

## NEW LESSONS ON SOCIAL POLICY: THE RISE OF GLOBAL VERSUS CRISIS OF NATIONAL

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### ABSTRACT

*Social policy has moved over to the new course at a worldwide level in globalization era. Globalization has also some new lessons versus crisis of national in the new social policy making processes. Accordingly, this study aims at identifying these new lessons and changing face of social policy in the globalization process. In addition, worldwide social policies caused by the globalization is redefined with a new concept; "global social policy". In this article, was made a theoretical analysis for the transformation process which social policy has undergone along with globalization and the description of international social policy actors. According to the data obtained from this analysis, it was found that globalization enables the development of global social policies and steers the direction of social policies.*

**Keywords:** Globalization, Social Policy, Global Social Policies, Nation State, Social Welfare State, International Organizations.

### ÖZET

## SOSYAL POLİTİKA ÜZERİNE YENİ DERSLER: ULUSALIN KRİZİNE KARŞI KÜRESELİN YÜKSELİŞİ

*Sosyal politika, küreselleşme çağında dünya çapında yeni bir rotaya doğru hareket etmektedir. Küreselleşme, aynı zamanda yeni sosyal politika yapma süreçlerinde ulusalın krizine karşı bazı yeni derslere sahiptir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, söz konusu yeni dersleri ve küreselleşme sürecinde sosyal politikanın değişen yüzünü belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, küreselleşme sürecinin yol açtığı sosyo-ekonomik problemlere ilişkin dünya düzeyindeki sosyal politikalar; yeni bir kavramla; "küresel sosyal politikalar" olarak yeniden tanımlanmaktadır. Bu makalede, sosyal politikanın küreselleşmeyle birlikte uğradığı dönüşüm sürecinin ve uluslararası sosyal politika aktörlerinin teorik bir analizi yapılmıştır. Bu analizden elde edilen verilere göre, küreselleşmenin, küresel sosyal politikaların geliştirilmesine olanak sağladığı ve sosyal politikaların yönünü belirlediği tespit edilmiştir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Küreselleşme, Sosyal Politika, Küresel Sosyal Politikalar, Ulus Devlet, Sosyal Refah Devleti, Uluslararası Organizasyonlar.

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YDÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, C. XI, No. 1, (Nisan 2018)

To cite this article: Yeşilorman, M. (2018, April). New lessons on social policy: The rise of global versus crisis of national. YDÜ SOSBİLDER, 11(1), 102-129.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century can be considered as the era in which the most radical changes were experienced in the history of humanity. Because industrialization and capitalism, which outshine all of the developments in recorded history preceding itself, developed during this period. The dramatic changes brought about by these two developments, in art to science, economy to technology, briefly, changes reflected in all aspects of social life, created the necessity for a transition to a new type of society fairly different from the previous. Despite the relative increase observed in the level of welfare in these new social structures which are described through terms like “industrial society” and “capitalist society”, inequalities and injustices observed along with rapid urbanization between the social classes in terms of benefiting from business, education, health, housing and social security opportunities, gave rise to certain serious social and economic problems. The industrialization process has brought to the human population -which it attracted towards urban centers forcing them to work under the severe conditions of the capitalist economic order- confront with a series of problems, with respect to unemployment, poverty and inequality, at the intersection of capitalism and urbanization. In other words, the welfare society dreams of these industrialized and capitalized societies did not come true; and quite to the contrary, the capitalist social order based on materialism rather than humanism, has brought to the people unhappiness along with a series of problems. In this process, problems in different societal categories such as children, women, the elderly, the disabled, the poor, minorities and immigrants in the society are getting increasingly serious; industrial societies have been forced to deal with such problems. The needs in these societies to develop certain policies aimed at producing solutions to the problems of different societal categories, caused to rise to the emergence of social policy.

With the eventual institutionalization of the social policy phenomenon, it was put forward an idea of developing a state model responsible with establishing social peace, justice and solidarity and safeguarding the social equilibrium by meeting the basic needs of all citizens and ensuring security. This new state model is characterized by the social service state, which is formulated through the concepts of social state, the welfare state or the social welfare state. The social state can be defined as a form of government that provides its citizens with minimum income, education, health and social security, and is also responsible with producing certain policies aimed at protecting them against various dangers that may arise in these areas.

It could be put forward that after industrialization and capitalism, the second biggest revolution in the history of mankind took place in the age of globalization. Globalization refers to the process of transformation; which began first in the field of economy, and then diffused to the other areas of societal structure; which goes beyond national borders and is marked by increasing worldwide interdependence; during which multi-national organizations play an active role in socio-economic life. It is accepted that national structures and the nation-state were the most adversely affected by the process of transformation caused by globalization. It is argued that national structures particularly the sovereign power of the nation-state has relatively eroded throughout this process, during which transformation is rather focused on development of global factors. In this respect, it is suggested that the sovereign power in the field of economy and politics, shifted from the nation state and its institutional axis, towards the axis of supra-national or multi-national organizations and financial institutions and thus transition towards a new form of socio-economic and political organization called globalization, has taken place.

Many events and phenomena which were previously within more national borders related to globalization have begun to be considered on the world scale. One of the phenomena whose scope expanded from the national toward supra-national or international boundaries is also social policy. Because the globalization brought by the efforts of saving the capitalist system from its depression has led to social policy problems in the new world order to gain a global dimension. In other words, capitalism and its problems, which reached international dimensions with the globalization process, gave rise to the need to create global-scale social policies. Because in this process, it has become a necessity to regulate the socio-economic inequalities and injustices between the developed countries and the developing countries by means of global social policies for the provision and protection of world peace. Some of the common standards, legal regulations, recommendation decisions and cooperation agreements that are developed around the world are the main source of international quality social policies. These social policies, which are prepared in international platforms on a legal basis, are defined through a new concept called “global social policy” in this study.

Global social policy refers to social policies developed on the international scale and standards to solve the problems of the globalizing capitalist system. The growing need for international co-operation in the making of global social policies has led to the establishment of a number of institutions and standards at the international level. The development of social policies in such international scale and standards which emerged as an inevitable result of globalization, has led to the

crisis of the national. In short, globalization includes new lessons that lied behind the fall of the national and the rise of the global in social policy making processes. Therefore, this study aims to identify the new lessons brought about by globalization which alters the countenance of social policy processes. In terms of methodology, this research employs a theoretical analysis purposed of describing the changing face of social policy during the globalization process and the international institutions and organizational structures which are influential during this period. Before moving on to these theoretical analyses, it would be useful to have a look at the meaning and scope of social policy as a term.

## **2. ON THE SOCIAL POLICY TERM AND ITS SCOPE**

Social policy, is a term, derived from two separate expressions of “social” and “policy”, including a new meaning of the words. That is to say; the concept of “social” is used to express the relations among the classes in the social structure, the order of social stratification, class movements, social contradiction and social polarization, class contradiction and class struggles (Güven, 2001: 11). As for the “policy” concept, in the broadest sense, means the activities performed to make, maintain and change the general rules governing people's lives (Heywood, 2007: 2). “Social policy,” which is formed from the combination of these two concepts, is a term that generally describes the effects of economic events in the lives of the people and communities, and the social problems arising from these events (Güven, 2001: 11). The meanings of the terminating words, at first glance, suggest that social policy includes regulations on the social structure; the term actually describes primarily the effects of economic events in people's lives. It can be said that the reason why social policy is oriented toward analyzing the societal effects of economic events; is because its *raison d'être* is addressing the labor problems in industrial societies and the socio-economic inequalities and imbalances between social classes. The *raison d'être* of social policy, reveals that industrial revolution was also the factor that determined the turning point for social policy.

Social policy, whose modern history dates back to the industrial era while its ancient history dates all the way back to the birth of civilizations (Ersöz, 2003: 121). Nowadays, has taken the form of a progressive term with ever increasing importance that is open to change. The concept which was first used in the notion of “social politics” (Sozialpolitik) by Professor Riehl in Germany during the second half of the 19th century, owes its spread to a wider field and its transformation into a scientific term, to the establishment of the “Social Policy Association” in 1873 in Germany (Tuna & Yalçıntaş, 1997: 21). Because it is observed that the 'social policy' term

which displays differences in terms of conceptual character and content in different societies and eras, the approaches to the concept can be evaluated in narrow and wide dimensions, with respect to the said diversity.

In the narrow sense, social politics appear as policies aimed at eliminating the inequality and injustices that occur in the capitalist system. Hence, as Bozkır-Serdar expresses, social policy “first emerged as policies aimed at peacefully ending the injustices and struggle between laborers and capital owners in the capitalist order; and sustaining the economic and societal life, in short sustaining the system” (Bozkır-Serdar, 2012: 3). However, in course of time, it has shifted to different parts of society and to various societal problems and has reached a wider scope that deals with social order and integrity (Bozkır-Serdar, 2012: 3-4). As the concept's scope expanded, it seized to be a policy geared only towards economic purposes, and was impelled towards dealing with the many socio-economic and political concerns within the society in the broader sense.

When social policy is taken in the broadest sense, it intends to enable social classes to harmoniously co-exist within the social structure. Therefore, it can be said that social policies have a scope that aims to generate policies devoted to peacefully resolving the contrasts, tensions and conflicts that tend to fragment social unity, in ways that are acceptable to different groups within the society. (Bozkır-Serdar, 2012: 4). In this regard, it is possible to list social policy's goals as social development, social justice, social integration, social peace, social equilibrium and social democracy (Güven, 2001: 264). Nowadays, social policy has taken an impersonation gravitated towards struggling with any problem that threatens social integrity and negatively affects social life. The increasing differentiation of the needs and problems of individuals and groups, especially in the developed Western societies, has caused the scope of the social policy field to expand and its applications to diversify and become richer. The safeguarding of the rights of women, youth, children, the elderly, ex-convicts, immigrants, the disabled, the environment and consumers, against social exclusion and discrimination, have gained importance in today's world as third generation social policy issues (Bozkır-Serdar, 2012: 5). Because of the expansion of the scope of the concept, social policy assumed rather big responsibilities in today's societies, going beyond the goal of only regulating the relations between the working class and capital owners, and transformed into policies aimed at also solving the problems of various different societal categories in a society. In fact, in our age, it is observed that social policy has started to transform into a means of providing a social equilibrium in the society by making certain regulations for all social classes and groups. Under these

circumstances, aside from reaching various societal goals and ensuring social order, it can be said that social policy is heading toward a sort of community engineering by making future plans intended for wide societal categories. In other words, social policies are now programming social structures and their future. Among these future plans are also the goals of generating solutions to socio-economic problems encountered during the globalization process and alleviating the injustices between countries with different levels of development.

Thanks to the ever-expanding scope of the social policy term, it is observed that in our era they have become an instrument used by governments to regulate and support market institutions and social structures. It is emphasized that the social policy phenomenon, which generally comprise several social services like education, health, employment and social security, is once again focusing on issues like distribution, protection and social justice. Social policy is based on putting the people at the center of policy-making, not only by providing welfare, but also by reconciling people's needs and opposing categories' voices, and generating stability and social solidarity. On the other hand, social policy is described as a pragmatic instrument for governments to encourage positive economic results by ensuring their citizens' political support and promoting human capital and productive employment. This phenomenon can also create a productive cycle connecting people with economic developments that will be beneficial for everyone, by increasing domestic demand in the long term, and forming stable and integrated societies (Ortiz, 2007: 6). Concisely, well-designed and implemented properly social policies will strongly be able to shape the country by fostering employment and development, do away with marginalization and overcoming conflict. Along with this, it is essential to succeed in growth and obtaining equitable social outcomes as part of any national development strategy (Ortiz, 2007: 8). Following on from Ortiz's above-mentioned opinions, it can be said that social policy in our era has acquired the appearance of a multi-dimensional and wide-ranging phenomenon aimed at administering and managing a country's basic resources in line with social justice and on the basis of social equilibrium. Before proceeding with the assessment of the scope of social policy which has started to reach international dimensions, it would be useful to first discuss the social welfare state phenomenon, which served as a means for social policy to develop on the national level.

### **3. THE SOCIAL WELFARE STATE AS A SOCIAL POLICY INSTITUTION**

The state has been one of the most extensively contemplated and debated political issues since ancient times. The institution of state which previously

performed some basic services for its own citizens like defense, security, health and education, later took on relatively more advanced new functions and responsibilities in line with changing needs. These new functions and responsibilities earned the state institution a new identity under the name “social welfare state”. The welfare state identity can be described as a state model, “that ensures individuals and families a minimum income, protecting them against societal dangers and providing them with means of social security, and ensuring a certain standard in the field of social services like education, health, housing to all of its citizens regardless of their social status” (Durdu, 2009: 41). It is argued that the social welfare state emerged as result of the idea that the state should not remain a mere spectator to this process but should intervene, as political rights also developed in the face of problems, increasing inequalities and distrust which occurred with the industrialization of capitalist economies (Durdu, 2009: 41). Similarly, according to another view, the welfare state, developed as the product of an idea suggesting that the state should intervene in economic and social life, in order to create a more just and balanced social order by eliminating the inequalities between the individuals, or in political terms, the citizens that make up the society, and therefore one that carries the traces of social democracy (Koray, 2007: 452-453). It is striking that the necessity of state intervention shared by both views is rather directed toward the economic field, especially toward the operation of the capitalist system. Likewise, Giddens also argues that the welfare state developed as part of the state's efforts to bring about welfare through state intervention in the economy in order to make the social order more just (Güleç, 2008: 48). On the other hand, Şaylan (1995: 71) states that the welfare state is a development that emerged in response to Marxism's critique of capitalism. Despite all of these mentioned views, there is not enough evidence to discern that the welfare state is only an economically based state model, by just looking at its goal of regulating economic life or its functions.

As emphasized above, the social welfare state is not supported by a theory built solely on economic foundations. In fact, as noted by Şaylan, the welfare state as a comprehensive idea, rests on the Enlightenment Philosophy, the idea of equality and progress and the human rights (second and third generation human rights) understanding set forth in relation to these. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which expresses the world's basic moral-political values after 1945, is considered one of the purest and best-known examples of this approach, and the Enlightenment Philosophy and the idea of democracy defined in relation to it, constitute the source of legitimacy for the welfare state (Şaylan, 1995: 89). The placement of the welfare state within a human rights and democracy framework shows that it has a wide range of responsibilities including protecting its

citizens' economic rights as well as social and political rights. Hence, Koray (2007: 455) argues that, although the need for the welfare state is attributed to the problems created by industrialization and capitalism and its point of origin is shown as the development of democracy, the politicization of the labor movement, has to do with the “power relations approach” within the context of the pro-labor affinity this movement built with trade-unions and the political power it acquired. Therefore, it can be said that, in the context of developing legal and political rights, the welfare state has administrative functions and responsibilities that can provide citizens with a standard of living in the socio-economic and political areas that human rights, required. Accordingly, the political-administrative ideology of the welfare state is social democracy. For this reason, one can clearly speak of the existence of a connection or relationship between the social state and social democracy. Social democracy has emerged against Marxism and socialism's pro-working-class monistic ideology, as a new political theory and practice based on the principle of balance in pluralism, developed from the criticisms at the political level. Contrary to socialism, social democracy, with this very aspect, advocates a democratic state that favors social balance between different social classes and giving equal voice to all social classes in the society. At the level of this minimum balance to be established upon the struggle between social classes, it aims to enable reconciliation and cooperation between the worker and the employer, to ensure cooperation and solidarity with the poor categories of a society, and provide protection from the dangers of the socio-economic life. Thus, social democracy provides the social state a means, it can use in forming the “{social} welfare-balance-solidarity” triangle as well as a useful road map.

Despite the presence of those who bond the development of the welfare state to the late industrialization or the post-industrialization era; different opinions exist which date it back to earlier periods, depending on the source to which they attribute it. For example, as Koray pointed out that according to the liberal view, the welfare state approach goes back as far as in the 16th century “Poor Law” of the UK, and indicates that the society's moral responsibility is at the core of the matter. From the perspective of the conservative approach, each state has social responsibilities and policies implemented on the issue; for example, charity work undertaken by churches, foundations and communities can be considered within this scope. As for Marxists, they define the welfare state as a product of capitalist development, and associate it with capitalism's problems, class struggle and economic crises, as well as policies that seek to integrate the working class with the system without altering the private ownership structure (Koray, 2007: 452-453). It can be said that, in the broader sense, the striking common aspect of the above-mentioned views is that,



each of them sees the welfare state in different terms, explaining it through social and economic factors such as society, ethics, religion and economy, rather than political factors.

The birth of the social welfare state, as briefly mentioned above, is dated back to relatively earlier stages of history by views explaining it through society, societal and economic factors, or feelings of mercy in the community. However, in the modern sense, it is possible to link the process of transition to the welfare state, to the inclusion of social policies in the responsibility area of the state institution during the industrialization era. Because the social policy phenomenon, has gained a public character due to efforts made by the state at an organized level. For this reason, it is accepted that “the state, amongst social policy institutions, is the most effective” (Ersöz, 2003: 140) institutional structure. Since the state as the most sophisticated organizational structure or organization of humanity; and, as society's the only political power, has rather significant advantages in the making and implementing of social policy. It has started to expand the responsibility and intervention area of this developed organization, which had its heyday during the nation-state era, in the process of struggle with the problems created by capitalism. Although some approaches, such as liberalism and postmodernism, argue that the state should limit its intervention in social and economic life, the increasing complexity of the industrial societies has brought about a political development that is legitimate for intervention by the state: the social welfare state.

This new understanding of state, based on the intervention of the state by the inequalities and injustices caused by the free market conditions defended by liberalism and securing the lives of the poor, came along with the changing winds of the nineteenth century (Şaylan, 1995: 50). Because of the mass poverty caused by the Industrial Revolution, states were forced to make many legal reforms to take precautionary measures concerning labor relations, improve the quality of housing and eliminate the problems threatening the health of the society. Thus, the opportunity for the foundation of both the welfare state (Ersöz, 2003: 140), and social policy in the modern sense (Koray, 2007: 449) was born simultaneously in the early stages of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among the many intellectual efforts of this period, it is necessary to mention the contributions of the Fabianism Movement to the development of the welfare state idea, as one of the ideological starting points of the UK's Labor Party in the 1880s, advocating government intervention in the name of spreading democracy to the societal and economic areas. The Fabian Movement, started by intellectuals like Sidney and Beatrice Webb and famous playwright George Bernard Shaw, starting off from the

observation that the unrestrained functioning of the market lead to many inequalities and injustices in society, argued that an ultimate force or a decision-making authority in a society, in other words the state, must necessarily intervene in economic life for a just and egalitarian society (Şaylan, 1995: 50). It can be said that the Fabian Movement, which has considerable influence in the development of the welfare state in England, also made some contributions to the welfare state theory in general.

Despite these developments in the UK, it is argued that the first aspects of social policy, which paved the way for the modern welfare state, emerged in Germany. Immediately after coming to power, in order to block the social democracy movement, Bismarck resorted to establishing an active social policy between 1883 and 1889, three important laws, the Health Insurance Law (with employee-employer premiums), the Work Accidents Law and the Elderly and Disability Insurance Law, were put to vote. At the level of constitutional regulations, far reaching social rights and the idea of the state's social responsibilities was mentioned for the first time in the Weimar Constitution (1919). Despite the fact that Germany entered the industrialization process relatively late in the UK, the German model became the first system to institutionalize mandatory protection systems against the UK's mutual aid model, which originated in the liberal space on the subject of social protection (Günel, 2009: 20). The development of social policy in Europe under German leadership was a result of the significant poverty, unemployment and regression in the region caused by the big war after the crisis. Aiming to overcome big social problems, various social policy practices began to come to the fore even before the end of the war and the blending of Keynesian politics with a social security approach, gave rise to the social welfare state as we understand it today (Günel, 2009: 22; Ersöz, 2003: 127). In this context, the most basic reference is considered to be the report prepared by British politician Beveridge (Günel, 2009: 22). Thus, the organizational effectiveness of the state in the field of social policy peaked with the birth of the social welfare state in industrialized countries, in the aftermath of the Second World War. While the state became a primary institution in providing basic social policies like education, health, housing, social security and personal social services and the crises that shook the world economies starting in the mid 1970's reduced the state's role in economic and social life and thus its effectiveness in the field of social policy (Ersöz, 2003: 141). These crises experienced in those years have had a restrictive effect on the fulfillment of the duties and responsibilities of the social welfare state as it reduces the economic power and efficiency of the states.

As mentioned above, it is possible to come across the variety in the

development of the social welfare state also in the social welfare state practices. This is so because various welfare state models, the purpose of which is to raise the level of social welfare through a number of different of social policies, differ from each other. For example, Esping-Andersen classifies the USA and Britain as the “Liberal Welfare Model”; Germany, France and Belgium as the “Conservative or Continental European Welfare Model” and countries like Sweden and Denmark as the “Social Democratic or Scandinavian Welfare Model” (Taşcı, 2012: 22–23) in terms of welfare regimes. According to this classification, the liberal model stands for the welfare state approach that rejects the “state intervention to free markets by limiting the choices of the state.” The advocates of Conservative and Christian approaches have a welfare understanding predicated upon “support with financial aid” (subsidiary), while the social democracy model is based on a “universal and redistributor” welfare model. According to Esping-Andersen, welfare states are an institutional matrix of the market, state and family. Accordingly, the dominance of the market gave rise to the liberal model; the dominance of the community-family to the conservative model, and the dominance of the state to the social-democrat/Scandinavian model. Hence, it is stated that the Liberal Welfare State handles with the market logic, while the Conservative Welfare Model with the “corporatist” manner based on typical interest group cooperation, and the Scandinavian Welfare Model in the manner of an “Employment Expanding Welfare State Model” (Taşcı, 2012: 23). According to the classifications, it is possible to evaluate these models of welfare or the model forms determined according to qualities of the country as ideal type, since they are formed by considering the needs and socio-economic structure of the society. In this respect, it can be argued that the socio-economic and even cultural differences of the countries are one of the main reasons for the diversity of the welfare state models.

This variety in welfare state models is further diversified by the addition to the classifications of different models belonging to societies that don't comply with the existing types. For example, Leibfried has added a new model to the typology above, the “Latin Zone Model”, which includes Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal and, to some extent, Turkey; with a welfare characterized by particularism, clientelism and even corruption in the welfare services as well as a high rate of public expenditures with the family assuming a role in providing social equilibrium. Recently, a new model called the (South) East Asian Welfare Model, including Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan and even Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, was added to this classification. It is suggested that this approach was born as a result of the interest in understanding situations like achieving good and positive outputs, despite the economic growth and low-level public expenditures of

the “East Asian Tigers” (Taşcı, 2012: 25). All of the models mentioned above were formulated for specific countries and the problems particular to them. Therefore, it must be taken as normal that the social policy understanding of these welfare state models and their solution suggestions for socio-economic issues, differ from country to country, or at least from one welfare model to another. However, in order to deal with global capitalism and tackle its problems globalization process now needs international efforts that go beyond the national-level models and national social policies produced by social welfare states. For this reason, in this period which marks the end of the national, it is time for social welfare states and the social policies prepared by them, to be replaced by global social policies.

#### **4. THE DECLINE OF NATIONAL AND THE RISE OF GLOBAL SOCIAL POLICY DURING GLOBALIZATION PROCESS**

##### **4.1. Giving Globalization a Name**

There has been a lot of written about one of the most popular concepts of our era; globalization. As a result of these intellectual efforts, many globalization definitions and approaches to globalization, reflecting different points of view, do exist. To give an example, there are those who define the globalization phenomenon as “new-world disorder”; according to them, “the deepest meaning emerging from the globalization idea is the ambiguous, irregular and wayward nature of world issues” (Güven, 2001: 253). The irregular and wayward nature of world issues describes an uncertain and chaotic situation caused by the declining power to estimate and control things in an atmosphere where everything is interpreted at the global level. The situation in question can be seen as a result of the power and authority relationships somewhat going beyond the national and starting to be considered at the global level. Just as Giddens (2000: 25) said, globalization in the eyes of most people consists basically of power and influence being taken from the hands of local communities and transferred to the global arena. This really is one of the consequences of globalization; nations are losing a portion of their former economic power. However, there is also a contrary consequence of this; that is to say, globalization is not only an upward process, but at the same time it is a phenomenon moving downward creating new pressures for local autonomy. In other words, globalization also infiltrates horizontally, creating new economic and cultural areas within nations and their borders (Giddens, 2000: 25). According to this view, it appears that the globalization process is a socio-economic and cultural power struggle, allowing vertical movement from local to global on the one hand and downright from global to local, and horizontal towards national on the other hand.

Globalization is known as a process of change which initially developed in the economic field and, in time, expanding on different areas of social life. Therefore, there is a widely held view that, as a formation based on economic foundations, globalization in the general sense, is a restructuring process expanding at the global level, seeking recovery from the crisis of capitalism has fallen into. Briefly, it is argued that globalization is nothing more than the evolution of capitalism. For example, Güven (2001: 265) says that globalization, as a development created by the restructuring process that emerged from the capitalist economic system's crisis, is the evolution of capitalism. According to him, the most basic characteristic of this evolution process is that everything within the capitalist system, especially the labor and capital elements, has gained an international dimension. Within this restructuring process of world capitalism, the state's interventions in social and economic life have gained, in essence, a scope and content aimed at capital accumulation. That is why the welfare state, seen as an obstacle in front of capital's global efficiency, was reduced to a minimal state, and was scaled down (Güven, 2001: 265). These activities aimed at reducing the social and welfare of the social welfare state have been recorded as the first main sources of the decline in the national globalization process. Besides, as Giddens said, ideological attitudes about globalization, which are evaluated in different ways around different ideological minds, may also differ. For example, according to what is known as "skeptics", the notion of globalization is an ideology created by free marketplaces who want to remove welfare systems and limit government spending. According to Radicals, the global market is much more developed than the 1960s and 1970s, and it breaks national borders. The nation has lost much of its former sovereignty and politicians' ability to influence events. The nation-state has come to an end (Giddens, 2000: 21). Although they may approach the subject from different perspectives, there is a striking common point among the views; which is that, along with globalization, the welfare state or nation state era slowly neared an end and new global structures against the national began to form.

#### **4.2. The Rise of Global Social Policies Against National**

It can be argued that the two basic pillars of this new formation are economic and political developments, if globalization is a restructuring process. National structures that function on a balance established between economy and politics were replaced by global structures in which the economy is rising to the fore front, as this balance shifted against politics. In other words, as P. Hirst and G. Thompson (2000: 222) also state, as economics and politics separate from each other during the globalization process, the economy rises at the expense of the fall of politics.

Therefore, markets are legitimized with free competition and remain beyond national control, the capacity of states to control or change economic outcomes are reduced. On the contrary, it is suggested that, international companies and financial institutions, as the executives and directors of the globalization process, affect the fate of millions living in many different parts of the world, more than the decisions of their own governments (Güven, 2001: 258). The fact that international companies and financial institutions have more effects on the fate of people than the states they are citizens of, lead the welfare state to lose ground against the global economy and market, and give way to global structures.

From a political stand point, the nation-state in the globalization process, has begun to be perceived not as an able “ruling” power over a certain piece of land capable of creating political outcomes in all dimensions, but as an area where types of governance are proposed, legitimized and controlled (Hirst & Thompson, 2000: 222). According to this, the dominance of the multi-national corporations and financial institutions over the global market as a result of the weakening of the nation-states' effectiveness in both the economic and political fields, brought with it the fall of the national and the rise of globalization. In other words, while global economic developments narrowed the areas of sovereignty of the nation-state, they significantly expanded the global market and the power of multi-national corporations in this market. Here, as Güven (2001: 257) pointed out, the globalization process, characterized by the market's unrestricted sovereignty, the scaling down and disfunctionalization of the state, and the unrestricted movement of the global capital that goes with privatization; fundamentally shook the foundations and caused the collapse of the societal accord which had led to the establishment of the welfare state and which in fact make up its main functions. Disfunctionalization of the social welfare state and the consequent abandonment of decision-making to processes dominated by international financial institutions giving direction to global markets, created a negative picture particularly for developing countries in terms of growth and development, which are of crucial importance for them (Güven, 2001: 260). These efforts throughout the globalization process to disfunctionalize the social welfare state and particularly incapacitate its social policy functions, led social policies to be considered globally; and even made it a necessity and transferred the responsibility of solving global economic concerns to global organizations. Though the social policy problems during this process may seem to only concern global-level organizations, the type and degree of the ongoing interaction between globalization and the welfare state during the formulation of social policies, takes place in a complex structure and not just on the global plane.

The complex nature of the formulation of social policies during the globalization process; in other words, the interaction between globalization and social policy, according to Taşcı (2012: 27) can be explained based on four fundamental perspectives: Regarding to the first perspective; the globalization process, due to the dominance of capitalism, causes reductions and austerity in welfare. During this process in question, the national structure of the world economies transformed and became internationalized. Thus, throughout the globalization process the state's fundamental functions, followed a course of adaptation to the international economy, rather than an approach of welfare based on national and social development (Taşcı, 2012: 27). Finally, according to this opinion, while the welfare state delivers social policy services, it prefers to adapt to the international economy rather than oppose the globalization process. As for the second approach debating the impact of globalization on social policies, it claims that globalization has little effect on welfare states, and thus on social policy (Taşcı, 2012: 27–28). According to this, it is suggested that globalization did not have the expected impact on the welfare state and social policy, and did not cause a significant change. The third perspective's opinion is that the effects of globalization on social policy are adjusted and balanced by national policies. As per the mentioned approach, the welfare state functions as an intermediary that adjusts national social policies to global social policies. The fourth perspective which focuses on the relationship between globalization and social policy suggests that it is the welfare states who created globalization and who limits globalization's prospective development. With respect to this view, globalization is evaluated to a large extent as a product of the development in democratic welfare states and developed economies (Taşcı, 2012: 28). As it is seen, the approaches mentioned above generally do not see globalization as the main source of the welfare state depression and problems in the social policy field; rather, they accept it as an international framework of reciprocal interaction and cooperation with the welfare state in the process of establishing national social policies. The mentioned opinions put forth that although globalization constrict the welfare state's area of sovereignty it does not remove social policy from the welfare state's area of duty or; that it forces them to cooperate with international institutions in order to solve global economic problems. This means that, the globalization process gave the welfare state a new form manifesting itself in the form establishing balance between global social policies and national social policies, developing social policies in line with standards specified by international organizations, and making cooperation with them in the implementation of these.

The concept of social policy concept initially was characterized to a

phenomenon of national qualified. Its perception as being a function of the social welfare state comes from the fact that this phenomenon previously carried a relatively national character. As Tokol (2012: 61) puts it, it is possible to relate the dominance of social policy's national aspect to certain explanations; such as the social policy measures being effective only within the borders of that country; in other words, not affecting other countries. However, the national quality of social policy was able to maintain its validity until the effects of the globalization process were felt. Since the world economic market, globalizing in our age with each day, made it imperative to consider the social policies at the global level. To be more precisely, the social policies which used to be formulated by nation-states when they were yet strong political actors, have gained on an international dimension with globalization, as a result of motives such as, ensuring equality and social justice in competitive conditions of the international market, contributing to the continuation of peace, drawing attention to social and humanistic aims in economic development (Tokol, 2012: 61). Shifting from national borders towards international borders, social policies have thus begun to be used at the international level as instruments to serve socio-economic and humanistic aims.

Previously seen as identical to the nation-state or the social state, social policy began to be considered not only on the national level, but also on different dimensions such as international and local. The consensus to reduce the socio-economic imbalances between countries via international-level standardization was one of the factors that led social policy to be considered on a global dimension. Thus, thanks to globalization, a new concept was put forth that was characterized by the creation of certain social standards or the elevation of existing social standards: The standard society.

The standard society is suggested as a model of society within which the existing socio-economic and legal discrepancies and inequalities between members of that society are reduced to a minimum level. This type of society is a structure putting emphasis on the state's and other non-governmental organizations' obligation in standardizing wages, labor conditions, rights and liberties; promoting services such as education, health, housing, and social security; and elevating them to a certain standard (Şenkal, 2003: 4). For instance, a concrete example of these social standards is the existence of a "basic income" practice, a minimum income insurance given to all citizens as a right, notwithstanding any criteria or inspection" in many European Countries (Koray, 2007: 465–466). Leave aside the possibility of implementing the "basic income" idea all over the world, it is necessary to mention here that the standard society ideal has a somewhat utopic character in certain



subjects. Because, no matter what social standards are provided, it is not likely that an example of a society can be developed, where all national and international socio-economic, cultural and legal discrepancies and inequalities are addressed albeit to a certain extent. Moreover, Şenkal (2003: 6) indicates that globalization created significant discrepancies in the social living standards between countries. Thus, it is estimated that societal and cultural structures and factors can allow such standardization only to a certain degree.

The goal of ensuring a certain standard in the lives of individuals in the social standard society is accepted as a highly important situation for social policy. Since the basic goal of social policy practices are high living standards for people living in a country (Şenkal, 2003: 5). Evaluated from this perspective, it can be put forth that globalization prescribes certain social standards at the global level, and can significantly contribute to the development of social policies in all societies. Because, according to Şenkal's (2003: 6) statement, international regulation and standards are now effective in determining social policies in many countries. Generating social standards for social policy that will be valid at the international level is necessary and imperative in terms of social peace and social welfare. However, when millions of people in the world lead lives in hunger and poverty, these countries cannot be expected to generate social standards oriented towards industrialized Western countries (Şenkal, 2003: 6). However, it is also estimated that ensuring certain international social standards will help in terms of establishing equality and social justice.

#### ***4.2.1 Global Social Policies and Their International Actors.***

Just like the social policy phenomenon's scope, which gained an international dimension with globalization, its standards have also reached an international scope. Because, just as Tokol (2012: 61) states, the fundamental aim of international social policy is formulating international norms, and giving them functionality on the international level. As mentioned before, the recently developed “global social policy” concept was used in this study, instead of “international social policy”, used in existing literature to represent social policies at international standards. Since the global social policy term, is concerned with the economic and societal changes in the globalization process, it denotes more than what the international social policy term stands for. Thus, it has become imperative that the social policies in international norms and standards necessitated by the global world order, be generated in the form of global social policies. The creation of global social policies is performed as a function of international organizations and various regulations.

Because global social policies have an international character, the duty of formulating international-level social policies on economic and societal life falls on supra-national organizations. That is to say, a necessity was born for the solution of social policy problems -which were carried to the international dimension with globalization- by international organizations. These multi-national organizations dealing with global social policy issues, have taken on the responsibility of developing certain international standards that first aim to arrange work life, and subsequently the social life. It is mentioned many types of international organizational models which assume the responsibility of making regulations on global social policies. For example, Tokol (2012: 63) divides these international organizations into three separate categories, “Official Organizations”, “International Unions”, and “International Non-Governmental Organizations”.

The UN and its affiliated organizations, the ILO (International Labor Organization) (Şenkal, 2003: 5; Tokol, 2012: 63-65), the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and regional organizations such as the European Council and European Union (Tokol, 2012: 63-68) are the leading official organizations relatively effective in establishing global social policies. Established with the aim of protecting international peace and security in 1945, the UN still continues its activities since its establishment, by determining policies aiming to ensure international economic and social development, advising governments, establishing international norms, through its fund-program-specialized expertise organizations (Tokol, 2012: 63). Thus, the UN is active as an effective international social policy actor at every level, from determining global social policies to making legal regulations on the subject, to taking preventions that facilitate the final implementation of these policies and norms.

The global developments in the economic field, where globalization was first felt, also lead the way for problems related to working life to be experienced globally. Thus, as Güven (2001: 161) mentioned the solution of the problems related to working life at universal level, and the need to secure basic working standards under international assurances, made necessary the establishment of international policy organizations. Ditto, ILO has directed many different dimensional activities in the new world economic order. For example, ILO has been suggested to play three roles; a standard-setter, a technical assistance agency and a knowledge generator (Standing, 2008: 380) but unfortunately in the role of these three cannot be achieved. ILO also has “influenced labour standards epistemic community and in a few countries also the global poverty lobby expertise associated with UNICEF and UNDP” (Deacon et. al, 1997: 199). Additionally, it’s “research papers promote

evidence-based analysis of policies that help improve employment and social outcomes” (ILO Research Paper Series [ILO], n.d.).

Despite all above mentioned, the leading organization inspects working conditions; the ILO (International Labor Organization) has a multi-national structure. The ILO (1919), which has brought certain international standards to work life, assumes duties such as “regulating the working conditions of all laborers in the world, developing union rights and freedoms, identifying the problems encountered in the fields of labor law and social security law, establishing peace in labor, creating a working order in line with developing technologies, and providing technical support and guidance services to less developed countries in subjects related to the work life” (Güven, 2001: 161). The ILO has also various agreements in place that guarantee fundamental societal rights and freedoms like union rights, labor rights, social security rights, the right to improve living conditions and the right to participate in the administrative rule making (Güven, 2001: 168–170). It is observed that, within this cluster of responsibilities, the ILO displays an approach that accepts globalization as inevitable, and aims to resolve the unemployment, poverty and social exclusion created by the same globalization that earned it a social dimension, through certain social policies (Erdoğan, 2007: 287). Thus, as Tokol (2012: 66) stated, a significant portion of the source of international social policy is the regulations laid down by the ILO and ILO, functioning in line with its triple-reference structure -the agreements, advice and regulations prepared by the International Labor Bureau- is central to establishing and implementing global social policies.

As for the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) established in 1961, it is known as an influential international organization in formulating social policies that aim to ensure cooperation between developed countries, and to identify and harmonize the views of these countries in economic and political topics (Tokol, 2012: 67). Yet another international organizational form carrying regional characteristics, the European Council (1949) is one of the international organizations that perform functions such as preparing agreements comprised of common standards, regulations and implementations that bring European Countries reciprocal obligations by ensuring synergy on individual freedoms, political freedom and legal order between these countries; engaging in actions agreed upon by the member nations; and ensuring a continuous flow of information between member states (Şişman, 2004: 121).

The history of the European Union, established with the European Union

Treaty (the Maastricht Treaty) in 1993 (Tokol, 2012: 68), is based on the European Economic Community (ECC), established by European countries in the year 1957, after the economic, political and social devastation they experienced in the aftermath of the World War II. The European Union, having become a supra-national union, with eventual integration established in every field (Günel, 2009: 33–34), took its place among the international unions oriented toward developing certain common social policies. The main objective of the EU's social policy is identified as the improvement of laborers' living and working conditions in member countries, ensuring integration between the social policies of member states via development of the dialog between labor and employers' unions (Tokol, 2012: 69). Today's European Union social policy has reached a much wider scope than originally aimed during the establishment of the union, as a result of the deepening of the union. Certain social policy regulations that were previously developed at the union level rather to ensure the free movement of workers has been replaced at present with a wide body of regulations that have detailed provisions about workplace health and safety, that give importance to the fight with unemployment, and that put equality between men and women at the forefront (Özerdem, 2010: 17). As a result of the mentioned developments, efforts to accede to the European Union have created a new concept: Europeanization. Social policy, previously accepted as a state-centric policy field within national borders, has evolved within this context; and the capacity of the state has diffused vertically and horizontally with Europeanization incentives, and the number of actors in social policy making has increased (Lendvai, 2007: 28). In other words, European Union Membership and the Europeanization process, achieved significant developments at the international level with respect to social policy practices. Therefore, Lendvai foresees that, though the social dimension of the accession process is weak, in the coming years the EU will increasingly become a central actor in the field of social policy, in Europe, particularly South-Eastern Europe (Lendvai, 2007: 40). While the establishment of social policies allows such common international arrangements to achieve a common standard of living at the minimum level, it is worried that standardization efforts resulting from the uniformity nature of globalization will have an adverse effect on the world scale, which will further increase interdependence.

Among global policy institutions, unions have an important place. The establishment of the World Federation of Trade Unions goes all the way back to the “First International” formed in 1864, to the “International Secretariat of the Confederation of National Union Centers” (ISNTUC) established in 1992. The “International Federation of Trade Unions” (IFTU) established in 1913, is accepted as the first international labor organization that brought together national umbrella

organizations. Likewise, the “International Trade Union Confederation” (ITUC), established in 2006 to form a strong unionized international movement against globalization, by the union of the ICFTU, WCL and independent unions, is the umbrella organization with the most members worldwide that organized the national umbrella organizations with different ideologies and political views (Tokol, 2012: 71). In order to form a force more powerful and more united in the international arena against the problems brought on by globalization, the ITUC, TUAC and Global Professional Federations gathered together in 2007 to reorganize under the name “Global Council of Unions” (Tokol, 2012: 72). The efforts of employers' unions to organize at the international level, as a new entity at the time, showed itself in 1920 with the establishment of the “International Industrial Employers' Organization”. The name of the organization was later changed to the “International Organization of Employers (IOE)”. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) (Güven, 2001: 173), can also be described as global union institutions that continue their activities at the international level.

It is necessary to point out that, among organizational structures gaining importance during the globalization period, non-governmental organizations have a unique place. Yet, the roles of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have changed with the globalization process. Nowadays, there are many NGOs operating at the international level. When NGOs are organized at the international level, they can give direction to their social policy preferences by means of promoting cooperation and influencing the political discussion environment (Tokol, 2012: 75). It is then possible to mention that CSOs are in a state of global organizational influences on the process of preparing global social policies. Indeed, again as Tokol (2012: 75) stated, the failure of countries, with the coming of globalization, to be effective in international cooperation in resolving the common 21st century social policy problems like poverty, unemployment, and immigration, increased the need for international NGOs. It can be said that the international organization of NGOs, will be helpful in increasing global and local interaction and cooperation in developing global social policies, and in forming a powerful instrument of leverage in influencing social policy decisions.

Aside from international institutions dealing with social policy problems, international agreements are also an instrument of reference for global social policies with certain standards they bring to societal rights and freedoms. Among these agreements, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the fundamental societal rights mentioned in this proclamation, hold an important place in this regard.

In the 23rd article of the proclamation, it is essential that everyone has the right to freely choose their work, work in favorable conditions, to get equal pay for equal work, to receive just and favorable compensation, and to form and join unions. Likewise, two documents adopted by the European Council, the European Human Rights Agreement (1950), regulating union rights and freedom in unionizing, and the European Social Charter (1961), regulating fundamental economic and societal rights (Güven, 2001: 171), are documents established based on global social policies. Furthermore, certain international regulations of the United Nations, is the fundamental source of the norms established by other organizations, by reflecting the universal principles of human rights, economic and social rights, and the common values of modern civilization. Thus, it is suggested that the UN performs the functions of both influencing national legislation and bringing closer international norms (Tokol, 2012: 63–64), with the documents it drafts and other activities it carries out. In addition, the legal regulations prepared by unions and NGOs together with the international organizations mentioned above, like the UN, ILO, OECD and the EU, can be acknowledged among the influential conventions on global social policies.

## 5. CONCLUSION

It would not be wrong to describe globalization as the name of the world's reconstruction. Because this process brought about the need to redefine and re-explain everything as it is known and experienced in the past. All of the socio-economic, cultural, political structures and relationships considered within national borders before, with the emergence of the global, came to be considered on a supra-national or transnational scale with the advent of globalization. That being the case, the scale of all things in the world have changed and gained enormous dimensions. That is to say, globalization led the world to be viewed from a macroscopic lens and pieces making up the world and the reciprocal webs of interaction to be viewed as a whole. Since it manifested as a process of development in which the capitalist system spread throughout the entire world based on the principle of interdependency, in order to save the capitalist economies from the crisis they had entered. One such phenomenon whose both magnitude and solution have been magnified by globalization is social policy.

The social policy created by the need to work in the process of industrialization and to solve problems related to the life of society was accepted within the responsibility of the welfare state. In this period, social policies took their place within the scope of public policy when these entered the social welfare state's

area of responsibility. Furthermore, because the state power is the most powerful faculty from the political and legal perspective, this has served to make it the only institution that is best capable of assuming the responsibility of regulating social policy. Social policies are required the existence of a powerful and legitimate central administration that can carry out a series of activities consisting of regulating, protecting and enforcing the social and economic rights of all citizens living in a country. Moreover, social policy-making covers a wide range of responsibilities consisting of the solution of public problems like preventing mass poverty, regulating economic life and business relations, protecting public health, social security, public safety and increasing opportunities in education, through legal regulations and political institutions. All of these activities reveal that social policy carries characteristics of a social project model or a development project that can be carried out under state responsibility.

Until recently, the concepts of globalization and social policy, when considered side by side, would have been perceived as a rather interesting combination. Because social policy, constituted one of the public services accepted as among the social state's fundamental duties during the heyday of nation-states. In the global world where everything in the world started to be considered on a global scale, social policies also started gaining an international character. For why, the solution of socio-economic problems caused by globalization which is seen as an evolution of the capitalist system, created the need for the development of global social policies. Approaching social policies globally, has transformed the phenomenon significantly, and caused it to gain a new and different perspective. Also, globalization envisages certain social standards in the world in terms of social policy, brought about certain advantages and disadvantages to world societies, particularly for developing countries. Thus, it was likely that the mentioned international social standards would make compliance with certain socio-economic and legal principles an obligation and thus create a positive effect on societal development and at the welfare level. Moreover, it can be thought that the development of global social policies will also provide beneficial results in ensuring equality, peace, social justice and social welfare worldwide. Major duties befall supra-national organization in establishing global social standards. Thus, it also helps, set examples of international solutions to social policy problems like unemployment, poverty, social inequality, discrimination, exclusion, and disability, which globalization is argued to be constantly fanning globally, rather than eliminating them.

Ever-complicating structure and problems of the globalizing world have

increased the need to develop and implement influential social policies. Since today, global social policies have taken on the form of a wide-ranging and multi-dimensional phenomenon oriented toward certain fundamental goals like the development and strengthening of social equality, social justice, social peace, social balance, social unity, social development and social democracy. Shortly, global social policies today have gained the characteristics of a policy struggling with every type of problem threatening world peace. All efforts to provide equality, justice, peace and balance within and between developed and developing societies have begun to be included in the scope of global social policies. In addition, the diversification of the needs and issues of the people and societies in the new world order and the matters of social exclusion, discrimination, safeguarding the rights of children, youth, the elderly, women, ex-convicts, immigrants, the disabled, the environment and consumers, led social policy topics concerning social services to gain importance. Hence, it is striking that social policies in our era have gained a kind of community engineering function with respect to the realization of social integration and the development of social democracy, by making the distribution and management of a country's resources on the basis of social justice and social balance.

Despite the fact that the rise of globalization is a reality that prepared the end of the national during the social policy processes, it is still not quite possible to say that the social welfare state has become completely ineffective in global social policies. In other words, globalization has led to a narrowing of the sovereignty of the welfare state. However, it did not completely take social policy out of the welfare state's area of duty, and brought about the necessity for making cooperation with international institutions in order to resolve global economic problems. In a nutshell, the social welfare state has still taken on a national and international regulatory role in the field of social policy; and serves as a sort of bridge. This means that, the globalization process gave the welfare state a new form manifesting itself as balancing of global social policies with national social policies, developing social policies in accordance with standards identified by international organizations, and cooperating with them in the implementation of these standards.

The organizations, the social welfare state is left to cooperate with internationally, consists of various international organizations such as official organizations, international unions, and non-governmental organizations. Among the mentioned organizations, the UN, ILO, OECD, the European Council and the European Union, known as official organizations, formed the foundations of global social policies with certain international standards, legal regulations and treaties



they established. These international organizations create a rather extensive resource for social policies such as ensuring economic and social development globally, regulating and guaranteeing business and work life, making certain regulations in business law and social security law, and ensuring the use of union rights and freedoms and the right to participate in administrative processes. Thus, they serve the establishment and protection of world peace by ensuring the realization of social justice, social welfare and social service goals of social policy on national and international levels. Likewise, the existence of unions, which have significant leverage in formulating global social policies, can also be evaluated as a development geared toward the same goals. International unions, which emerged from the reorganization of national unions by uniting at the international level, appear as international institutions contributing to work and world peace on the global platform, by ensuring the regulation of labor movements and labor rights. In addition, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become one of the primary actors of the globalization process on all levels, from global to local. Therefore, it can be said that they each became good instruments in formulating global social policies. As a result of the different national problems of capitalist economies moving to the international platform, all of the institutions and organizations mentioned above underwent a transformation process that enabled their reorganization on the global level. Hence, it has become imperative for these organizations to cooperate internationally in the solution of the economic and humanitarian problems of the global economy.

Finally, it can be evaluated that the development of the global social policy phenomenon, not as one of the positive contributions of globalization process to the capitalist economy; but as an inevitable result of the socio-economic problems of this period reaching enormous proportions. For example, globalizing capital, also globalizes the labor market and creates a globally competitive environment for labor; not only does global competition render the workforce powerless in the face of capital, but also it clearly threatens the rights earned at the national level to certain degrees. As the mobility of the capital acquired means the decline of the nation-state and national policies, it won't be wrong to say that these conditions alter the power relations to the detriment of labor at the global and societal level (Koray, 2007: 456). That is to say, the globalization process created global social policies, not by globalizing social policies, but by globalizing the problems that led to the development of social policies. In this case, it is necessary to accept globalization not as a favorable but as a negative factor in the development of global social policies. Furthermore, this process, reduced the effective strength of nation-states against the global economic market and led the decision-making power to shift

toward multi-national companies and international organizations. Globalization, gave rise to yet another negative factor in the development of global social policies by causing nation-states to lose power on the global platform. However, it is possible to talk about the positive contributions of the globalization process in formulating the international standards used as fundamental references in developing global social policies. Thanks to these international standards, the opportunity to overcome discrepancies in development levels around the world, and rearrange the market inequalities and imbalances in favor of developing countries, was born. Therefore, the goal of contributing to the development of world peace is served, by the creation of means to establish a balance between global labor and capital, and produce solutions to the injustices between countries with different levels of development. It must also be kept in mind that globalization had positive contributions to the development possibility of international cooperation in establishing global social policies. The development of global social policies within the framework of international cooperation can be mentioned as a contributive effect in the success of social policies, as well as a chance to escape from globalization's negative effects.

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