

RE.CRI.RE.: Final Conf

**Between the representation of the crisis and the crisis of representation. How crisis changed the symbolic background of European societies and identities.
Implication for policies and policy making**

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Three priorities



Priority 3.

Societal challenges

Why:

- **Concerns of citizens and society/EU policy objectives (climate, environment, energy, transport, etc) cannot be achieved without innovation**
- **Breakthrough solutions come from multi-disciplinary collaborations, including social sciences & humanities**
- **Promising solutions need to be tested, demonstrated and scaled up**

Proposed funding (€ million, 2014-2020)

Health, demographic change and wellbeing	7 472
Food security, sustainable agriculture and forestry, marine and maritime and inland water research and the Bioeconomy	3 851
Secure, clean and efficient energy *	5 931
Smart, green and integrated transport	6 339
Climate action, environment, resource efficiency and raw materials	3 081
<u>Inclusive, innovative and reflective societies</u>	1 310
Secure societies	1 695
<i>Science with and for society</i>	462
<i>Spreading excellence and widening participation</i>	816

* Additional funding for nuclear safety and security from the Euratom Treaty activities (2014-2018)



7th Framework Programme (FP7)

Horizon 2020

Programme dedicated to SSH

SSH is a cross-cutting issue

No reference in the evaluation criteria to disciplines working together

Trans-disciplinarity is part of the evaluation criteria

Societal Challenge 6 → 5 Calls

- ***"EURO"-CALL: Overcoming the crisis: new ideas, strategies and governance structures for Europe***
- ***"YOUNG"-CALL: The young generation in an innovative, inclusive and sustainable Europe***
- ***"REFLECTIVE"-CALL: Reflective societies: cultural heritage and European identities***
- ***"INT"-CALL: Europe as a global actor***
- ***"INSO"-CALL: New forms of innovation***

EURO-Call: Overcoming the crisis

European societies after the crisis

- *Individual reactions to the crisis and challenges to European solidarity*
- *Unity in diversity: prospects of a European identity and public sphere*
- *Innovative social investment approaches for the modernisation of social policies and services*

SPRINT: Social protection innovative investment in long term care (University of Warwick - UK)

TRANSOL: European paths to transnational solidarity at times of crisis: Conditions, forms, role-models & policy responses (University of Siegen - DE)

REINVEST: Rebuilding an inclusive, value-based Europe of solidarity and trust through social investments (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven - BE)

INNOSI: Innovative social investment: Strengthening communities in Europe (Manchester Metropolitan University - UK)

SOLIDUS: Solidarity in European societies: empowerment, social justice and citizenship (University of Barcelona - ES)

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Call EURO 3 – 2014: European societies after the crisis (2014)

Scope 3 strands:

*Individual reactions to the crisis and challenges to **European solidarity***

*Unity in diversity: prospects of a **European identity and public sphere***

*Innovative **social investment** approaches for the modernisation of social policies and services*

Call *EURO 3* – 2014

European solidarity Scope:

- *Combine theoretical and empirical work*
- *Gender dimension / spatial justice*
- *Solidarity as an intellectual concept & practical expressions*
- *Links: psychological effects of the crisis & perceptions of solidarity*
- ***Conditions of acts of solidarity***
- ***To what extent the crisis has influenced people's preparedness to show solidarity with others?***
- ***Critical assessment of policy responses on European solidarity & develop a vision of policy responses which are prone to instilling solidarity***
- *Impact: support European efforts to enhance a sense of solidarity among citizens*

Transforming European Citizenship Rationale for Policy Review

- Object: Assess recent developments, trends, narratives and future prospects of EU Citizenship
- Actuality: EU Citizenship Report 2017, 60 years Treaty of Rome / *changing political landscape (populism, BREXIT, radicalisation & terrorism)*
- Problem: ***EU Citizenship has insufficient resonance and relevance for significant groups***
- **Double difficulty:**
 - How to be meaningful for those least likely to take advantage of market/mobility benefits
 - How to engage those same disaffected groups politically

Structure of the Review

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Discourses and **Trajectories of EU Citizenship**
- 3) Capturing the 'real' – making EU Citizenship more **resilient**
- 4) Beyond the market: a transformative **social citizenship**?
- 5) Transforming the politics of citizenship and **political citizenship**
- 6) Conclusion

`(Fundamental) Status' Narrative

- Revolves around **free movement, inclusivity, equal treatment**
- Treaty v Citizens' Rights Directive (tiered structure)
- High point: Court allowed **reliance on citizenship even where no movement** had been exercised
- More recently retrenchment closer to the pre-citizenship positions whereby:
 - **Work is not simply a right but an obligation for residence, unless self-sufficient**
- Non-binary but degrees of inclusivity/exclusivity
- Hierarchical ideas of deservingness and belonging
- End point: social good v reward (work, good citizen)?

Sociological turn: from Legal to Real I *Solidarity Practices*

- Grass-roots coming together of particular groups in society (TransSOL, SOLIDUS)
- **Shared lived solidarity practices** and experience, rather than conferred legal status, make the difference
- Derive from voluntary activities – (crisis responses)
- **Nascent solidarity remains to be matched by a EU level articulation of social justice**
- **Citizenship: Way of capturing the respect for values** such as dignity, equality and diversity?

Sociological turn: from Legal to Real II

Europeanisation of everyday life (EUCROSS)

- Transnational practices: 'debordering' of Europe
 - Typology of 6 clusters: **locals** (>30%) to **transnationals** (6%) – *virtual transnationals, visitors, tourists and returnees* – between the extremes
 - Stronger economic situation, being older, having a partner from another MS, frequent communication abroad, knowing foreign languages boast EU identity.
 - Caveat: embedded in cosmopolitanism? (*DK & UK*)
- Nevertheless, there is **scope for citizenship to reach out beyond its current limitations to reflect real-life experiences**

Solidarity and Resilience Practices

- **Solidarity practices are resilience strategies**
- Provide complementary analyses of the real-life behaviours of citizens in times of crisis.
- Resilience **not achieved** through **top-down structures**
- ***Cannot replace the welfare state*** (RESCuE).
- Resilient practices (e.g. informal work, good networks) rely on ***indirect support and infrastructure***
- ***Direct interventions***, where the above practices fail
- **Investments** into the welfare state and public infrastructure are **important for sustaining the resilience opportunities** (RESCuE).

Differentiated Integration and Solidarity (White Paper scenario 3)

- Calls into question whether citizenship can become a **more relational concept**, i.e. **comparison between EU citizens** rather than *between mobile EU citizen and nationals the host state*.
- The North-South divide: adds cleavage
- Puts emerging trends and manifestations of transnational solidarity to a test.
- Raises **serious questions about what a society of equals means in practice** in the supranational arrangement of the EU.

Beyond the market: a transformative social citizenship?

- Focus on market & mobility exposes limitations of citizenship for the real lives of the vulnerable, disengaged or disaffected
- **Engaging with 'the social'** => opportunity for a more extensive and **meaningful citizenship**
- Contextual rather than doctrinal, realistic rather than legalistic
- Tap and **build upon the nascent solidarity** between citizens presently often unchannelled
- There is **evidence of (varying) support for redistributive / social justice policies to be adopted at EU level** – e.g. minimum income support, long-term care

Solidarity: Core of Social Citizenship

- Trade-offs between a pan-European solidarity and solidarity within national welfare states
- Example: health care (patient mobility v national insurance and welfare system)
- Public goods perspective: 'we'-feeling, redistributive justice, **particularistic sense of solidarity**
- **Key question: Does solidarity actually exist at European level (spatial dimension)? forms, attitudes**
- **Empirical basis for solidarity is critical** for arguments in support of stronger social interventions and legitimacy
- Only if **Europeanised equality receives public backing** can European social union obtain a legitimate basis

Citizenship antinomies

- **Internal selectivity**

- (political) equality v political participation
- **Socio-economic status**, structural factors of contemporary European societies

➤ Exasperated at EU level

- **External selectivity**

- Universal aspiration of equality v particular (national) communities; **confrontation with cosmopolitan promise, => *Borders!***
- **EU Citizenship challenges external selectivity of *national* citizenship**

Institutional, electoral considerations

- Old & young citizens less likely to participate in EU elections (no gender difference though)
 - Target these with information campaigns

Economic inequalities unfold in political inequalities which aggravate the lack of representation at the European level of the interests of those citizens who are socio-economically deprived.

- Some indication of a 'new parliamentarism', enhanced dialogue between MS and EU
 - Balancing the political authority of the Council and the European Parliament,
 - Introducing transnational party lists

Categorising political participation

Latent political participation		Manifest political participation		
Involvement (attention)	Civic engagement (action)	Formal or conventional political participation	Activism (non-electoral participation)	
			Legal	Illegal
Individual forms				
Personal interest in politics and societal issues Attentiveness to political issues	Activities based on personal interest in and attention to politics and societal issues	Electoral participation and contact activities	Extra-parliamentary forms of participation: to make once voice heard or to make a difference by individual means (e.g. signing petitions, political consumption)	Politically motivated unlawful acts on an individual basis
Collective forms				
Sense of belonging to a group or a collective with distinct political profile or agenda Life-style related politics (e.g. identity, clothes, music, food, values)	Voluntary work to improve conditions in local community, for charity, or help others (outside own family and friends)	Organised political participation: membership in conventional political parties, trade unions and organisations	Loosely organised forms or network-based political participation: New social movements, demonstrations, strikes, and protests	Illegal and violent activities and protests: Demonstrations, riots, squatting buildings, damaging property, confrontations with police or political opponents

Political Participation of the *Young*

- *Traditional forms of political engagement are complemented/replaced with **non-electoral action repertoires***
- **Driven by personal resources: education & income**
- **Latent participation leads to political socialisation** which can be capitalised upon in information campaigns
 - *Regard voting most effective form of participation*
 - *Believe in the significance of traditional media*
- Similarities/differences across Europe shaped by differing national contexts & traditions
- North/Eastern divide: Less active in Eastern Europe
- Southern Europe, economic crisis context, more confrontational form of participation

Attitudes towards the EU: *Transnational cleavage*

- Economic & political **inequalities increase polarisation of support for EU**, exacerbated by crises
 - Trust in EU is highly dependent on its capacity to provide equitable living conditions and welfare
- (Perceived) *lack of voice* and **value of education & training (CITISPYCE)** => ***Vicious circle***
 - Reinforces alienation, internal selectivity (1st antinomy)
 - '*permissive consensus*' to '*constraining dissensus*'
 - **European Solidarity Corps**

Some conclusions

- **Social citizenship** has the capacity to make a very significant contribution to the enhanced democratisation of the EU by engaging the groups who hitherto have either been excluded from EU citizenship or felt it to be irrelevant.
- Many of the same groups are the very people who do not participate politically in the EU sphere.
- A **'twin-track' approach** could provide the key contribution of EU citizenship to a sustainable EU.
 - Meaningful social policies
 - Framework to encourage political participation