traditional sectors but also in new areas, together with its relationship with traditional and new forms of work (home working, local employment initiatives, etc.). Sixth, the combination of these factors leads to a search for:

- new approaches to responsibility, both at individual level (such as in the active search for employment) as well as at collective level, public and private;
- new roles for various bodies (social partners, voluntary organizations, local authorities);
- new forms of solidarity leading to new partnerships between all the relevant actors in the field of social policy.

One obvious outcome of these various pressures to which our societies are being subjected is the escalating costs of social security budgets particularly in the health field, leading to doubts about Europe's ability to continue to fund these systems into the future.

There is a high risk that the continued pursuit of present policies will lead ultimately to a 'dual' society in which wealth creation is primarily in the hands of a highly qualified labour force, while income is transferred to a growing number of non-active people as a basis for a reasonable level of social justice. Such a society would not only become increasingly less cohesive, it would also run counter to the need for the maximum mobilization of

Europe's human resource wealth in order to remain competitive.

The alternative would be to seek to create an 'active' society where there is a wider distribution of income, achieved by means other than simple social security transfers, and in which each individual feels able to contribute not only to production (as part of the search for full employment) but also via a more active participation in the development of society as a whole. An 'active' society is also one which has the ability to provide an adequate supply of the 'collective goods' – such as education, health and social protection systems – which are required to ensure its innovative capacities and its ability to adjust quickly.

Which way Europe goes will not depend on a single choice, but on the answers given to three inter-related questions linked to the fundamental objectives of the Treaty on European Union and to the social foundations of the future Europe:

- Is there a route back to full employment?
- Should the welfare State be given a new role?
- What is the next stage in equality of opportunity, without which European democracy will falter?

## C. IS THERE A ROUTE BACK TO FULL EMPLOYMENT?

Despite Europe's efforts over the last decade, full employment can no longer be taken for granted as the automatic outcome of growth-creating economic policies. All the evidence points to deep underlying structural problems in Europe which make a return to full employment unlikely in the foreseeable future unless significant changes of policy are introduced. Therefore, it is clear that there is no single road back to a high level of employment. Whilst higher levels of economic growth are indispensable if more jobs are to be created, the foreseeable rates of growth will not solve the problems. The harsh reality is that Europe has been creating fewer jobs than Japan and the United States: only 60% of the working-age population is in work in the Community compared to over 70% or even 75% in comparable economies. This means it has a bigger latent demand for work which eats up the new jobs without bringing down unemployment, and probably more 'mismatch' unemployment, that is to say people without the skills and qualifications to fill the available jobs.

The reasons which lie behind this discrepancy in Europe's performance in job creation have already been the subject of previous Commission texts (see notably the Employment in Europe report 1993) and will not be entered into detail here.

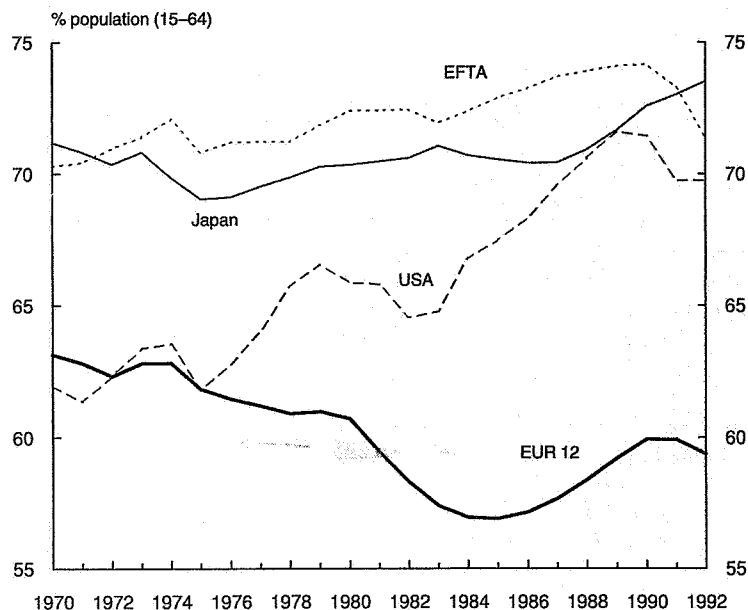
The key point to note is that this relatively low employment rate means that it is necessary to create a large number of new jobs in order to have any real impact on unemployment levels. For example, during the period 1985-91, Europe created over 9 million jobs but unemployment only dropped by 3 million. (See Figure 1.)

### 1. The challenge of technological and structural change

The essential point that has to be grasped is that Europe, like all the major economic areas on the world stage such as North America, Asia, Russia and China is entering a new era of radical technological and structural change. Global international competition is pushing Europe to the frontier of new technologies, to a new balance between manufacturing, services and agriculture, to different combinations of physical and human capital, and to a society in which individuals have to change their skills and qualifications over the course of their lives.

There is no going back on this radical process of change towards the post-industrial society. In such advanced, indu-

1 Employment rates in the Community and elsewhere, 1970-92



The ability of the Community to provide jobs for all those people who might wish to work is far lower than in other comparable economies. This means that it is necessary to create a large number of new jobs in order to have any real impact on unemployment levels.

