HISTORIA I ŚWIAT, nr 12 (2023)
ISSN 2299-2464
e-ISSN 2956-6436

Grzegorz BARTH * (Catholic University of Lublin, Poland)

Solidarity in the Context of Migration: A Philosophical Perspective

https://doi.org/10.34739/his.2023.12.31

Abstract: *Solidarity is a permanent component of social life. In this sense, it becomes a transformative value that clearly connects people and their projects with others. The current situation in the world sharpens the issue of human solidarity. War, migration crises, aggressive globalization, territorial elitism, consumerism, populism, and the ideologization of social discourse lead to the distortion or elimination of the idea of solidarity. Nowadays, there are multi-level and multi-directional changes and transformations in individual and social ethos. Therefore, understanding solidarity requires an analysis of the context in which it is applied, as well as basic scientific assumptions. The article addresses this issue in the context of migration. It consists of three main elements: 1/ Firstly, it explains the philosophical phenomenon of solidarity as a very complex and multi-faceted individual and social reality; 2/ It portrays solidarity as a European virtue and value, which today seems to be experiencing certain difficulties in the EU's migration policy, particularly revealed by the refugee crisis; 3/ It presents several ways of reflecting on solidarity in the light of representatives of contemporary philosophy and theoreticians of political thought (H.G. Gadamer, J. Dean, A. Grimmel, J. Tischner). These proposals can become an opportunity and a call to reflect on solidarity in times of its axiological and actual deficit.*

Key words: History, Solidarity, Migration, Migration Crises, Refugees, European Virtue and Value

On the Phenomenon of Solidarity

Solidarity is an often-invoked and valorized practice in contemporary secular and religious ethics, serving as one of the ways to express the sense of human community. Solidarity is defined as a union of interests, purposes, or sympathies among members of a group; fellowship of responsibilities and interests. This definition implies that members of a group have a duty towards each other in pursuit of common aims, with the underlying implication being one of mutual assistance. In general, this is based on the assumption of equality among the group's members, although there can also be talk of solidarity between stronger and weaker members. However, it is important to note that if there is a structural imbalance, where some members are permanently stronger

* Corresponding Author. ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2590-0182. grzegorz.barth@kul.pl;
The project is funded by the Minister of Science and Higher Education within the program under the name "Regional Initiative of Excellence" in 2019-2022, project number: 028/RID/2018/19, the amount of funding: 11 742 500 PLN.

than others, taking on the role of "givers" while others become "takers", other principles and concepts may also become relevant. The notion of solidarity is closely linked to other terms such as "common cause", "mutuality", "unity", and many more. What distinguishes it from these other terms is its emphasis on sharing not only the advantages, like general prosperity, but also the burdens. The principle of solidarity itself may be actively practiced, but it might be expressed using different terminology, making it more challenging to identify.[1] Solidarity is understood as a bond that creates a "we". Therefore, it represents a social relationship founded on mutual commitment and interdependence among individuals. Solidarity cannot be purchased or administratively imposed, as it emerges from a commitment to caring for those affected, from shared interests that can be articulated, and from the virtues of cooperation and assistance that can be activated.[2] The term *solidarité* is a typical creation of European culture, emphasizing mutual assistance that occurs irrespective of family relationships. It highlights specific actions and attitudes while setting aside feelings as subjective and belonging to the private sphere. It conveys an objective attitude, characteristic of our culture, which is not gauged by emotions but by tangible attitudes and actions. This is why we refer to it as "natural (rational) solidarity", which emerges in response to a common threat or danger in close proximity. It stems from the recognition of a shared enemy, common threats, shared misfortune, and common goals. In contrast to this form of solidarity, ethical solidarity (of conscience) is a community constructed through ethical bonds, not externally prompted by rational responses to something negative or the pursuit of a vision of a goal, but "internally through a shared belief in values".[3] The bonds of community originate from within, from the spirit, from human consciences. Solidarity arises from goodwill and nurtures goodwill in people.[4] Such a relationship enhances the emotions and strength of individuals involved, yet it also permits some to benefit from the actions of others without contributing to the collective effort. Solidarity embodies the concept of relationships among equals who should not exert pressure on each other unless justice demands it. Those united in solidarity are akin to equals, akin to brothers. For this reason, during the French Revolution, solidarity was almost synonymous with brotherhood. Hence, solidarity is considered an ideal relationship for those committed to freedom and equality, requiring them to interact on a fraternal level, without the use of force, fraud, or other means of coercion. Individuals who pursue similar goals to workers in the labor movement often have no chance of achieving their individual goals unless they act in solidarity. Therefore, individual action in solidarity is often in their long-term individual interest.[5] As a form of mutual exchange, it resembles calculation rather than generosity. Pure self-interest,

[1] McDonnell, 2014: 60; Barth, 2018.
[2] Eriksen, 2017: 111.
[3] Stawrowski, 2020: 299.
[4] Tischner, 1981: 7.
[5] Steinvorth, 2017: 10.

which is the basis of solidarity, should not be associated with selfishness, as opposed to an attitude of love and generosity. It has its advantages. Self-interest is fundamentally concerned with ensuring the solidity and reliability of some whole, which is far from acts of generosity and love, which are unpredictable and unstable.[6] Durkheim identifies societies that are highly developed and have a high degree of division of labor as highly differentiated, modern industrial societies. Such societies are characterized by the paradox of being highly interdependent while simultaneously exhibiting a strong ideology of individualism. According to Durkheim, organic solidarity, created by contract structures, dominates in these societies. The argument is made that in highly functionally interdependent societies, self-interest in social goods can only be satisfied through cooperation. Self-interest and solidarity are therefore not mutually exclusive. Some authors talk about "self-interest solidarity". Solidarity, as a modern concept, has transcended the boundaries of a community based on personal contacts. In this way, this concept becomes an inherent element of society. If we talk about the narrative of solidarity within the EU, we automatically refer to Durkheim's organic solidarity. Durkheim identifies the category of the "other" as an important element of *organic* solidarity. The individual must think and calculate with the "other" when acting in his or her own self-interest. A shared identity or sense is conceptualized here as a possible aspect, rather than a requirement, of solidarity. Less diverse, archaic, and therefore less developed societies are based on a high degree of similarity and a low degree of division of labor. Shared traditions, conventions, and customs play an important role. This type of social order is based on *mechanical* solidarity.[7]

Solidarity as a European Value

The European institutions are fully aware of the need to uphold the principle of European solidarity, as evidenced by its constant reaffirmation through actions in this field. Let me cite two examples. Robert Schuman in his visionary declaration on 9 May 1950: "L'Europe ne se fera pas d'un coup, ni dans une construction d'ensemble: elle se fera par des réalisations concrètes créant d'abord une solidarité de fait". The preamble to the Treaty establishing the ECSC already states that "Europe can only be built through real practical achievements which, above all, create true solidarity." Solidarity, as the principle of mutual assistance, is a crucial source of European cohesion. From time to time, it has faced serious crises. However, the current lack of solidarity in addressing the multiple crises we face raises doubts about whether the EU and its Member States are capable of meeting the challenges of our times. This necessitates greater social cohesion, increased efforts toward a genuine social union with positive effects for citizens, and, once again, heightened solidarity – because solidarity is a key

[6] Margalit, 2011: 177.
[7] Knodt & Tews, 2017: 49-50.

European value. This is especially important where there is an awareness of mutual interdependence. The EU's internal redistributive policy is built on the assumption that reducing the welfare gap benefits not only poorer regions but also wealthier ones. In any system where solidarity prevails, there will always be sources of tension between donors and recipients. Success is founded on a commitment to assisting each other for the benefit of the entire community. Solidarity lies at the heart of the complex relationship between the EU's capacity to act and its legitimacy. This conflict will never be entirely resolved and therefore requires open discussion.[8] European integration is not merely a win-win arrangement or a matter of common convenience and choice; it is a matter of collective responsibility, justice, and solidarity. Although this concept may be open to different interpretations, and it may be unclear when and how it should be applied, it still serves an important symbolic function for the cohesion of the EU and its decision-making process. Moreover, the mere reference to solidarity as a European value in discussions is already a positive indication of the growing importance of this concept in EU policy. In this context, numerous questions arise for which we do not have a clear and comprehensive answer. What are the conditions for shaping European solidarity? What are the requirements of solidarity? What role does solidarity play in European multilevel governance? Classical concepts seem to limit the transferability of the concept of solidarity to a European multi-level system, primarily because they are confined to smaller communities or national contexts, and secondarily because they mainly pertain to solidarity between individual group members.[9] How can solidarity emerge in this multi-level system in a way that allows it to transform and create social norms, political subjectivity, and even institutional frameworks? Can a sense of community or common identity be a condition for solidarity? Can solidarity be based on common understanding, common values, and norms? Can it be constructed through a contractual agreement regarding these norms, or only through a framework of reciprocity? Given the rank and significance of these questions, it appears extremely challenging to define specific common features that form the foundation of European solidarity. Some argue that European identity is a prerequisite for European solidarity, or that European identity can coexist with other identities and serve as a basis for solidarity.[10] Therefore, solidarity remains a variable dependent on political intention, often viewed as "the result of political competition". Consequently, it inevitably becomes a "floating" or even "empty signifier" because its definition often occurs *ex post facto*.[11]

[8] Hermida del Llano, 2017: 23.
[9] Knodt & Tews, 2017: 49.
[10] Knodt & Tews, 2017: 49.
[11] Grimmel, 2017: 164.

The Crisis of Solidarity in the Context of Migration Policy

"We are facing the biggest refugee and displacement crisis of our time. Above all, this is not just a crisis of numbers; it is also a crisis of solidarity ... We must respond to a monumental crisis with monumental solidarity", said Ban Ki-moon, the UN Secretary-General, while commenting on the arrival of asylum seekers in Europe.[12] In the context of the migration crisis, solidarity is once again at the center of political debates.[13] The crises in the Eurozone, the refugee and migration crisis, and most recently, the war in Ukraine, have made this abundantly clear. The only point of contention revolves around whether and to what extent solidarity matters in these crises. The necessity for concrete responses to the specific challenges posed by these crises has highlighted how unclear the meaning of this concept is within today's EU and how susceptible it is to contradictory interpretations. However, the absence of a shared understanding and a lack of clear actions in the current crises have rendered solidarity a weak concept within the EU context. Solidarity frequently appears in discourse, but more as a supporting element for pre-existing political positions or even as a rhetorical tool exerting pressure – a tit-for-tat strategy of "demanding" solidarity. The concept of solidarity is often used instrumentally in current crises, primarily as "rhetorical" support for a particular political stance, rather than as a guiding principle for collective action in challenging situations. Although solidarity as a value still figures prominently in public debates, "its meaning is not very clear and depends on the intentions of the speaker". This concept has become weak or even "empty" because there appear to be few aspects of the concept of solidarity that can effectively shape collective action in the EU.[14] The death and suffering of migrants attempting to reach Europe have become some of the defining moral and political issues of our time. Many humanitarian organizations and refugee advocates argue that these deaths result from Europe's policies of exclusion and closure. Those who contend that asylum seekers, especially Muslims, pose a threat to "European values" are advocating for even stricter border controls to address the "refugee crisis". Many people use the crisis narrative to discuss the perceived threat that refugees pose to Europe's Christian identity and call for the preservation of "European values". Recently, "European values" have been invoked both in support of refugees and migrants and in opposition to them.[15] C. Woollard concludes that the solutions seriously undermined Europe's values, both directly and indirectly. "Human dignity is clearly absent in the conditions in which

[12] Ki-moon, 2016.
[13] The term 'refugee crisis' has become the predominant term in Europe to describe the current situation characterized by large influxes of refugees, migrants, and displaced persons arriving in Europe through both regular and irregular channels. Occasionally, we encounter the concept of a 'humanitarian crisis', which, in contrast to solely focusing on human impacts, also emphasizes victimization and creates a distinction between wanted and unwanted migrants. Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019b: 3.
[14] Grimmel, 2017: 171.
[15] Goździak & Main, 2020b: 2-3.

refugees and migrants find themselves in Europe and in the countries in which they are stuck as a result of European action".[16] Migration is often framed in military terms, with words and phrases such as "invasion", "threat", and "border defense". Current debates in Europe also contribute to the "othering" of refugees and migrants, which is another way of depriving people of their dignity.[17] The notion of the EU as a normative force is now being questioned. The idea of normative power either posits that the EU serves as a model that others voluntarily follow, rather than through force, or that it actively promotes its values worldwide, gaining credibility by implementing those values within its own territory. In both cases, the migration and refugee crisis has strained normative power.[18] New forms of solidarity are emerging in response to Europe's "refugee crisis". States have been unable to implement any real and lasting solution to the crisis, but the solidarity movement has been very visible and active in many European countries, while being rejected in others.[19] One such example is the "Refugees Welcome" movement, a collective action by civil societies in several European countries. The European Union has proposed various forms of solidarity. This understanding of solidarity aligns with the concept of political solidarity.[20] During an informal meeting in Bratislava on September 16, 2017, the leaders of the Visegrad Four (Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic) issued a joint statement emphasizing that migration policy should be grounded in the principle of "flexible solidarity". The Visegrad statement suggested that member states should have the ability to contribute to the refugee relocation program in various forms, expressing their "flexible" and "voluntary" solidarity with the ongoing "refugee crisis".[21] These examples illustrate the fact that "solidarity is itself a battlefield concerning which type of solidarity should prevail and how, constituting the possibility of articulating and imagining alternatives".[22] In this manner, the crisis fits into the authoritarian "politics of fear", becoming a new normality transcending political division lines. We must pause and inquire: Whose crisis is it? The very use of the term "crisis" carries intentional implications. The politics of fear is propelled by another form of politics – the politics of numbers, as referred to by De Genova, the "spectacle of statistics".[23] The current crisis of solidarity presents a significant opportunity to contemplate what solidarity means in the context of specific issues. We must utilize the ongoing crisis as an occasion to reconsider and rediscover the true essence of solidarity. Nevertheless, there are compelling reasons for retaining optimism, particularly considering the EU's struggle in addressing present challenges. There is no doubt that solidarity is more vital than

[16] Woollard, 2018: 151.
[17] Goździak & Main, 2020b: 5-6.
[18] Woollard, 2018: 151.
[19] Goździak & Main, 2020a: 1.
[20] Wallaschek, 2020.
[21] Goździak & Main, 2020a: 4.
[22] Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019a: 28.
[23] Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019b: 4.

ever in addressing the ongoing crisis. Solidarities, manifesting in diverse forms and practices, offer an opportunity to recognize how crises can also serve as moments of disruption and opportunities for reimagining and experimenting with new alternatives for more inclusive societies. Migration policy encompasses the principles and plans of states related to their populations as a whole. Migration policy should not be confined solely to respecting the human rights of citizens of one country but should extend to encompass all individuals. The processes of regionalization and globalization constitute a unified framework, contributing to the dynamics of global social changes that involve the redefinition of relationships between states. The development of a regional migration management framework, combined with the principle of solidarity, appears to aim at establishing orderly mobility.[24] The European Union adheres to the fundamental principle of "global responsibility" that places shared responsibility on Member States within the international community.[25] This stems from the belief in the dignity of every person and their right to self-realization, as well as their participation in the construction of a shared world of values, regardless of national, ethnic, or religious affiliation. Without anthropological reflection and the principle of solidarity, it is challenging to envision the foundation of co-responsibility for others and the fate of the world. It extends beyond politics alone, evolving into an ethical and anthropological issue. The principle of solidarity calls for "compassion" and respect for human rights.[26] So why discuss solidarity in the context of the migration crisis? As D. Featherstone rightly observes: "They [solidarities] create new ways of configuring political relations and space".[27] Solidarity challenges the methodological nationalism that underlies both the framing of the refugee crisis and, particularly, its management. Solidarity, in its diverse forms and practices, offers a perspective through which to comprehend that crises can also be moments of disruption and opportunities to imagine and test new alternatives for more inclusive societies.[28] But does solidarity possess the potential to serve as a new constitutional paradigm for the EU?

An Exercise in Solidarity

R. Rorty once said, "Solidarity must be built in small pieces, not awaited". When we examine the current state of the European integration project, there is likely no doubt that Rorty was correct. Solidarity as a value cannot be found but must be created. It is a process, just as integration is a process. It is unfinished and must necessarily remain so. Simultaneously, solidarity is a concept that must be put into practice and expressed through actions. Otherwise, it remains an empty word. Good

[24] Moroianu-Zlătescu & Bucur-Ioan, 2020: 161.
[25] Borowicz, 2017: 93.
[26] Rebes, 2020: 183-5.
[27] Featherstone, 2012: 6.
[28] Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019b: 2.

intentions and appeals to European solidarity are insufficient. Solidarity does not exist if it is not actively practiced, regardless of how it is defined in terms of acting in solidarity.[29] Instead, solidarity should be viewed as the outcome of an ongoing process of continuous conceptual application, determination, adaptation, and refinement. Various solutions can be proposed to uncover a new dimension of solidarity in the context of migration, as indicated above.

Reflective Solidarity

Modern times exhibit extensive mobility and the fluidity of value systems functioning in various communities. The term "fluidity" indicates an attitude and practice that embraces the complexities of engaging with pluralization and ever-changing struggles around solidarity. J. Dean introduces the concept of *reflective* solidarity to demonstrate the inadequacy of describing solidarity in *affective* or *conventional* terms.[30] *Affectiv*e solidarity arises from intimate relationships of love, signifying emotional affirmation and a bond formed through mutual care and trust. *Conventional* solidarity emerges from shared interests and concerns, encompassing common traditions and values that unite a group or community. It also relates to the sense of "our-ness" among groups engaged in a common struggle or effort. Dean defines reflective solidarity as the mutual expectation of a responsible relationship orientation. The constant risk of disagreement must itself be rationally transformed to ensure solidarity. Unlike conventional solidarity, where disagreement often carries the potential for disruption, reflective solidarity incorporates disagreement at its core. Dean develops this idea through a three-part strategy. Firstly, it views "we" as constituted through communicative efforts that redefine the boundaries of the community, blurring the lines between "us" and "them". Secondly, it considers the norms and expectations that establish the requirement of responsibility, taking into account various forms of reflection where the other is perceived as a member despite their otherness. Finally, it introduces the concept of the "generalized other" within the context of collective attitudes that emerge during joint interactions. Reflective solidarity operates in two ways. First, it involves everyone's ability to recognize each other's uniqueness and fosters the trust needed to stand together. Secondly, it encourages a willingness to assume responsibility for others and participate collaboratively in fine-tuning one's own sensibilities. This entails a readiness to engage in discourse and acknowledge the mutual need for cooperation.[31] The reflective approach has an impact on conflict resolution in the interpretation of the world, humanity, and values. The capacity to perceive the distinctiveness and otherness of individuals while respecting them as free personal sub-

[29] Grimmel & My Giang, 2017: 2.
[30] Dean, 1995: 114.
[31] Dean, 1995: 123-33.

jects, coupled with the fundamental willingness to give and receive, not only paves the way for values but also creates the conditions for learning solidarity. The development of both aspects of reflective solidarity occurs along three vectors: community, difference, and understanding, representing a readiness to embrace others and a desire to comprehend them. It is through this attitude that individual and social values find realization. In each respect, solidarity is *dynamic*: we remain engaged even when our attitude toward the group decision changes; we may alter our views on tactics, objectives, and ethics; we may develop different cognitive and physical skills.[32]

Solidarity "in Action"

In certain socio-political contexts, the concept of solidarity is frequently used but often remains vague and devoid of substance. Routine references to solidarity do not necessarily transform it into a binding and universally understood concept. Despite this, solidarity is often invoked as a shared value. This fact alone does not provide insights into its impact on collective action or its potential to shape discussions. The root of this issue lies in the instrumental use of the concept of solidarity. In this context, A. Grimmel draws upon L. Wittgenstein's insights regarding "meaning in use", "following rules", and "private language", which help us gain a deeper understanding of the concept of "solidarity". Grimmel notes that while there is a connection between the concept and the corresponding actions that define the meaning of solidarity, the depth of this connection cannot be adequately assessed by solely relying on textual or practical aspects. Instead, both must converge to breathe life into solidarity – as a concept and value – and grant it a central role in the integration process. From Grimmel's perspective, the Wittgensteinian approach holds the potential to lead us toward an understanding of solidarity that highlights the primary deficiency of values in the EU context. Namely, the lack of commonality regarding what solidarity entails in practice, or what it means to act in solidarity in real-world scenarios. Instead, the meaning of a word is constructed "step by step" as we progress. It does not exist a priori but is shaped in response to the sequence of contingencies accompanying each application of a concept. Usage should not be explained by reference to meaning because usage does not derive from meaning; rather, meaning emerges from usage.[33] The only viable method to determine how a concept is employed is to explain its actual usage by actually using it. Solidarity becomes evident in what we call "acting in solidarity" and "taking a stand for it" in real-life cases. This concerns solidarity "in action". What we term "solidaristic action" can be elucidated by pointing to regular patterns of usage or by engaging in consistent use itself.[34] In this regard, solidarity will

[32] Kolers, 2012: 381.
[33] Grimmel, 2017: 167.
[34] Grimmel, 2017: 169.

either become synonymous with the selfish motives underlying its use (in which case it becomes the norm), or it will be invoked at the discretion of individual actors whenever they see fit, resulting in a lack of common criteria for the correct use of this term.[35] The concept of solidarity cannot be arbitrarily manipulated. Its conceptual foundation either evolves or is even eroded when used selfishly and privately, thus generating arbitrary interpretations of the concept. What matters most is how the community using this concept collectively interprets it through their social interactions. The second prerequisite is the application of the concept itself. Solidarity entails acting in solidarity. Those who consider it a significant value for their policies must have a clear understanding of what it means to act in this manner. Another way to elucidate the meaning of solidarity is through specific actions or deeds, essentially illustrating with examples what solidarity might entail. In such cases, a specific action serves as the basis for a meaningful discussion about what qualifies as solidarity and what does not, an attempt to establish external criteria for practicing solidarity. Furthermore, such efforts to clarify the concept enable others to emulate and collectively progress from example to rule.[36]

Solidarity as Reciprocity

G. Lohfink employs the Greek concept of *allêlôn* to illustrate solidarity as an attitude of reciprocity. This term is a pronoun of reciprocity and translates to "one another", "each other" (appearing over 50 times in the New Testament). The notion of solidarity finds expression in phrases like: "Be kind to one another in brotherly love!" [Rom 12:10]; "Outdo one another in showing honor" [Rom 12:10]; "Live in harmony with one another" [Rom 12:16]; "Bear one another's burdens..." [Gal 6:2]; "Be kind and compassionate to one another!" [Eph 4:32]; "Show hospitality to one another…" [1 Peter 4:9]. Hence, wherever the Holy Scripture discusses – mutual care [cf. 1 Cor 12:25], service [Gal 5:13]; reconciliation [cf. Jas 5:16], mutual forgiveness [cf. Col 3:13], mutual edification [cf. 1 Thes 5:11], mercy [cf. Eph 4:32], we are encountering concrete acts of solidarity.[37] According to him, solidarity primarily revolves around the idea of mutual relations among group members, with a dimension of reciprocity at its core. In this context, H.G. Gadamer speaks of a friendly community. Living together allows friends to reveal one another. Their differences enable them to assist each other in attaining a new understanding of themselves by providing alternative perspectives on their actions and aspirations. Fears and similar emotions permit self-understanding through a different lens, unveiling fresh aspects. Thus, friendship fosters mutual comprehension and insight, which can be termed "mutual co-perception".[38]

[35] Grimmel, 2017: 172.
[36] Grimmel, 2017: 172.
[37] Lohfink, 1984: 224.
[38] Gadamer, 1999: 139.

Solidarity as a form of learning reciprocity pertains to the concept of a "neighbor" and holds fundamental significance across all systems stemming from human communities. It surpasses them in scope, simplicity, and depth, signifying complete participation. Solidarity unveils a type of alienation, with the root of human alienation from others stemming from the neglect of the profound participation denoted by the term "neighbor". Solidarity signifies participation in another person's humanity.[39] Simultaneously, reciprocity ensures that everyone retains their individuality thanks to the influence of others. Solidarity as a path to learning reciprocity demands a disposition of trust in others. This point is inspired by Tischner's philosophy, which posits that solidarity extends to everyone and opposes no one. Conscience forms the foundation of solidarity, with its inception spurred by the cry for help from an individual harmed by another. Solidarity represents the awakening of conscience. For solidarity to function, faith in others and mutual trust are prerequisites, enabling the establishment of future goals. Compassion and solidarity with others are of particular importance and constitute key elements of the modern understanding of solidarity.[40]

Solidarity Summoned by Difference

When describing solidarity, of which friendship is a kind of replica, H.G. Gadamer notes that the second significant feature of friendship is the respect for difference and otherness. Here, we must reject the idea of living together, which either initiates or concludes the process of mutual identification.[41] In current conditions, large bureaucratic societies with complex economies reduce individuals to numbers, categorize them, and process them technologically. Following in the footsteps of Jaspers, Gadamer refers to this phenomenon as the "anonymous responsibility" of modern mass societies. Solidarity liberates individuals from this fate, allowing them to discover their identity as neighbors and restoring their distinctiveness as people involved in common affairs.[42] A. Min defines solidarity as the solidarity of "others" (as opposed to "to others"), which rejects the central role of any group and requires breaking with concern for one's own group to express solidarity with all those in need. This type of solidarity draws attention to differences and variations in suffering, emphasizing preferential solidarity with those who suffer more, without reducing everyone to abstract equality.[43] Engaging in the practice of solidarity carries the risk of oversimplifying its vision. One might conclude that we are all the same, and our differences are unimportant based on their own prejudices. Solidarity helps us view the world through the eyes of others and understand the call to love our neighbor differently. We need differences so that we

[39] Wojtyła, 2000: 325.
[40] Tischner, 2016: 127-8.
[41] Tischner, 2016: 62.
[42] Warnke, 2012: 10.
[43] Warnke, 2012: 10.

can learn the truth about ourselves. The other, the neighbor, becomes self-revelation to the extent that they help us grasp our separateness. This approach to solidarity differs significantly from similar relationships based on identification possibilities. Solidarity with others involves choosing them, extracting them from the anonymity of mass existence. The most crucial aspect is not merely recognizing others who are like us, but recognizing them in their entirety, seeing them as distinct individuals with specific differences.

***

Solidarity is an endless process in which we mutually reveal ourselves and remain open to each other as individual others. It is an art through which anonymous individuals can recognize one another as neighbors. It is more an art of discovery than creation. In this sense, modern political organizations can hinder solidarity when they emphasize issues on which citizens disagree. However, the real task of these organizations is to unveil the forms of solidarity that already exist. We should consciously reveal to each other the communities of solidarity to which we already belong. We can always discover additional circumstances in which we find that we are already at home with others, recognizing the need for joint efforts.We are continually invited to expand and refine our understanding of solidarity, respecting all differences and fostering a critical sense of solidarity. The globalized world forces us to engage with each other amidst a sense of difference and otherness. Reflection is necessary to create social systems that respect differences while nurturing a minimal sense of solidarity to facilitate cooperation. We are called to collaborate with others, consistently and critically assessing our assumptions and motives, developing a sense of solidarity and a shared experience of humanity. In doing so, we offer ethical potential in navigating the complex web of relationships in a conflicted and wounded world. We are undoubtedly called and drawn to the effort of reflecting on solidarity. It is a call for solidarity that remains relevant in a time when traditional values have lost some of their integrative power, amidst increasing pluralism and migration, and in the face of the paradoxes of identity politics.

Bibliography

Agustín, Ó.G., Jørgensen, M.B. (2019a). Conceptualizing Solidarity. An Analytical Framework. In Ó.G. Agustín, M. B. Jørgensen (Eds.), *Solidarity and the 'Refugee Crisis' in Europe* (pp. 23–47). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Agustín, Ó.G., Jørgensen, M.B. (2019b). From Refugee Crisis to a Crisis of Solidarity?. In Ó.G. Agustín, M.B. Jørgensen (Eds.), *Solidarity and the 'Refugee Crisis' in Europe* (pp. 1–21). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Barth, G. (2018). Oblicza solidarności w czasach niepewnych. *Roczniki Teologiczne*, 65(2), 17–28.

Borowicz, A. (2017). The European Migration Crisis – Economic and Political Factors and Challenges for the Future. *European Integration Studies*, 11, 89–97. https://doi.org/10.5755/j01.eis.0.11.18958

Dean, J. (1995). Reflective solidarity. *Constellations. An International Journals of Critical and Democratic Theory*, 1(2), 114–40. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8675.1995.tb00023.x

Eriksen, E.O. (2017). Structural Injustice: The Eurozone Crisis and the Duty of Solidarity. In A. Grimmel, S. My Giang (Eds.), *Solidarity in the European Union. A Fundamental Value in Crisis* (pp. 97–118). Cham: Springer.

Featherstone, D. (2012). *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Gadamer, H.G. (1999). Friendship and Self- Knowledge: Reflections on the Role of Friendship in Greek Ethics. In *Hermeneutics, Religion, and Ethics* (pp. 119–41). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Goździak, E.M., Main I. (2020a). Contesting Flexible Solidarity: Poland and the "Migration Crisis". *Frontiers in Human Dynamics*, 2, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.3389/fhumd.2020.562682

Goździak, E.M., Main I. (2020b). European norms and values and the refugee crisis. In E.M. Goździak, I. Main, B. Suter (Eds.), *Europe and the Refugee Response A Crisis of Values?* (pp. 1–11). London: Routledge.

Grimmel, A. (2017). Solidarity in the European Union: Fundamental Value or "Empty Signifier. In A. Grimmel, S. My Giang (Eds.), *Solidarity in the European Union. A Fundamental Value in Crisis* (pp. 161–75). Cham: Springer.

Grimmel A., My Giang, S. (2017). Introduction: Solidarity Lost? The European Union and the Crisis of One of Its Core Values. In A. Grimmel, S. My Giang (Eds.), *Solidarity in the European Union. A Fundamental Value in Crisis* (pp. 1–6). Cham: Springer.

Hermida del Llano, C. (2017). Positive tolerance and solidarity. A paradigm change to counter the "Globalization of indifference". *Annals of the West University of Timisoara*, 1, 15–24.

Ki-moon, B. (2016). Refugee crisis about solidarity, not just numbers, secretary-general says at event on global displacement challenge. [https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/sgsm17670.doc.htm; accessed August 22, 2023].

Knodt, M., Tews, A. (2017). European Solidarity and Its Limits: Insights from Current Political Challenges. In A. Grimmel, S. My Giang (Eds.), *Solidarity in the European Union. A Fundamental Value in Crisis* (pp. 47–64). Cham: Springer.

Kolers, A.H. (2012). Dynamics of Solidarity. *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 4(20), 365–83. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2010.00391.x

Lohfink, G. (1984). *Wie hat Jesus Gemelnde gewollt? Zur gesellschaftlichen Dimension des christlichen Glaubens*. Freiburg & Basel &Wien: Verlag Herder.

Margalit, A. (2011). Why Are You Betraying Your Class?. *European Journal of Philosophy*, 19(2), 171–83. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2011.00475.x

McDonnell, A. (2014) 'Solidarity, Flexibility, and the Euro-Crisis: Where Do Principles Fit In?. In L.S. Rossi, F. Casolari (Eds.), *The EU after Lisbon. Amending or Coping with the Existing Treaties?* (pp. 57–91). Cham: Springer.

Moroianu-Zlătescu, I., Bucur-Ioan. A. (2020). Immigration And European Solidarity. *Law Review*, 10(2), 155–63.

Rebes, M. (2020). Kryzys wartości a polityka migracyjna. Perspektywa filozoficzna. *Politeja*, 3(66), 171–86. https://doi.org/10.12797/Politeja.17.2020.66.12
Stawrowski, Z. (2020). Solidarność znaczy więź. *Nowy Napis co Tydzień*, 63, 1–8.
Steinvorth, U. (2017). Applying the Idea of Solidarity to Europe. In A. Grimmel, S. My Giang (Eds.), *Solidarity in the European Union. A Fundamental Value in Crisis* (pp. 9–19). Cham: Springer.
Tischner, J. (1981). *Etyka solidarności*. Kraków: Instytut Wydawniczy Znak.
Tischner, J. (2016). *Myśli o wolności, władzy i wspólnocie*. Kraków: Instytut Wydawniczy Znak.
Wallaschek, S. (2020). The Discursive Construction of Solidarity: Analysing Public Claims in Europe's Migration Crisis. *Political Studies*, 68(1), 74–92. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321719831585
Warnke, G. (2012). Solidarity and Tradition in Gadamer's Hermeneutics. *History and Theory*, 51(4), 6–22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23351865
Wojtyła, K. (2000). *Osoba i czyn oraz inne studia antropologiczne*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
Woollard, C. (2018). Has the Mediterranean refugee crisis undermined European values?. *IEMed Mediterraneum Yearbook*, 150–6.

To cite this article: Barth, G. (2023). Solidarity in the Context of Migration: A Philosophical Perspective. *Historia i Świat*, 12, 481–494. https://doi.org/10.34739/his.2023.12.31