

## 7. Research report (approx 1000 words)

i. account of research carried out

To recall, this project seeks to gain understanding based on two main research questions:

1. How do current reforms of national labour markets and social security systems affect existing formations of (social and economic) citizenship?
2. Given the efforts of the European Union (EU) to provide guidance and to promote specific solutions through its European Employment Strategy (EES), what is the Union's influence in this process?

A large part of the final year has been dedicated to the comparative study of changes of citizenship in Germany, Hungary and the UK. Thereby, we particularly concentrated on potential influences of the EES.

Based on the theoretical conceptualisation of citizenship as contextualised citizenship practices, a first major task consisted in identifying such practices within the three member states. This part of the research could draw on our knowledge of the political contexts, which were mapped during the previous period. In addition, we took care to keep up with all relevant changes of these political contexts. Particular attention was paid to the further implementation of the integration of the EES into the broader Strategy for Growth and Jobs, to the activities of the new German government under Chancellor Merkel, and to the Hungarian general elections in April 2006.

A second task consisted in finalising the data collection in order to analyse the role of the EES in relation to ongoing transformations of national social and economic citizenship. Therefore, the final stage began with a research trip to Budapest to conduct interviews with government officials, representatives of civil society organisations and trade unions as well as with academics involved in processes of labour market and welfare state reforms.

Third, all interview transcripts were systematically analysed with a specific focus on potential links and interactions between the EES and national politics. While conducting the interviews it had already become clear that there was no satisfactory evidence for any of the hypothetical modes of influence that were formulated in the previous Interim Report. Therefore, the analysis of the interviews had to include some larger adjustments of the theoretical framework. In the process, the focus of the analysis was further shifted from potential direct influences to include more complex discursive aspects.

The final task of the last project period consisted in drawing theoretical conclusions based on the empirical analysis and in assessing potential normative implications of the findings (see 7ii).

ii. advances in knowledge or understanding resulting from the research

The previous Interim Report already presumed that the influence of the EES on national changes of citizenship would be less direct than initially suggested. Hence, the main challenge and the main achievement during this third period consisted in developing a systematic account, which makes sense of current transformations of social and economic citizenship and which is able to offer new insights of the role of the EES for the latter. The key to such deeper understanding lies in a broader perspective on discursive developments.

In all three countries major reforms of labour markets and social security systems are undertaken. Moreover, each national reform project draws on a broader 'activation discourse' that is also endorsed by the EES. At its core, this discourse promotes maximal participation in the formal labour market, but it also contains ideas like employability, lifelong learning or social investment. Finally, each reform project implies shifting practices of social and economic citizenship. Most important, there is a consistent trend towards increasingly individualised and differentiated new duties. These duties shall increase labour market participation by targeting inactive due to unemployment but also due to disability, chronic illness or because they care for children or relatives. Mostly these duties are based on some form of contractual relationship between individual citizens (as recipients of benefits) and state agencies (most important, public employment services).

At the same time, national activation discourses and national reform projects differ significantly. Moreover, the data collected through expert interviews does not suggest some any direct influence of the EES. In order to understand the role of the EES and the similar trend of citizenship, we argue that the Employment Strategy should be seen as a specific process of conceptual debate. Within this framework the EU member states and the Commission define current problems, identify solutions and formulate strategies how they could be put into practice. In addition, they also negotiate the relative weight of single elements as well as their specific meanings. Thereby, some forms of citizenship become more likely while others are excluded. For example, the duties to actively seek employment and to cooperate with the employment service have become integral parts of social citizenship in all countries, while generous early-retirement schemes have become increasingly 'unthinkable'.

Overall, the analysis of current welfare reforms and of the EES from a citizenship perspective facilitates deeper understanding of these processes that is highly relevant from a normative point of view. First, it can point to crucial questions about the general quality of citizenship. For example, the individualisation and contractualisation of citizenship contains a risk that governments can switch between carrots and sticks to achieve quantitative targets while universally defined rights are undermined. Hence, it could be asked whether the 'active welfare state' implied by the activation discourse would also require a new generation of citizenship rights. Moreover, a citizenship perspective can uncover patterns of exclusion and inequality that are created with new citizenship practices. This becomes particularly clear when looking at the gender dimension of these reforms. While the broader activation discourse simply assumes equal labour market participation of women and men, it neglects social realities where women are facing complex structural inequalities in the labour market (pay gaps, segregation, glass ceilings, problems to return after caring periods) and are responsible for the major part of unpaid care work. In this context, we argue that the conceptual debate within the EES has fundamentally failed. The strategy's strong and explicit gender equality dimension has more or less disappeared and equality between women and men is addressed in terms of quantitative employment targets rather than in terms substantive equality.

## 8. Synopsis of research for public dissemination

Please supply up to 150 words describing your research in terms suitable for a non-specialist. Please note that information supplied here may be used by the Academy in its publications, either in print form or on its web site.

In the course of the European debate on how to modernise existing labour markets and social security systems, ‘bringing as many people into the labour market’ has become the key objective. Despite a lack of legislative competence in these areas, the European Union is also pushing for reforms, providing guidance and promoting specific solutions through its *European Employment Strategy*.

Against this background, the research project is interested in the implications for social and economic *citizenship* as well as in the role of the European Employment Strategy in these transformations. Under which conditions can such maximal labour market participation be achieved? Is the EU able to assist its member states in modernising national citizenship formations while maintaining high social standards?

These questions are explored in a comparative case study on Germany, Hungary and the UK. While the strategy’s direct effects seem to be limited, it is nevertheless a specific process of conceptual debate where the direction and the cornerstones for current transformations of citizenship are negotiated.

## 9. Additional information

Please supply any useful web site addresses related to your research that may be of interest to other scholars or general browsers. The Academy may provide links to these sites on its web pages. Please indicate if you would prefer the sites **not** to be listed publicly.

Project web site	<a href="http://www.qub.ac.uk/polproj/reneq/index.htm">http://www.qub.ac.uk/polproj/reneq/index.htm</a>
Individual home page	<a href="http://www.bath.ac.uk/esml/news/a-wiener.htm">http://www.bath.ac.uk/esml/news/a-wiener.htm</a>
Other useful addresses	

## 10. Publications

List any publications which have arisen from the research to date, or are in preparation. Please indicate whether book or article (if other, please describe)

Title	Book	Article	Expected publication date
Pfister, T. Mainstreamed away? The European Employment Strategy from a citizenship perspective. Manuscript for submission to <i>Journal of European Social Policy</i>		X	2007
Wiener, A., ed. <i>Contested Meanings of Principles and Procedures of Democracy</i> , Special Issue with <i>Contemporary European Politics</i> (in preparation)		X	2007
Wiener, A., “Transnational Citizenship? ‘European’ Citizenship Practice Reconsidered,” Manuscript, for submission with European Integration online Papers.		X	2006
Wiener, A. “Transnationale Buergerschaft in Europa” in Mackert, Juergen (ed): <i>The Concept of Citizenship. A Reader</i> . VS Verlag; [in German]		X	2006
Wiener, A. (2005) "Citizenship in New Boundaries: On the Social Constitution of Political Order in Europe" in Huget, Holger, Chryssoula Kambas and Wolfgang Klein (eds) <i>Border Crossings: Difference and Identity in Current Europe</i> ; Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 221-263. [in German]		X	
Pfister, T. (2005) “Review Essay: Citizenship and Globalisation”, <i>Ethnopolitics</i> 4(1): 105-113		X	
Wiener, A. (2004). "What Challenge to the State? Scrutinizing Global Rights Discourse", <i>Electronic Working paper</i> , Belfast, <a href="http://www.qub.ac.uk/polproj/reneq/index.htm">http://www.qub.ac.uk/polproj/reneq/index.htm</a> .		X	
Pfister, T. “From State to Stateness”, <i>Manuscript</i> , Belfast 2004.		X	
(all papers will also be published on the project website: <a href="http://www.qub.ac.uk/polproj/reneq/index.htm">http://www.qub.ac.uk/polproj/reneq/index.htm</a> )			

Please remember to submit one copy of any book to the Academy in order to fulfil the conditions of the award

## 11. Dissemination

Indicate if any other dissemination (e.g. conference papers, articles) has taken place or is planned for the future.

Title/description	Date
Pfister, T. (2007). 'Mainstreamed Away? The Gender Equality Dimension of the European Employment Strategy.' To be presented at <i>EUSA Tenth Biennial International Conference</i> , Montreal, 19-21/05/07	May 2007
Pfister, T. (2006). 'From Activated to Active Citizenship? Reflections on Participation in New Modes of Governance in the European Union'. Paper presented at <i>Democracy, the Rule of Law, and Soft Modes of Governance in the EU</i> , Roskilde University, 9 – 11 November 2006.	Nov. 2006
Pfister, T. (2006). "Investigating the European Employment Strategy/the Lisbon Strategy from a citizenship perspective: gender equality in Germany, Hungary and the UK." To be presented at <i>Exchanging Ideas on Europe</i> , Limerick, Ireland, 31 August-2 September.	Aug/Sept 2006
Pfister, T. (2006). "The activation of social and economic citizenship—exploring gender equality in the context of the European Employment Strategy". To be presented at <i>Globalisation and the Political Theory of the Welfare State and Citizenship</i> , Aalborg University, Denmark, 4-6 May.	March 2006
Pfister, T. (2006). "Transformations of social and economic citizenship in the transnationalising context of European Integration — gender equality as necessary requirement and crucial test." To be presented at <i>Policy making, gender and citizenship</i> , University of West England, Bristol, 24 March 2006.	May 2006
Pfister, T. (2005). "Renegotiating Labour. Implications of EU Employment Policies for the Development of Citizenship and Stateness.' Presented at <i>Contested Meanings: Democratic Practice and Principles across Cultural Boundaries</i> . Queen's University Belfast, 22-23 September.	Sept 2005

## 12. Signature and date

Signature	Date

Please send the completed form, together with receipts where relevant to: The Assistant Secretary (Research Grants), The British Academy, 10 Carlton House Terrace, London, SW1Y 5AH. This report form may be downloaded from [www.britac.ac.uk/form/reports/](http://www.britac.ac.uk/form/reports/) and emailed to [grants@britac.ac.uk](mailto:grants@britac.ac.uk), with receipts sent under separate cover.