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Emerging Trends in Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities in Europe

The METRIS Report

**A report by an expert group set up by the European Commission
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METRIS stands for Monitoring European Trends in Social Sciences and Humanities

METRIS is an initiative of the theme Research in Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities of the Cooperation Specific Programme of the 7th Framework Programme.

To prepare the report, the expert group met six times in the period March to December 2008 and held a workshop with external experts. The following people contributed to the reflections of the group: John Caughie, Heide Hackmann, Rüdiger Klein, Anne Kovalainen, Ronald Pohoryles, Björn Wittrock.

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Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication.

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2009

ISBN 978-92-79-11136-5

DOI 10.2777/57083

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Printed in Belgium

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FOREWORD

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES: A CORNERSTONE OF THE EUROPEAN RESEARCH AREA

In December 2005, I addressed a conference on social sciences and humanities in Brussels where the participants were so numerous they could not all fit into the largest hall of the European Parliament building. The willingness of scholars from these fields to participate actively in the European debate impressed me at the time, as did the relevance of their contributions to the European project as a whole and to the European Research Area in particular.

Providing a European perspective to the development of social sciences and humanities requires systems of information gathering. The pioneering ambition of METRIS (Monitoring European Trends in Social Sciences and Humanities) to provide such a system will help social sciences and humanities come to the centre of ERA, and lead the way towards a common European system of research governance.

This report, by the METRIS expert group, is the first step of this innovative project. It represents a collective reflection on emerging trends in social sciences and humanities across the board, in relation to the tasks of the socio-economic sciences and humanities theme of the 7th Framework Programme for Research and Development. Its importance lies in the boldness of its ambitions. It is true that the report does not offer complete coverage of social sciences and humanities. It does, however, offer an impressive overview of European trends, issues and approaches, making it very valuable for decision-makers.

This first step will be completed with a European wide system of data and information on social sciences and humanities that will be available on the internet. This will further strengthen the strategic reflection offered by this report. METRIS has the potential to become a powerful tool for research decision-making in the fields of social sciences and humanities within Europe. It already makes a valuable contribution to the European Research Area.

Janez Potočnik

Emerging Trends in Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities in Europe

The METRIS Report



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report offers an overview of emerging trends in research in the social sciences and humanities (SSH) in Europe. It is based on the contributions of 14 senior researchers who were asked to review emerging trends in research in the five priorities of theme 8 (Social Sciences and Humanities) of the 7th Framework Programme (FP7) as well as cross-cutting trends, and to formulate recommendations for further action. The report does not cover the important contribution of SSH to the other nine themes of FP7 although overlapping interests may be identified.

Trends in the SSH reflect not only societal developments, but also the changing structures of research itself. National research systems remain very different in Europe, and efforts should be made to understand the ways in which the construction of a unified European Research Area is transforming them. We need to better understand how the important changes underway in the modes of funding and in science policy are affecting research both in terms of quality and in terms of its social uses. This should start with an effort at creating a reliable database monitoring both public and private funding of SSH research in Europe. The quasi-ubiquitous calls for interdisciplinarity should not obscure the continued relevance of traditional disciplinary work, nor the need to achieve 'deep' interdisciplinarity between distant disciplines. The development of new intellectual property rights regimes and the changing economy of publishing call for measures aiming at ensuring public access to knowledge in the ERA. This, in turn, depends on the capacity to develop a strong and open European research infrastructure.

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The group identified the following trends in SSH research in the five thematic areas:

Major trends in society include demographic trends related to the slowing down of population growth worldwide and to the falling share of Europe in the world population, to ageing and its impact on social systems, and to migration flows. New approaches to the urban habitat, to the pace and forms of social change, and to advances in the field of biotechnologies are also important research trends. Research is also likely to focus on political issues such as the worldwide prospects of democracy, the crisis of traditional political representation, new intersections between the political and the religious, the transformation of the mode of governance characteristic of welfare systems, as well as new understandings of very long-term change.

In the rubric Growth, Employment and Competitiveness in a Knowledge-Based Society, the study of innovation will remain high on the agenda, in particular analyses focusing on the institutional and social dimensions of innovation and creativity. The emphasis placed on the role of intangibles in the so-called knowledge economy will increase researchers' interest in human, social and cultural capital, in the experience economy, and in measures of value. In this context, social welfare will be reconsidered as a productive factor. With the current economic crisis issues of financial stability and economic governance are also coming back to the fore.

Research on Citizenship will maintain a focus on issues of constitutionalism and formal citizenship, but it also renews itself by taking into account the proliferation of different types of citizenship. Issues of religious, sexual, scientific, biological citizenship are promising lines of research in this area. New forms of participation in the public sphere, and new participant subjects – such as corporations – are also attracting a growing interest. Researchers increasingly understand citizenship by analysing its limits or its confines and by looking at non-citizens.

In terms of Combining Economic, Social and Environmental Objectives, current trends point at a growing engagement of the SSH with the study of the environment in its various dimensions, such as biodiversity, landscaping, or conservation, while analysing the socioeconomic consequences of climate change. New approaches to social cohesion and to the analysis of social inequalities are developing, in part with a new emphasis on globalising trends. Alternative models of growth and alternative theories of value are also bound to develop, while studies of risk and risk-management will continue to attract interest.

Europe and the World is a thematic area for which EU support plays a significant role relative to the support at national levels. Next to the analysis of Europe's place in multilateral frameworks, innovative research focuses on a relational understanding of European identity and the social and political dimensions of memory. Europe as a knowledge-based economy and as an entity inserted in global circuits of cultural and immaterial artefacts is also important.

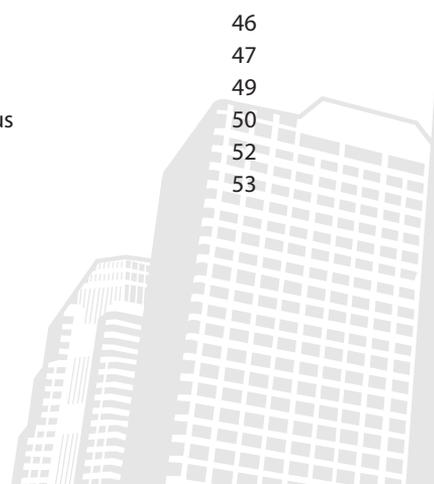
Next to these five areas, the group has provided selected examples of transversal research trends that renew vast swathes of the SSH. They are: the 'iconic turn' in a number of fields where the role of images, visualisations and iconic languages delineates a complex ecology of the visual; new approaches to space and spatiality that take into consideration the importance of physical space and lead to the rethinking of many territorialised concepts; a renewed interest in affects and emotions; and the erosion of the traditional boundaries of scientific research.

Following the analysis within the themes, the following important cross-cutting themes are flagged out for coordinated support in Europe:

- The future and the new forms of social welfare
- A new research agenda on migration breaking with methodological nationalism
- Interdisciplinary research on innovation
- Sustainability research on the 'post-carbon' city
- New approaches to value and valuation in the context of knowledge economies
- Space, landscape and virtuality as new socio-political environments
- Time and memory as social formations and as political issues
- The technologisation of research in the social sciences and the humanities
- The iconic turn and the analysis of iconospheres
- New approaches to governance and regulation

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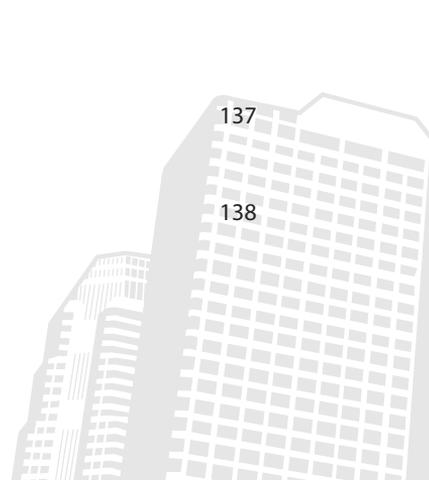
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Emerging Trends in Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities in Europe

The METRIS Report



INTRODUCTION

This report summarises the conclusions of an expert group appointed by the Directorate General for Research of the European Commission (DG Research) in order to pilot the METRIS (Monitoring European Trends in Social Sciences and Humanities) Project, in accordance with the provisions of the Work Programme 2007 of Theme 8 'Socio-economic sciences and humanities' of the Cooperation Specific Programme¹. The report does not cover the important contribution of SSH to the other nine thematic priorities of FP7.

According to the terms of reference of the mandate, the objective of the METRIS project is: 'to improve the effectiveness of Europe's investment in SSH, through better coordination of research efforts and research policy interventions in Europe. This will be achieved through:

- a common appreciation of current and future European needs, problems, challenges and opportunities to which social sciences and humanities (SSH) ought to contribute;
- a common appreciation of the state of the art in European social sciences and humanities, their strength and weaknesses, needs and trends; and
- a common appreciation of research policies and efforts across Europe in the social sciences and humanities².

Under these terms of reference, the expert group was to produce a first report on the *State of the Art, Recent and Emerging Trends in Social Sciences and Humanities in Europe*.

In addressing this remit, the group recognised that the social sciences and humanities are diversely defined in the various European member countries. It acknowledged that although the SSH do not reflect mechanically societal trends, they are affected by them.

The current uncertainties and interrogations about the future of higher education and research institutions in a number of European countries are compounded by the deepening economic crisis. Simultaneously, SSH research is deployed in new settings and operates under new constraints. The institutional, disciplinary and human foundations of the SSH are being dramatically transformed.

¹ Work Programme 2007, "Cooperation";
Theme 8: Socioeconomic Sciences and Humanities; Topic SSH-2007-8.7
² DG Research, Terms of Reference for the Metris Expert Group, October 2007.

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This context represents an opportunity for a new role for social sciences and humanities. Both the current recession and a number of fundamental issues ranging from global warming to disenfranchisement and poverty are not questions that lend themselves to merely technical solutions. They often require a fundamental rethinking of assumptions that are taken for granted about society, governance, or economic values. More than ever, the insight provided by innovative research, especially from SSH, is needed and the SSH need to be supported accordingly.

More than ever, the insight provided by innovative research, especially from SSH, is needed and the SSH need to be supported accordingly

The primary purpose of this report is the *identification* of important emerging trends in SSH research. As such, it is not an exercise in mapping aimed at an exhaustive picture. Rather, to the extent that it includes an evaluative appreciation of the relative importance of research trends, it is an exercise in *judgement*, and as such is conditioned by the composition of the expert group.

Trends are by definition a matter of evaluation, and the plurality of viewpoints expressed by the group ensured that a wide range of fields would be surveyed. Following the guidelines of DG Research, the group organised its work and the current report around the five main thematic priorities of FP7 (Growth, employment and competitiveness in knowledge society; Combining economic, social and environmental objectives in a European perspective; Major trends in society and their implication; Europe in the world; The citizen in the European Union), leaving out the two transversal themes (Socio-economic and scientific indicators; Foresight). This decision was motivated by practical considerations and in particular by the intention to facilitate the translation of the report's findings into the work of the Commission. In doing so, the group was aware that these thematic areas are not the only way to capture trends that may well cut across such categories. In effect, both Chapter 7 and the concluding section point to transversal research trends that appear under several headings.

For each of the five FP7 thematic areas, the group sought to identify important trends in research that pointed to the renewal of established research agendas, delineated new interdisciplinary perspectives or transformed the understanding of the thematic areas themselves. In approaching the identification of such trends, the group sought to base its judgement on

two interrelated criteria: observable developments in research had to be matched by trends in society. Of course, the distinction is largely analytical: on the one hand, social evolutions are in part made visible and 'thematized' by research in social sciences and humanities (although they are also constructed in other fields – policy, journalism, everyday interactions, art, etc.). On the other hand, changes in society and the economy have an obvious impact on the purposes, the institutional forms and the contents of research. This way of thinking about trends guided the group to select issues of general relevance, and to avoid focussing on developments narrowly confined to a specific subfield or that are of significance to only narrow communities of specialists.

This report is a pilot project and does not pretend to provide an exhaustive view of the current developments in social sciences and humanities. A number of omissions can be pinpointed, in particular in fields such as the cognitive sciences, media or anthropology, which were under-represented within the expert group.

The context and the purposes of SSH research have changed dramatically

It is important to situate the METRIS project within the long-term evolution of social sciences and humanities, since these disciplines are going through a redefinition of their role and of their place in society. The context and the purposes of SSH research have changed dramatically. The transformation of funding patterns determines a new set of constraints under which researchers operate. The rapid internationalisation of higher education and research redefines fields and boundaries, but also increases interdisciplinarity. The rising economic stakes associated with knowledge are leading to the development of new institutional arrangements linking research funding with economic profits. The search for innovation is leading to new articulations of research and the corporate sector but also to new directions in science policy. The development of the European Research Area not only tends toward the coordination of national research programmes, but also adds another layer of institutional complexity to an already highly diversified field. Career patterns have also changed dramatically, as the expansion of short-term project funding seems to have accelerated a trend toward the casualisation of academic labour.

In this context, researchers are concerned about the evolution of their fields and of their careers. Often trained under one particular system characterised by prevailing national characteristics, they have to adapt rapidly to the transition toward international standards of research, a transition in which the European Commission is a major actor. The scope and purpose of their craft is also changing at a fast pace, as they are encouraged to adjust to new social and policy demands, in constant evolution. Increasingly, their research skills have to be supplemented by managerial, fund-raising, organisational and administrative capacities, for which they have rarely been trained.

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Making sense of these dramatic changes requires situating them within the overall history of social sciences and humanities, a history which is itself diverse and built on different chronologies. At the risk of oversimplification, one can trace the development of the modern human and social sciences to the development of the modern nation-state in Europe. In the 19th century, the humanities were reorganised in the framework of national educational institutions and mobilised for the construction of national imaginaries. National curricula, museums and archives ensured that academic humanities perspectives and knowledge filtered into the minds of populations, often at a very much delayed time scale. The social sciences, on the other hand, developed out of movements of social reform and in relation to the construction of administrative apparatuses, as 'administrative' or 'policy' sciences providing reliable knowledge on the territorial affairs that States had to administer. The Verein für Sozialpolitik in Germany, the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques in France or, in more decentralised settings where charitable foundations dealt with social issues, bear witness to this process of co-development of the social sciences and of the tools for social reform. As they became institutionalised in specialised bodies or, later, in higher education institutions, the social sciences operated on the premise that a proper knowledge – statistical, sociological, economic, etc. – of social phenomena allowed for more efficient policy interventions that aimed at correcting, reorienting or managing human and economic resources as well as their territorial or social distribution. In that sense, the social sciences were the main tool for making visible what we call 'the social' and for making it relatively governable. They are part and parcel of modern governmentality. The development of the welfare state in a number of countries after 1945 is certainly one of the factors that accounts for the tremendous development of the social sciences in their 'golden age'.

▀▀ **The ecology of the social sciences has been transformed – with some disciplines, like economics, becoming central, while others, like sociology, retreating from their previous engagement with administrative arenas or policy debate**

It is important to keep in mind the set of political and institutional factors that ensured the policy-relevance of the social sciences, to the extent that the end of this historical configuration and the redefinition of the tasks of government play a major role in current debates about the 'policy-relevance' of the social sciences. Neoliberal arguments about the impossibility to gain epistemological mastery over the complexity of self-organising social phenomena, about 'unintended consequences' outweighing the primary purpose of administrative intervention and

about the necessity of entrusting markets with decision-making have gradually become mainstream and undermined the very *raison d'être* of traditional social science. As 'policy' has become less a matter of informed intervention on society than an operation seeking to increase the arenas for discrete choice and decision by individuals, the meaning of 'policy relevance' has changed accordingly. As a result, the ecology of the social sciences has been transformed – with some disciplines, like economics, becoming central, while others, like sociology, retreating from their previous engagement with administrative arenas or policy debates. Budget cuts have made more salient the debates around the justification of public funding for the social sciences and raised the stakes of these debates.

“ Today, the internationalisation of humanities research and a greater integration with the social sciences are clearly visible trends

Notwithstanding important differences, the humanities are going through a similar redefinition of their role. Largely structured along national lines, they are adapting to a new context characterised by rapid internationalisation and new demands emanating from new clients. This shift away from national canons has however predated contemporary calls for international collaborations in humanities research: starting in the 1970s, various movements in philosophy, literature and history have questioned the legitimacy of such canons and their collusion with certain forms and distributions of power. These important developments led to considerable disciplinary renewal. They facilitated the questioning of the distinctions between 'high' and 'low' culture and the engagement of the humanities with popular culture, and the development of new and important fields, such as media studies. They displaced national frames of cultural self-understanding and questioned them in ways that destabilised the centrality of the modern enlightened subject. New issues – such as the role of gender – have further questioned assumptions of humanistic universalism that have been taken for granted. 'Deconstruction', postmodernism, cultural studies have called into question the traditional practices of history-writing; linguistics has renewed conceptual and political history; discursive practices, such as psychoanalysis, have been accommodated in a number of disciplines ranging from literature to philosophy. Some theories, such as Marxism, have also facilitated a degree of integration between the humanities and the social sciences.

In retrospect, it may be that these important transformations have predisposed the humanities for the current adjustments to a new research landscape, by weakening previous institutional and disciplinary rigidities and in particular national traditions and strict disciplinary boundaries. Today, the internationalisation of humanities research and a greater integration with the social sciences are clearly visible trends.

While the humanities have traditionally enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy compared to the social sciences, they are being redefined as they evolve in new institutional contexts and

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face new social demands. In the legislative regulation of fields where technological advances have raised fundamental normative issues, as in biotechnology, demands for applied ethics have created new outlets for humanities research. Branches of the humanities are being drawn into the vast domain of the cognitive sciences and are being applied to issues of information management or human/technological interfaces. In some fields, corporate funding is emerging as a possible source of research support. This deployment of the humanities in new and sometimes unexpected territories raises concerns about their autonomy. In some parts of Europe where countries have experienced a transition from previous authoritarian regimes, the humanities, which had long provided a refuge for dissident thought, are also being harnessed to new political or economic projects, or simply marginalised.

The full effect of these trends on the social sciences and humanities cannot be captured in this report. Yet, these structural transformations of SSH research are important, as they ultimately affect research capacities, objects, orientations, methods and formats. As a result, the report starts with an overview of what the group considers important structural developments that condition the way SSH research is carried out.

The group decided to follow the headings of the 7th Framework Programme (FP7), without feeling constrained by the content of the specific Programme for the socio-economic sciences and the humanities. Rather, it used these headings as a grid in which it could describe what it saw as important emerging research trends corresponding to important phenomena in society. In this sense, the heading “major trends in society” describes a very broad field, which in the judgement of the group enveloped the other headings. It is therefore the first theme covered by the report, before the other areas of SSH considered under FP7. This does not follow the order of the thematic priorities as they appear in the text of the Programme, but it seemed to provide a more coherent structure for the report.

For each of the thematic areas, the group flags topics or research areas that may not have been central to the thematic structure of FP7 but that have gained in importance in recent years. It offers brief conclusions and recommendations regarding the monitoring of these trends and strategic thinking about next steps in FP7. The group thought that there were important trends that either were not captured by the categories of FP7 or were diluted into these categories and deserved a separate presentation. Examples of such trends are described in the last chapter. Here too, the group is selective, and the issues addressed in the final chapter must be read as examples. Finally, a brief concluding section offers recommendations regarding possible steps the Commission and national research funding bodies may wish to follow in order to facilitate the support of some of the research trends identified in the report.

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CHAPTER 1

STRUCTURAL TRENDS IN THE EUROPEAN RESEARCH AREA

In this section, we outline some of the most salient developments currently reshaping the landscape of social science and humanities (SSH) in Europe. The last 20 years have seen significant structural changes in the organisation of research in Europe. These changes relate to the institutional arrangements concerning research at national and Europe-wide levels, the capacity to monitor infrastructural trends, the lesser autonomy of the scientific field, the impact of new funding modes, the transformation of research careers and academic labour markets, the impact of project-driven research, the rapid development of evaluative practices, the commercialisation of research, important inter-European differentials, interdisciplinarity, the transformation of academic publishing and research infrastructures. These changes are an inherent part of emerging trends in SSH. One therefore needs to analyse the new directions of SSH research in Europe by relating them to the changing institutional and human infrastructure of research that shapes the format and the content of SSH research. By influencing research agendas, defining institutional, fiscal and other research parameters, and shaping the time and space within which researchers operate, these new developments impact on the entire research process, fostering certain new research agendas and trends whilst constraining others. Research has thus become a topic of research in its own right, and in order to monitor these structural changes, the Commission might consider funding research on European social science and humanities research.

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1. GENERAL OVERVIEW

It is important to emphasise the variations in the relative importance of the social sciences and humanities between national contexts. During the late 1990s, the share of the SSH within overall spending on research and development across sectors (including government, higher education, non-profit, and corporate) varied from around 4% to 25% in some exceptional cases. In Germany for instance, which accounts for an important share of SSH funding in Europe, it represented around 8% of total R&D. For most European countries, the figure would be somewhere below 15%. *Both in terms of R&D expenditure and in terms of the number of researchers, the social sciences and humanities in the EU-27 are mostly located within the higher education system* (although some countries have important public research administrations that are separate from universities). However, the available data does not allow for a more specific or longitudinal analysis of current trends at the European level. As pointed out in previous analyses of indicators for the SSH, we currently lack long- or even medium-term time series for a number of countries, and the data on SSH funding coming from the private for-profit sector and the charitable sector is almost non-existent. Although funding and staffing patterns do not explain everything, the fragmentary character of the available data is the first impediment to a proper understanding of the evolving role of SSH in society.

▀▀ Social sciences and humanities in the EU-27 are mostly located within the higher education system

The importance of a reflexive analysis of what doing research means in the context of the European Union is warranted by the linkage between knowledge production on the one hand, and economic growth and competitiveness on the other. The institutional success of the field of science studies in recent years is a direct consequence of the central position of knowledge and science in economic innovation. This extends to social sciences and humanities whose significance for growth, competitiveness, and innovation has increasingly been recognised in the last 15 years.

The current condition of SSH research can broadly be defined as a transition away from previous forms of research organisation that, beyond their differences, shared certain common features such as: relatively stable research careers; the hegemony of tenured positions (whether in private universities or public research organisations); a concentration of research within publicly funded universities, academies, and research centres; a frequent overlap between

teaching and research; the relative autonomy of the academic field; and the organisation of research along strict disciplinary lines. Incentivised by the European Commission's approach to research – thematic priorities; project funding; interdisciplinary research team requirements, etc – *national research systems in the European Research Area have been moving towards a model in which research is project-driven*; reactive to external incentives; characterised by the growing role of external and mixed-mode funding, involving public monies, agencies, the private and the charitable as much as the industrial sectors; more interdisciplinarity; public-private initiatives (PPI); cross-sectoral collaboration; increasing reference to users, stakeholders and research beneficiaries; and increasing internationalisation. These changes have been more apparent and more readily embraced by the social sciences than by the humanities, which have had somewhat different research traditions, for instance in terms of the respective levels of collaboration versus so-called 'lone scholarship'.

“ National research systems in the European Research Area have been moving towards a model in which research is project-driven

When they were implemented at policy level, these changes were in part meant to remedy the shortcomings of a previous system characterised by low levels of accountability and innovation. The increasing reliance on evaluation mechanisms, intended to provide objective accounts of the 'value' of research, has led to new types of conformity, not least in formatting research. This raises the question of the autonomy of research against the demands of policy and funder-agenda related relevance.

The point, therefore, is to take stock of these changes and to mobilise the SSH in an effort to understand reflexively their current situation, identify the direct implications as well as the collateral effects of contemporary developments, and articulate views about the most effective ways of ensuring that social sciences and humanities can thrive in Europe. How can SSH be mobilised more effectively in cross-disciplinary research, particularly with non-cognate disciplines? How can European excellence in SSH research be maintained and enhanced through the effective balancing of policy demands and the safeguarding of adequate research autonomy? How can research become more innovative and responsive, and yet remain capable of articulating a critical point of view? These questions need to be addressed in part through understanding the research environment in which SSH now operate.

2. FUNDING AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF RESEARCH PRACTICES

The most important development in the European Research Area is probably the growing importance of funding agencies. Most European countries have now established agencies that fund external research, and few countries (e.g. Italy, Spain, Greece) still do not have such steering institutions. The importance of these institutions may be assessed considering their influence over the research agenda. First, the shift from research-performing institutions to research-funding agencies introduces a certain distance between research and research steering. How this distance affects research itself is a question that is still in need of thorough answers. Second, a crucial dimension in terms of control over the research agenda is whether funding agencies operate in a responsive mode, or in a programme mode, which allows them to define the broad orientations of national research efforts. *The overall impact of funding agencies on research performance, on scientific quality, and on the wider ecology of knowledge in social sciences and humanities is a question that requires extensive and comparative research.* The influence of these agencies and of their modus operandi on the format of research, on its criteria of legitimacy, and on its circulation also has to be explored. The role of competition for funding, the importance of administrative capacities within the research process, and the mission and vision informing the work of funding agencies are crucial areas for further exploration.

▀▀ **The overall impact of funding agencies on research performance, on scientific quality, and on the wider ecology of knowledge in social sciences and humanities is a question that requires extensive and comparative research**

One of the most striking aspects of the evolution of knowledge institutions over the past decades has been the increasing role played by funding in general and mixed-mode funding in particular. This role is unevenly developed across the various European countries, and is in part related to the ways in which new forms of university governance have taken hold involving other public sector, industry, and private sector stakeholders, and increasing requirements for accountability in the public research sector. This development finds its most thorough-going expression in UK research. Unlike in the US, private donations play a relatively minor role in research funding in Europe. Overall, however, as public research funding is shrinking relative to its fiscal requirements, research institutions and researchers across Europe are increasingly

encouraged or obliged to seek sector-external funding or *Drittmittel* (third-party funding) to secure their research and, in many instances, their jobs. This has the effect of linking education and research more closely to the labour market, and research to the demands of industry, the private and the charitable sector, thus shaping the development of scientific processes in ways not fully understood, more so in some parts of social sciences and humanities than others.

“ Non-academic organisations and consultancies such as SMEs and NGOs are bringing a wide range of social interests to bear upon the research agenda

In research sectors with potential alignment to the private sector and to industry, the new role of private finance is related to a series of institutional innovations such as the creation of spin-off companies, developed to harness the economic potential of academic knowledge production. Various forms of *university-industry collaborations* (contract research organisations, material transfer agreements, direct institutional funding, etc.) and the correlated expansion of concerns about *intellectual property* across a range of academic research practices, are becoming strong tendencies. These innovations contribute to the emergence of a parallel sector of privately-funded research originating in public-sector institutions, where the production, diffusion, sharing and publication of data are tightly controlled under specific terms of reference.

There has also been a proliferation of entities that are funded for research purposes. Thus at the national level, funders now support projects, centres of excellence, research clusters, private-public collaborations, etc. Similarly, at the European Commission level, funding has moved from relatively small research teams to research groupings of varying and increasingly large size (e.g. integrated projects, networks of excellence, etc).

These developments are in some respects in sharp contrast to the Mertonian notion of disinterested scientific communities freely sharing the tools and results of their work. Indeed, data sharing and ownership is increasingly becoming an issue in relation to research conducted within industry and the private sector, as opposed to publicly funded research institutions. We need to ask how specific forms of organisation of research are (re)engineered as a consequence of these innovations, and we need a better understanding of how this impacts on scientific research. How does it affect research performance? How does it impact on the dissemination of research results? How does it affect the social distribution of the benefits of scientific research? Does it accelerate or hamper scientific innovation?

Many of these changes affect primarily disciplines situated outside social sciences and humanities (biomedicine, life sciences, nanotechnologies, etc.). However, the technologisation of research, manifested for instance in the rise of transactional data analyses and the use of GIS

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(Geographic Information Systems), of interest to social science researchers as much as to cultural analysts, points to possibilities of collaboration as much as contestation in SSH.

Additionally, social scientists and humanities scholars frequently evaluate, justify or criticise research performance under these new arrangements. It is therefore essential to build independent research capacity and to promote a sustained stream of research on the new forms of knowledge production and governance, especially as some industry sectors like the pharmaceutical industry have started to inject funding into social science research and, in particular, science studies, where much of the debate over these transformations is taking place. Finally, regional differences in terms of research funding should be acknowledged and their impact should also be analysed.

In terms of the increased role of mixed-mode funding in European SSH research, *foundations* play an important role in the organisation and funding of research, as well as in scientific agenda-setting. In conditions of fiscal restraint, the potential contribution of foundations may rise. Existing foundations like the Volkswagen Stiftung in Germany, or Leverhulme or Rowntree in the UK for instance, continue to support research projects that dovetail with their funding priorities. But efforts are also made at the policy level to ease the legal framework in which such foundations are expected to flourish.

Importantly, *non-university research sectors* have increased their share of SSH research, more particularly in the social sciences than in the humanities. *Non-academic organisations and consultancies such as SMEs and NGOs are becoming increasingly important actors, bringing a wide range of social interests to bear upon the research agenda.* A larger share of research is done directly in-house, through internal markets or to order by new research operators, usually with a marketing pitch emphasising the greater flexibility, responsiveness to social needs, and timeliness of non-university research. New types of foundations and think-tanks develop in this niche, thus adding complexity to the ecologies of knowledge production. Does the research conducted there differ in significant ways from academic research? What are the implications of their *modus operandi* for the quality and the dissemination of research results? To the extent that it is free from the constraints of peer-reviewing or disciplinary validation, how is this research evaluated? How is its scientific status certified?

3. THE RESTRUCTURING OF UNIVERSITIES AND ACADEMIC CAREERS

The structures, governance, funding and operation of universities as a key site for researchers are of great importance for the training, the career progression, the housing, and the proper functioning of research communities. Career prospects are fundamental for the maintenance of healthy research communities as 'the structure and performance of research communities are related strongly to the availability of opportunities for career development'³. Yet, the pressures of just-in-time research, the need for flexibility in academic recruitment, and the changing economics of university management have contributed to a significant transformation of the structure of the academic labour market. *One of the most striking aspects of this transformation is the decline of tenured positions relative to overall academic staff numbers, combined with the exponential growth of contingent academic labour, as the total number of academic or research staff is increasing.* In the UK, for instance, fixed term contracts represented 44,8% of university contracts in 2003 (as opposed to 39% in 1994). In France, contingent personnel in the higher education and research sector has grown at a rate of 2,76 % per year since 1999. While these figures cover all positions and not exclusively the SSH, the same tendencies apply for these disciplines. A better knowledge of their specific position and of the way in which these changes affect the SSH is required.

“ One of the most striking aspects... is the decline of tenured positions relative to overall academic staff numbers

These developments contribute to the general deregulation of academic work, as contingent employment is generally dependent on local rules. The multiplication of ill-defined and precarious positions that take up an increasing – even if invisible – share of academic work bears witness to this transformation (post-docs, adjuncts, research associates, assistants, TAs, etc.) There are few studies of this less visible, 'secondary' academic market, and yet it is of crucial importance in the restructuring of research communities. More importantly, while there have been useful studies of the research process in the context of stable work environments, we urgently need to scrutinise what doing research means in these contexts of increased flexibility and contingency. As Godelier et al. observe, 'low levels of security, status and pay combined with deteriorating working conditions among university research professionals have led to concern for the sustainable growth of

³This point has been made by Godelier & al. "Defining a Methodology to Assess the State of the Art of the Social Sciences and Humanities in Europe," July 2003, unpublished report, European Commission, p. 17.

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globally competitive and excellent research⁴. While most of the time these transformations are justified in terms of the flexibilisation of knowledge production, their real effects on the quality of research results are not well-known and should, at the very least, be scrutinised. The rise of contract-based research performed by a contingent workforce and the concomitant reduction in tenured positions do not only change the status of the researcher, but also the time-frame of research, the constraints – financial and otherwise – under which it is conducted, the capacity for independent inquiry, as well as the diffusion of its results. There is a real need to assess the extent of these trends and to understand how they may affect the social sciences and humanities.

4. THE ‘PROJECT’ AS THE DOMINANT FORM OF RESEARCH ORGANISATION

The transformation of the research landscape in Europe is characterised by a shift from organisation-based or individual-centred to project-based research, especially in the social sciences but also in certain humanities disciplines. This trend is related to the increasing role of multiple funding sources. New requirements of accountability in higher education and research have resulted in an output-driven culture, dominated by time-interval research performance evaluations, increasingly in quantifiable terms. These favour result-driven research activity. Stable research organisations continue to exist but increasingly researchers are structured into research centres that are separate from traditional departments, with the instruction to generate the funds necessary to sustain such centres, sometimes in return for being freed from university teaching, and to produce quantifiable outputs in the forms of external funding, publications and successful PhD graduates within given timeframes. Research resources become increasingly attached to specific, time-delimited projects and are conditional on the proven capacity to raise such funds. Project-based research tends to be *ad hoc*, limited in time to specific ‘deliverables’ stipulated in advance, and to aggregate resources (personnel, instrumentation, funds, etc.) on the basis of these objectives, thus increasing the importance of entrepreneurial skills in the research environment.

The ascendancy of the project as a dominant form of social science research organisation, and of output-driven research more generally, is an aspect of the tendency towards ever greater degrees of responsiveness, flexibility and external mobilisation of research capacities. It accounts in part for the growing importance of the non-university research sector. As the production of PhDs is higher than ever while university-based positions are increasingly contingent, highly trained

⁴Idem.

researchers tend to migrate towards non-academic institutions. At the same time, universities are increasingly required to react to external funding incentives and package their research in ways that are attractive to potential funders. In other words, much work in the 'knowledge economy' tends to develop certain academic features (knowledge production, publications, research, etc.) while the managerial dimension of knowledge production grows.

“ The trend towards ‘problem-’ or ‘output-driven’ research affects the nature of the questions that can be addressed

The emergence of projects and output-driven research as a dominant format for research has important consequences for the nature of scientific inquiry and for the general production of knowledge. As flexible knowledge-production becomes a significant model for academic work, the cycle of research results also tends to be shorter. The shift towards project-based research tends to generate a greater discontinuity of the research process, as some questions or new perspectives that emerge in the course of research are not explored beyond the terms and timeframe of the initial project. Finally, *the trend towards ‘problem-’ or ‘output-driven’ research is not only a question of format and organisation, as it affects the nature of the questions that can be addressed: the organisation of research into ‘projects’ prioritises certain types of inquiry over others, thus transforming the overall ecology of knowledge production.*

5. THE INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF EVALUATION PRACTICES

The audit and accounting culture which has come to dominate publicly funded research in many European countries has fostered the development of new evaluation practices. In a more flexible research environment where access to funding is key and where past achievements (but also the social networks constituted through them) are constantly mobilised to secure it, evaluation has become a key mechanism for selecting research proposals, channelling funds, and adjudicating scientific authority. This has resulted in a significant *increase in the competitive nature of the research environment*. The implicit rationale is that competition will deliver excellence and better research. Whether it actually delivers excellence remains to be demonstrated. The pervasiveness of evaluative practices in many European countries and at EU level is matched by their diversification in

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terms of benchmarking practices, bibliometrics, assessment standards, rankings, impact factors and citation indexes. Although they are contested, particularly in the humanities, these evaluation criteria are now important in a number of research related practices, such as hiring decisions, the choice of publication outlets, remunerations, funding, career advancement, etc.

At the same time, new evaluative practices coexist with the old ones, which are specific to disciplines and adjudicated by specialised associations, collectives, and journals. How do the new metrics combine with old hierarchies to shape the research environment in complex ways? What is the effect of the plurality of such systems?

One important factor that increasingly functions as an evaluative criterion is the *translatability of scientific results into commercialised productions*. While this trend has arguably had a much greater impact in the natural sciences and left the SSH relatively unaffected, there are signs that it is crossing the traditional divide between natural, social and humanist disciplines as it spreads along interdisciplinary channels. Already, some work in the humanities (linguistics) and in the social sciences (the social uses of technologies) is packaged into patentable content along with the technological innovations that it focuses on. While these arrangements may promise a sustained stream of income for universities, they also operate as de facto criteria of scientific 'success' and determine funding decisions, intellectual research agendas, and transform the nature of scientific competition as they raise the economic stakes of publications, communications and velocity. How these new linkages affect the circulation of knowledge through proprietary arrangements is still unclear, and yet it is a fundamental question as the circulation of knowledge among circles of peer-critics is an essential aspect of its reliability and validity.

6. INTRA-EUROPEAN DIFFERENCES IN THE ORGANISATION OF SSH RESEARCH

It is important to observe the tension between certain forms of traditional academic research, based on long-term vision, secured status, and relative autonomy, and a project-based and output-driven model characterised by short-term objectives, more external constraints (reporting, proprietary results, etc.), and which, in part, is responsible for the casualisation of academic work. Here significant intra-European differences can be observed in the respective importance

of these models: in countries with strong academic institutions, the two logics co-exist, even though there is a shift of resources from academic institutions to funding agencies (such as the newly created Agence Nationale de la Recherche in France, for instance). But Eastern Europe shows a different landscape, where lack of resources, the hierarchism of traditional (public) academic and research institutions, the poor pay and working conditions of faculty members, and the presence of externally funded institutions and think tanks capable of mobilising important resources, can generate an internal as well as an external brain drain, as English-speaking academics find new professional outlets in the non-academic research sector or abroad. These provide a challenge to traditional institutions such as the old academies of science that held sway prior to 1989 and continue to be influential to varying degrees post-1989.

“ Eastern European countries have a very strong record in specific areas of the SSH

We need to understand better how different models of science organisation and different disciplinary traditions coexist and influence each other. East European countries are commonly regarded as lagging behind in the development of research capacities especially in the SSH disciplines such as political science, sociology and economics that were under the ideological pressure of Communist regimes. The redevelopment of these disciplines in Eastern Europe in the context of open and democratic societies is the result of a very recent history. Resources and time are needed to further the development of research capacities and of infrastructures. Yet, these countries also have a very strong record not only in those branches of the natural sciences that were of interest to the Soviet military and political establishment, but also in specific areas of the SSH such as Byzantine history, linguistics, philosophy, certain aspects of archaeology and quantitative sociology among others. *[(Eastern European) countries have a very strong record in specific areas of the SSH such as Byzantine history, linguistics, philosophy, certain aspects of archaeology and quantitative sociology among others]* The differences between Eastern and Western Europe raise more generally the question of communication and collaboration between national research traditions in the SSH, the preservation of valuable research capacities previously built within national frameworks, and transnational and interdisciplinary research.

There are also major European differences in the weight of individual countries in terms of social science research. The United Kingdom and Germany alone represent half of all public European funding in the social sciences. Different countries have diverse research capacities that vary across disciplinary fields, and questions need to be raised in policy terms about the ways in which this might support research concentration in certain fields in particular countries. How do different forms of science research organisation and science governance coexist in Europe and influence each other? What kinds of transformations and reinventions of national scientific traditions are under way? What is the overall impact of this process on SSH research in Europe as a whole?

7. INCREASED CAPACITY FOR THE SELF-ORGANISATION OF RESEARCH COLLECTIVES

Another important feature of the European research landscape in SSH is the increasing self-organising capacity of research communities through associations, networks, webinars and colloquia. Networked research communities are certainly nothing new: in the early 20th century, philanthropic foundations sought to promote 'invisible colleges' of like-minded scholars across institutions and countries. As new technologies have transformed cognitive labour at the end of the 20th century, this capacity for organisation has become more autonomous, both inside and outside academe. The effect of autonomous networking and self-organisation on the SSH needs to be thoroughly investigated.

“ Important scholarly achievements can be produced outside formal institutional organisations, by barely visible or emerging networks

These changes in the social and material organisation of research come with a new constellation of meanings, where previous ideals of expertise and hierarchical technocracy are replaced by the conviction that modular, scattered, discontinuous interventions on the micro- and local levels might provide the means of bringing about the promise of modern democracies. At the heart of this new model of social organisation lies the idea that coordinated action requires limited formal organisation and can become effective without traditional economic or social incentives, and without hierarchical or central coordination. A whole array of SSH trends can be related to the development of these social formations centred on new technologies.

The changing morphology and dynamics of research communities entail consequences for both funding agencies and educational institutions. *Important scholarly achievements are produced outside formal institutional organisations, by barely visible or emerging networks.* These new forms of cooperation based upon dispersed collaboration and distributed actors connected in a loose way to each other outside traditional institutional environments require new forms of support. The cumbersome formal demands of project funding exclude these unprecedented forms of dispersed intellectual cooperation. Funding agencies and scientific bureaucracies should strive to make such networks visible; to provide these achievements born outside hierarchical formal

institutions and organisations with new publication forums; to create 'prize funds' to honour scholarly results that contribute to solving important, complex, non traditional problems at the level of basic or applied research.

8. INTERDISCIPLINARITY

The changes described above also affect traditional organisations of learning: increasingly, collaborative work cuts across traditional disciplinary boundaries; the learning environment is organised around problem areas as much as around disciplinary fields. Promoted by funding agencies at both the national and European levels, interdisciplinarity has become one of the new imperatives of research in many European countries in the social sciences and the humanities, to the extent that the very distinction between the social sciences and the humanities is being blurred. Many researchers consider themselves interdisciplinary. But what about deeper forms of interdisciplinarity? What about interdisciplinarity across non cognate disciplines? What about the future of the disciplines themselves? And what about the epistemic and scientific effects of the transformation of interdisciplinarity into a key objective of science policy in Europe?

The group thinks that some specific forms of deep interdisciplinarity are in need of further action. The type of interdisciplinary research that is often needed to tackle major societal issues cuts across the distinction between the natural and the social sciences and, increasingly, the humanities: climate change or pandemics, for instance, are issues that necessitate a wide-ranging cooperation between natural and social scientists. This requires 'deep' forms of interdisciplinarity that are achieved rather than given, and require significant efforts from researchers. But to the extent that interdisciplinarity has become an overarching purpose of science policy in the SSH, the group also emphasises the continued relevance and importance of disciplinary work. Traditional research in the disciplines and research by single scholars has proved to be immensely productive and innovative, particularly, but not exclusively, in the humanities. This type of research should be supported further at the European level through such mechanisms as institutes for advanced studies or through the further development of the European Research Council.

” More efforts are needed to develop protocols and forums for efficient and productive cooperation across hard disciplinary boundaries

The expert group thinks that it is important to acknowledge the many ways in which interdisciplinarity may be defined, as well as the sense among large groups of researchers

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that it arises from the research questions asked rather than as a function of a demand for interdisciplinarity *per se*.

A number of today's disciplines draw on transdisciplinary concepts and methodologies. Importantly, for example, research methods originating in the humanities have migrated into the social sciences (whilst the reverse is true only to a lesser extent), so that visual methodologies, semiotics, textual analysis, to name but a few approaches, are all widely practised in the social sciences although, with some notable exceptions, social science approaches ranging from sociological to statistical methods are not yet widely used in the humanities.

The emergence of good interdisciplinary work is currently impaired by the structure of incentives in academe: top academic journals remain disciplinary journals, which tend to motivate researchers to remain within a disciplinary framework, while interdisciplinary work or publications do not generate rewards within professional hierarchies. Universities largely remain organised around disciplines and deliver discipline-based curricula, and researchers, educated in such structures, unsurprisingly continue to recognise disciplines as their 'academic tribes'. *More efforts are thus needed to develop protocols and forums for efficient and productive cooperation across hard disciplinary boundaries.*

9. DIMINISHED TRUST IN SCIENCE

From the 17th to the mid-20th century, science commanded high levels of public trust, but in the last few decades science is characterised by lower levels of trust. Related observations indicate that in the classical period of academic science the levels of pathology and deviance in science were relatively low compared to other institutional domains, while they are more common today. Several reasons can explain this shift.

First, the necessity of securing funding for ever-more expensive research increases the dependence of science on external agencies. This works against the norm of universalism, because external, non-meritocratic criteria invade the domain of science. Funds very often come with strings attached. Funding institutions may apply particularistic criteria to projects as well as results, and studies of biopharmaceutical or tobacco industry-sponsored research has shown that the source of funding is statistically correlated with result bias. There may be priorities of science policy, external to science, not identical with the immanent needs and logic of scientific development.

The second process is the commodification of science: scientific results take the form of a marketable commodity. Priority of discovery, for instance, now carries important financial stakes. This results in pressure toward shortcuts, superficial and insufficient testing, incomplete verification. Scientists join profit-seeking institutions as employees, where fees and salaries rather than peer recognition operate as the main reward, and negotiated contracts replace tenure.

The third process is the bureaucratisation of research. Scholars become absorbed in extensive red tape of project writing, financial planning and reporting. Evaluation of achievements is wrested from academic peers and vested in external bodies (boards of institutions sponsoring and using the results, practitioners, administrators of science, auditors, funding agencies, etc.)

Finally, the autonomy of the scientific field as a whole is threatened in a number of countries. As the walls of the ivory tower have been brought down, movements and circulations operate in both directions. Scientific communities are penetrated by politicians, administrators, marketing experts, lobbyists, all of whom are moved by interests and values other than the disinterested pursuit of knowledge. On the other hand, scholars take political, administrative, managerial roles and use their academic credentials in political struggles or marketing strategies, thus abusing and tainting the prestige of science, and eroding their trustworthiness as scholars.

10. CRISIS AND CHANGE IN THE OUTLETS, PLATFORMS AND MEDIUMS OF RESEARCH AND COMMUNICATION

The transformation of the research processes in SSH affects the form and the circulation of research results. Traditional university presses and academic forms of publication are in crisis. The restructuring of universities and libraries, budget cuts, and the extensive use of new technologies for the delivery of texts and images in educational settings have eroded the traditional forms of scholarly communication. Ensuring the perpetuation of academic publishing in a context where new business models are increasingly capitalising on immaterial value and digital technologies, is a fast rising challenge.

While information and communication technologies have enabled researchers with dramatically increased power of data analysis, access to data is limited by market mechanisms and distortions. The group can only reaffirm the importance of the recommendations made in the Study on the Economic and Technical Evolution of the Scientific Publication Markets in Europe (Dewatripont & al., 2006 – accessible at <http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/pdf/scientific->

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publication-study_en.pdf [last accessed Nov 11, 2008]). *In a publication landscape dramatically reshaped by major private operators, it is crucial to ensure public access to publicly-funded research, to promote open archives or self-archiving practices, to monitor corporate concentration in the sector of academic publishing, to strengthen the criteria of scientific quality, and to develop electronic publishing and promote its acceptance at a level par with traditional publishing.*

“ In a publication landscape dramatically reshaped by major private operators, it is crucial to ensure public access to publicly-funded research

New technologies are not only transforming the existing publishing landscape: they also create new possibilities. New forms of public communication and in particular visual media are increasingly experimented with across the SSH. The turn to fiction in order to analyse crucial intellectual or social problems by other means; the organisation of international exhibitions by leading sociologists around specific research programmes; the collaboration between artists and researchers in the framework of common intellectual agendas; the transcription of scholarly work into art and the literal 'staging' of research are examples of the boundary work currently reshaping the SSH. Art and various cultural practices (exhibitions, performances, etc.) may be a promising way of reconnecting with a wider public at a time when the privatisation of research and research results runs the risk of curtailing its social value.

11. THE FUTURE OF RESEARCH INFRASTRUCTURES

The main research infrastructures for the humanities and the social sciences were and continue to be the library and the archive, the former being central to any university and often an icon of learning itself. However, information technologies have changed not only the way SSH analyse and present data, but also the ways in which researchers access and retrieve them. Increasingly SSH researchers rely on new technologies, and real overhead costs for SSH research have increased dramatically over the past 20 years, without government subsidies necessarily reflecting these changes. Consequently, more and more SSH research depends on capital injections to develop cutting edge data sets and develop retrieval systems.

A number of surveys throughout the EU demonstrate the utility of coordinating data collection at the European level. Such efforts have shown the added value to knowledge of regularly monitoring European societies on a comparative, cross-national scale. However, the financial costs of sustaining recurrent monitoring are high and need to be met appropriately. Besides, there is a growing need for the development of appropriate tools for analysing such data sets for specific purposes, as well as a need for scholars with adequate quantitative training.

“ The question is how university scholars and librarians seize the potential for new kinds of collaboration arising through and from digitisation

In recent years there has been a surge in digitisation projects within the humanities. Digitisation brings on-line manuscript sources, censuses, television and radio programmes, as well as images, thus massively increasing their public availability. However, we are still in the infancy of the digital revolution in the humanities. While the ease of use and the increased availability of contents are certainly among the main drivers of digitisation, we are already seeing fundamental changes in humanities methodologies as new and bold questions may be usefully analysed through digitised content. Many of these questions rely on international and interdisciplinary collaboration. Will the digital revolution obliterate the library as the backbone of SSH infrastructure? Probably not. Libraries, archives, and to some extent museums are leading the way in digitisation. Rather, *the question is: how do university scholars and librarians seize the potential for new kinds of collaboration arising through and from digitisation?* There is a huge potential for added benefit to SSH and its social and cultural impact if large-scale digitisation projects are conceived as research projects in addition to adding content and securing data. This is happening but often only within national confines. It is, however, a field of obvious European added-value.

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CHAPTER 2

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MAJOR TRENDS IN SOCIETY AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

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This chapter focuses on emerging research in European social sciences and humanities within the broad field defined by the Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) thematic area of 'Major trends in society and their implications'. We have considered 'major trends' in relation to: the changing demographic or cultural specificities of European societies, the transformation of the ways in which these are governed or represented; challenges to the human condition from advances in the field of biotechnology; different temporalities of social life; and more generally, deep structural changes.

1. A SLOWER POPULATION GROWTH AT THE GLOBAL LEVEL

The demographic morphology of both European and non-European societies is going through deep transformations. Long established as an important component of the social sciences – for instance when “population control” was an important item on the intellectual agenda during the 1950s-1960s – demography has been somewhat eclipsed thereafter, to the benefit of other explanations of social change. Yet it seems that this approach is coming back as an important element in the understanding of contemporary transformations. This chapter highlights several major trends related to demographic changes: the slowing down of global population growth, the transformation of urban life, an ageing population, and increased migration flows.

“ Demography... is coming back as an important element in the understanding of contemporary transformations

World population is no longer expanding at a fast pace, and certainly not at the alarmist rates projected by demographers in the 1960s and 1970s. This gradual slowing down is the result in part of processes of demographic transition, in part of population control policies. Research into the determinants of this demographic transition has pointed out in particular the decisive role of *women's literacy rates* in triggering a process that has far-reaching repercussions over the entire social structure. As the average number of children per household decreases, a whole array of effects follow: changes in inheritance patterns and economic empowerment of women (with their cultural corollaries), a further decrease of birth rates, changes in class structures, rising education rates, etc. These need to be explored in terms of their socio-cultural implications.

The prediction of Europe's falling share of world population is a phenomenon and challenge which has been picked up very forcefully by social scientists, politicians, and mass media. While the share of EU27 was 18% in 1970, it is predicted to be only 10% by 2030. The sharpest rise will occur in Africa's share of world population which is predicted to grow from 10% in 1970 to 17% by 2030. These changes will undoubtedly pose challenges not only to our understanding of demographic patterns but also to our understanding of their implications for economic growth and social systems. This observation, however, raises the question if these fundamental demographic changes are being picked up outside the field of demographic research.

2. THE CITY AS THE STANDARD HUMAN HABITAT

Although urbanisation in the western world has slowed down, on a global scale the *redistribution of people toward urban areas* is still a major trend. Today more than 50% of the world population lives in urban settings. This large-scale resettlement is accompanied by profound social, cultural, and psychological changes. Urban societies are increasingly dependent on concentrated and complex infrastructures and network grids, thus becoming more vulnerable to major disruptions, as exemplified by the flooding of New Orleans.

The concentration of populations within cities has long been viewed as a social issue generated by rural poverty (urban migration) creating new problems (housing crises, slums, etc.). This is now being reconsidered through the lens of sustainability. It is increasingly clear that in advanced economies, which have significant resource needs and are still dependent on fossil fuels, a highly concentrated urban habitat may prove more energy-efficient and sustainable than dispersed patterns of settlement.

▀▀ **The concentration of populations within cities has long been viewed as a social issue... This is now being reconsidered through the lens of sustainability**

Cities are increasingly recognised as social formations that are much more than the sum of their parts. In the chapter on growth and competitiveness, some of these aspects are discussed at greater length. The modern city is both based upon and conducive to greater levels of interdependence and cooperation. A number of economic processes capitalise on the production of social relations, urban lifestyles, and networking that are made possible by urban life itself. The traditional 'industrial' city organised around stable forms of work and housing, managing essentially national problems (whether in terms of employment, housing, citizenship, etc.) is slowly being replaced by a complex, open-ended urban space, the boundaries of which are uncertain and often stretched far beyond the nation-state. The city is where people from across the world come to seek work, knowledge, wealth, a roof, etc. It is also the place where inequality, poverty and crime are visible in concentrated forms. The reshuffling of urban space and of the identities that inhabit it is still underway, and the categories, concepts, and paradigms at our disposal for naming and reflecting upon these changes need to be revised accordingly.

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A new research agenda on cities has been taking shape since the 1990s, and it will probably develop further by including new aspects of the changing roles of cities, as set out below:

- *Changing forms and models* of urban governance that include municipal government, but also experimental models of communal self-organisation, such as participatory budgets, etc.
- *New forms of urban citizenship*: the mere fact of living in a city entails participation in a number of networks and productive processes, the insertion into formal or informal economies, the shaping of urban identities, images and imaginaries.
How this participation can be formalised or extended into more or less codified rights and duties (not necessarily legally binding) is the focus of much timely research, at a time when a number of European cities have adopted a Charter of Human Rights in the City.
- *The post-carbon city*: this includes research on new models of sustainable urban development, waste management, and recycling innovations, but also on public transportation, various forms of pooling or sharing energy-consuming activities, and more generally on new public solidarities mediated through environmental concerns and by the limitations of the current model of development (spontaneous self-help networks, demonetised exchange systems, solidarity associations, etc.).
- *The global city*: research will break with the traditional model of the city anchored in a delimited material space, and will consider the city as a reality that is disconnected from the surrounding national setting, and inserted in the world economy. This research orientation is already appearing in studies of the infrastructures of globality (airports, hubs, etc.) or on the architectural impact of global flows (international finance, tourism, etc.).
- *Real-estate bubbles* and speculation: major cities have undergone an exponential increase in the value of their stock of real estate in the past 10 years or so, that cannot be explained using traditional economic fundamentals. What is the role of this estate-based 'rent' in today's economy? How does it implicitly recognise and capitalise on immaterial wealth generated by urban life (such as the hype of arty neighbourhoods reflected in the price of apartments)?
- *Urban cultures and city branding*: another form of capitalisation derived from the collective capacity of urban communities to generate wealth is the tendency in some major cities to capture this wealth in branding campaigns. Research on the production of urban cultures, on the social dynamics of immaterial wealth production, and on the mechanisms of its accumulation, are promising lines of work.

3. GLOBAL DEMOCRACY, GLOBAL CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY

It is often suggested that one aspect of globalisation is the spread of democratic norms, even though such norms may in some cases remain largely formal and not very effective. But the optimistic claims made in the 1990s of democracy as the coming hegemonic and indeed only foreseeable type of social organisation have been followed by a more sober assessment of its prospects, and by some degree of anxiety as to the future of liberalism itself. Some aspects of this crisis were already prominent in the last century, but since 9/11 they have reached an intensity that is reflected in social science research, as some traditional instantiations of liberalism – international law and civil liberties – are encroached upon by the so-called ‘war on terror’ and as a language of emergency is used to call into question constitutional guarantees. This is reflected in a recent wave of writings on emergency powers, in recent attacks on international law, in the study of ‘securitisation’, etc. At the same time, and somewhat paradoxically, democracy is still presented as the solution to many of the world’s ills: whether post-conflict situations, development, or even the stabilisation of countries following insurgencies, democratic institution building seems to be projected as the standard answer. However, beyond recent events, the crisis of democracy may have deeper roots in the transformation of society, in the evolution of capitalism, and in the changing role of political powers and practices.

” Just as the promotion of democracy becomes a standard mode of international politics, the very democracy that is ‘exported’ seems increasingly unable to represent adequately the body politic, and to deliver solutions to pressing social issues

Democracy as a normative orientation is becoming a pillar of international politics. Since the 1990s, it has increasingly been viewed as an individual human right that can be promoted and protected through a variety of collectively enforced legal provisions and political technologies. The rise of European research institutes for human rights and good governance may be seen as part of this agenda. The notion of a democratic ‘entitlement’, understood as a right to democratic governance, is slowly making its way into the normative framework in which the international community operates, just as a novel ‘responsibility to protect’ seems to legitimise various forms of humanitarian intervention, all of which have a built-in institution-building component with a strong participatory dimension. The European Union is one of the institutional and legal frameworks in which this democratisation of international life is taking place. However, just as the promotion of democracy becomes a standard mode of international politics, the very democracy that is ‘exported’ seems increasingly unable to represent adequately the body politic, and to

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deliver solutions to pressing social issues. How is this spread of democracy experienced? What does it mean to adopt, or subscribe to, democratic rule? What, exactly, is being exported with it?

“ While the sociological makeup of our societies has been dramatically transformed, party systems have remained essentially unchanged. The result is a generalised crisis of representation

One of the salient trends experienced by democratic societies is the protracted crisis of their mechanisms of political representation. This crisis results from a layered array of causes. First, the crisis of the welfare state has contributed to dismantling solidarities that were mediated by political institutions, thus increasing the distance between citizens and institutions that seem less able to generate a modicum of security. More importantly, the transition away from Fordism has deeply transformed the sociological makeup of industrialised societies. Fordist industrial economies with their geographical concentration of the workforce, mass consumption, and global negotiations over income for large categories of workers, tended to generate homogenous social groups or classes, each endowed with its own cultural or functional organisations, further enhancing the awareness of forming a specific social group. These relatively stable groups or classes of society – the working class and its subcomponents, the civil service workers, teachers, employers etc. – had different interests that could be represented by political parties largely built upon the mobilisation of these specific social bases.

Post-fordism, however, presents us with a different situation: industrial reengineering, lean production, flexibilisation, the individualisation of careers and wages, outsourcing, the decentralisation of production and other factors have contributed to a decommissioning of the mechanisms that previously generated stable, homogeneous collective political subjects who could be mobilised in the management of corporatist and welfare arrangements in exchange for their political support. De-unionisation, flexibilisation, and mobility tend to destroy the institutionalised cultures that give the various strata of the labour market their identity and stability. While research shows for instance that industrial workers in many countries remain numerically superior to other groups it also shows that the working class as a class is largely residual where it has not disappeared altogether. Its traditional institutions have been swept away and in many countries the electoral scores of its traditional parties bear witness to this state of decomposition.

But while the sociological makeup of our societies has been dramatically transformed, party systems have remained essentially unchanged. The result is a generalised crisis of representation,

as parties can no longer claim convincingly to represent the *interests* of groups whose *collective* existence is increasingly problematic. With the gradual disappearance of the collective social subjects that made up Fordist societies and had well-defined interests determined by their position in the productive apparatus or in its management, it is hard to say what exactly political representation is supposed to represent.

The diagnosis of this crisis of democratic representation is an important component of the SSH research agenda. Several trends deserve attention and are set out below:

- The shift from *interest*-based politics toward value-based politics. Increasingly, parties appeal to sectors of the electorate less through their presumed interests and more through symbols, imaginaries and values.
- The new configurations of politics and the depoliticisation and repoliticisation of previous spheres of government (such as central banking).
- The increased role of the media as a connector between society and its political classes.
- The decollectivisation of traditional political action.
- The rise of new forms of social activism and the invention of new forms of politics in response to the crisis (e.g. the anticapitalist movement; new forms of local politics, etc.).

4. EVERYDAY LIFE AND THE ACCELERATION OF CHANGE

A central feature of our times is arguably the phenomenon of accelerated, massive, comprehensive social as well as technological change. This is driven mostly by developments in technology and science within the logic of late capitalism, but it is also reflected in the economic, political, and cultural spheres, as well as in everyday life. The crucial novelty is the fundamental scale and speed of changes within a single lifespan: people within Europe can be born and die in entirely different social, political, and material worlds. This is a historically unique situation and its implications have not yet been fully grasped.

Everyday life is the sphere most immediately and obviously affected by these massive changes. All its dimensions — family and intimacy relationships, work, education, leisure and recreation, health and fitness, spirituality and religion, happiness and death — are significantly affected. Research on everyday life was a significant area of social science research in the 1960s, and it is visibly regaining momentum now. There is a growing volume of research on various areas of everyday life and their new forms. Tracing the transformations in this area may unravel important mechanisms of social life, and anticipating future trends may be crucial for markets, for the organisation of labour, for political life and for many other areas.

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Research on everyday life was a significant area of social science research in the 1960s, and it is visibly regaining momentum now

A core dimension of social life is the quality of interpersonal bonds and ties, the character of networks linking people together. The sociology of modernisation has repeatedly pointed at the move from intimate, personal, 'primary' bonds to mediated and anonymous relationships, from the traditional family to contingent partnerships, from deliberative communities to a life and a world colonised by the forces of the market and technology. More importantly, it has stressed the erosion of bonds based on trust, loyalty, solidarity and reciprocity, in favour of new forms of individualism. At the same time, technological innovations create immense opportunities for new contacts and new forms of relationships. This results in new forms of social organisation, in virtual communities, that may not yet be fully understood. How the need for community may be mediated by new technologies is arguably an important subject for research.

5. NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN BIOTECHNOLOGY

Major advances in biotechnologies are redefining the boundaries of humanity itself and calling into question the distinction between artefact and nature. Scientific breakthroughs such as the laboratory creation of synthetic life or the possibility of genetic recreation of DNA from dead matter raise a number of issues that are of immediate relevance to SSH research.

- The question of ethics and regulation, which are shaped by and in turn shape biotechnological changes. European countries are at quite different stages in the conceptualisation, organisation and regulation of the ethics of and regulatory frameworks for these biotechnological changes, and a Europe-wide coordination of such efforts might be useful.
- The impact of biotechnological changes on traditional distinctions between organic and inorganic, natural and artificial, live and inanimate.
- The differential mobilisation of particular SSH disciplines in relation to biotechnological changes. Here anthropology, law, science studies, and to some extent cultural, media and literary studies have all already begun innovative work, often of an interdisciplinary nature, on the conceptualisation and sociocultural implications of these changes, and in some European countries, interdisciplinary research centres on related topics are being established.

- As science and technology become more closely interwoven with and more directly accessible to European citizens, there is a need for effective training of SSH researchers and cross disciplinary work on the significance of these developments for SSH.

Advances in genetic sequencing and gene therapy, stem cell research, and artificial organs, to name but a few, are dramatically redefining the way we see and conceptualise the human body, and even life itself. Developments toward 'live technology' that contain the promise of therapeutic, engineering or energy applications are also opening up new avenues of research.

” **There is a cause for concern in that few SSH researchers today have the necessary training to span the gap between the disciplines, and there is no clear trend towards training a new generation of researchers who will be able to span that divide**

In view of the crucial importance of these questions to our existence as human beings and the scientific, ethical, and political consequences of the new possibilities for humanity in the 21st century, there is a broad scope for SSH research to engage with a range of subfields of biology. It is therefore predictable that there will be a rising need for social scientists and humanists from many disciplines in the field of biotechnology. There is a cause for concern in that few SSH researchers today have the necessary training to span the gap between the disciplines, and there is no clear trend towards training a new generation of researchers who will be able to span that divide.

6. AGEING

The extension of life expectancy in developed countries is increasingly considered both a problem and a blessing. Advances in health care and medicine, nutrition, safety, and a variety of other factors have been compounded by a drop in birth rates, leading in some cases to a second demographic transition with rates below the net reproduction rate. This, in turn, has led to a change in dependency rates (the proportion of the total population outside the labour force), which then affects the structure of transfers, saving rates, consumption patterns, care needs, social provisions, and economic growth in general.

This trend toward an *ageing and aged population* in a number of societies has long been recognised. Different policies have been developed and implemented to deal with changing demographic social structures, ranging from an increased reliance on immigration to foot the pension bill, to cuts in pensions and, despite decades of increased social rights, shifting the burden of senior care to families. The resultant transformation of the institutionalised system of transfers across generational categories to address these new challenges needs to be investigated. There is

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also a need to reconsider our notions of activity and retirement (reflected in such terms as 'active' vs. 'unproductive' population). Ageing no longer necessarily implies incapacity or confinement to an unproductive identity. At the same time, work and production can no longer be considered exclusively within the framework of waged labour confined to the timeframe of a limited active life. Seniors play an important role by transmitting education and knowledge, creating and maintaining social ties, participating in collective activities and contributing to a general enhancement of quality of life. How will this activity be recognised and, potentially, rewarded?

“ **Ageing no longer necessarily implies incapacity or confinement to an unproductive identity. Seniors play an important role by transmitting education and knowledge, creating and maintaining socialties, participating in collective activities and contributing to a general enhancement of quality of life**

A number of related research topics need to be addressed and are already emerging in response to this new, massive, demographic phenomenon:

- The *relativisation* of retirement beyond the notion of 'active' population. This includes social effects of tendencies towards anticipated retirement as a measure to implement economic and market restructuring, and the tendency to extend the length of the working life required to acquire pension rights. Other aspects include the phenomenon of "young retirees" that exploded with the dot.com economy and the stock market boom on which it was based. New research also addresses the disconnect between age and work.
- Senior *lifestyles*: emerging research under this heading addresses the tendency toward 'long youth' rather than old age, the increased role and place of seniors in social, political and cultural life, and the economic impact of seniors.
- The need to *rethink welfare* will involve more comparative work on pension policies, studies on the individualisation of age-related risk, the rise of pension funds, the role of the stock market in providing retirement income, attempts at disassociating pension income from waged labour and on the role of socio-cultural factors in welfare.
- *Services and care* will provide an important focus of research, as the development of senior centred health care and health services is a growing economic sector. Efforts may also be made to understand the underlying logic of the current re-privatisation of care (from the state to the family).

7. MIGRATION FLOWS

The last decades have witnessed substantially *increased migration flows* worldwide. The UN estimates that the global migrant population comprises approximately 200 million individuals, which means that one out of every 35 inhabitants of the planet is a migrant. Migration is a defining trait of our times, one that should no longer be confined to the narrow categories that have so far determined migration research, too often restricted to *immigration*.

Europe has become more of an immigration region than before, although at the same time it has built higher walls against immigrants. These measures, as well as the more general criminalisation of migrants, are part of a new governance of immigration that has to be carefully scrutinised. In order to address these changes, a break with what has been called ‘methodological nationalism’ and a promotion of comparative research are needed. More importantly, such a break with methodological nationalism means shifting the point of view from which questions are formulated, answers are sought, and surveys are conducted. So far, most research on immigration has been framed by a policy perspective, not in the sense of being oriented toward operationalisation, but in the sense of being formulated from the point of view of national authorities responsible for designing and enforcing immigration policies. One of the reasons why these policies have often failed — and added to the human suffering — is that they are mostly unaware of the perspective, the vision, and the practices of the migrants themselves. Breaking with methodological nationalism means shifting the perspective of research, to ensure that research protocols remain uninfluenced by the notions, concepts, and categories of immigration policy and policing, and rendering as precisely as possible the perspective of the migrants.

“ Reintroducing migrant subjectivity into research on migration is... an urgent task

Reintroducing migrant subjectivity into research on migration is therefore an urgent task. This often means changing the scale, the sites, and the methodologies of research. Traditional migration policy research operates with general statistical categories, at a high level of generality which allows for comparisons but also lacks empirical content, and with macro-concepts such as ‘culture’ or ‘national identity’ that are too elastic and can fulfil any role implicitly assigned to them; it is also *disembodied* when migration is first and foremost about the mobility of *bodies* (that can hide, be arrested, molested, sent back, attacked, etc.) The discrepancy between the embodied and material nature of immigration policing and the disembodied character of much migration research is striking. Against this backdrop, new and promising trends in migration research operate at another level: they are grounded in a locality (a border zone, neighbourhood, or detention centre), or in a situation of mobility (the crossing of a strait, the

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passing of a border, the global commuting between the workplace and the family back home). This kind of research also takes into account the material, dense, embodied dimensions of migration: its locales, its constraints, its affective aspects, etc. Its nature is more ethnographic, anthropological, cultural, and sociological than that of traditional research programs. It is thus informed by a greater capacity to render and reconstruct the migrants' perspective. It is also able to resituate their lives in more contexts than the narrow framework of border and citizenship policies. It gives visibility to persons participating in a number of arenas (family, political, cultural, artistic, etc.). This description of the migrant experience, that is at the cutting edge of migration research today, allows a better understanding of migration, from inside as it were: How do migrants perceive borders? How do they gather information and make decisions? How does their mobility redefine political, social, cultural, and material spaces? The following are a few directions in which further research may develop:

- The need to *rethink borders*, and in particular to define borders by the mobility they allow or restrict. There is a need to understand better the life-space of migrants and their practice of mobility as a redefinition of borders and a globalising force.
- The study of *migration as a productive activity*: as is discussed in the next chapter migration must be understood as a phenomenon displaying all the most advanced attributes of work in the most complex environments and the most productive sectors of advanced economies, where work combines cultural versatility, flexibility, adaptation capacity, etc. Research will also consider the role of migrants in economic development, the global significance of remittances, and other international financial flows, the relationships between migration and the city, and the role of migrants in shaping new cultural terrains.

8. NEW INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN THE POLITICAL AND THE RELIGIOUS

Whether analysed under the label of 'late,' reflexive' or 'post-'modernity, the crisis of modernity is also the crisis of the dominant representation of the polity as a clearly delimited, homogeneous, rational and secularised space. Traditional notions of politics and the public sphere, conventional images of what constitutes a political space and long-standing concepts of citizenship are called into question. One of the most visible aspects of this crisis is the *new place of religion in society*, and in particular its revival in countries that consider themselves secular.

This religious phenomenon is complex and not univocal. It does not affect all religions in the same way, and it does not affect them everywhere in the same way. The decline of Catholicism in Europe is matched by its progress in Asia, the diffusion of Protestantism in Latin America and Africa is impressive, but remains more limited in other areas, and the growth of Islam, contrary to popular preconception, has decelerated more than that of other religions (such differences also operate within a single religion or across smaller-scale contexts). This phenomenon is too complex to be reduced to a 'return' of religions following a modern era characterised by the neutralisation of the public sphere through the secularising action of the state. The increase in public manifestations of religion is experienced as a form of regression in countries where the public sphere is conceived of as a space set apart from religion. At the same time, recent sociological research on contemporary religious practices suggests that the politicisation of religion might also be regarded as a secularisation of religious practices. The fastest-spreading religions today — in particular rigorist Islam and Pentecostalism — are in fact growing by virtue of being premised on secular modernity and on the central role of the individual as an autonomous actor. They are often embraced as 'choices' made by self-determining individuals in a marketplace of identity markers and communal belonging. These new religious practices are also largely de-hierarchised; they escape the control of traditional religious authorities, and they are adapted to a globalised, flexible, mobile subjectivity. They tend to be highly adapted to the demands made on the individual by a late-capitalist economy (in particular in the case of Pentecostalism, now often studied in terms of its effects on economic development in certain countries in Latin America or in South Africa), as they both thrive upon and promote specific forms of entrepreneurship.

Recent sociological research on contemporary religious practices suggests that the politicisation of religion might also be regarded as a secularisation of religious practices

At a more general level, it also seems that religion provides a mode of belonging beyond the nation-state, a form of global and deterritorialised citizenship at a time when the nation-state may no longer be the exclusive or even the main focus of politics and identity. In that sense, the revival of religious practice is a by-product of globalisation and post- or late modernity, not a return to a pre-modern or early-modern situation. In an era when individual allegiances multiply and bypass established national frameworks, religion seems to offer a meaningful way of recreating communities of purpose that can feature a strong political dimension (hence the growing scholarly interest in political theologies; see below). As a result, contemporary religious phenomena cannot be properly understood with the tools of the past. In particular, traditional notions of modernisation-as-secularisation are ill-adapted to making sense of the current situation and its potentialities. New approaches are needed. How these new religious practices and these new identities claim citizenship in secularised public spheres is one of the crucial questions that research should tackle, while acknowledging that these practices and identities are in fact a product of extensive secularisation.

9. THE RISE OF NEW FORMS OF GOVERNANCE

One of the most significant trends in political philosophy and political theory has been the surge of interest in *political theology*. A number of recent publications (essays, anthologies, readers, etc.) bear witness to the importance of this topic. Following the politicisation of various religious movements in Europe and elsewhere, the political dimension of religious orientations has become an important subject of research, from liberation theologies to political *jihads*. But the notion of political theology is not limited to the political mobilisation of religious groups. It also outlines a research area that questions the relationship of the political itself to the religious and focuses on the isomorphisms, analogies, exchanges, or transfers of symbolic structures between the two realms. Political theology thus sheds new light on the process of secularisation itself, by pointing to its deep-seated relation to various religious backgrounds that are not so much cancelled as they are transformed into secular political notions.

“ One of the most significant trends in political philosophy and political theory has been the surge of interest in political theology

European societies are still coping with the transformation of the welfare state. Besides the social dimension of this transition, which raises pressing human issues (exclusion, poverty, disaffiliation, disenfranchisement, etc.), this transformation also entails a deep realignment of the technologies of government, a redefinition of the role of the state, and new boundaries of politics. The welfare state was characterised by certain forms of citizenship whereby the state was often party to most of the contracts and relationships into which individuals entered. It included individuals into a national collective through rights and duties, entitlements and solidarities. Social risk was mutualised, income was redistributed across groups and throughout lifespans, and a number of social arenas, from housing to health visits in schools, were articulated as spheres of political intervention. As these arrangements are transformed, research on future forms of welfare becomes an important trend. What are the new institutional and social arrangements capable of delivering welfare in the future? How can real solidarities be reconstituted in a context where the role of government is being redefined? What could be a strong welfare system in a context of multilevel governance?

The crisis of the welfare model is still ongoing, and the ways in which it is rearticulating the individual, different life-spheres and the state need to be examined. The functions of government have changed considerably, independently of the political orientation of the party in power. The former techniques of government that acted directly upon the materiality of social life through corrective interventions are being replaced by techniques of government that seek to govern from afar, as it were, through regulation rather than coercion or intervention, by organising and expanding arenas of discrete choices by individuals. The idea that an informed state intervention can generate social benefits has been ideologically contested in the name of social complexity and of the impossibility of centralising sufficient information to take into account “unintended consequences” that may outweigh any pre-established purpose of political action. The idea of corrective intervention has become a position of last resort, to which governments turn only in times of extreme crisis (such as the current global economic crisis). The result is a form of government that is evaluated by its capacity to increase opportunities for individual choice, thus fostering the decentralised management of social processes and the role of the market as the ultimate information processor, able to pick winning solutions. This neoliberal form of governance has become hegemonic in Europe and elsewhere.

” **The crisis of the welfare model is still ongoing, and the ways in which it is rearticulating the individual, different life-spheres and the state need to be examined**

In this area, promising research topics in economic history and science studies cover the following: governmental technologies and the types of rationality that constitute neoliberal subjects; the development of *individualising forms of governance in areas* such as healthcare, pensions, environmental management, cultural production, and higher education; the *history of neoliberalism* as an intellectual movement and a mode of *knowledge production* (‘marketplace of ideas,’ ‘project economy,’ etc.); and the *re-invention of ‘civil society’* as a new site of decentralised expertise and management.

10. RENEWED STUDIES OF LONG-TERM AND WIDE-SCALE CHANGE

Long-term societal change is an important focus for SSH. Phenomena such as landscapes and settlement patterns, social structures, mentalities, cultural formations, institutions, economies and the subject of their transformation have been the subjects of long-term analysis and theorisation in various branches of history, archaeology, sociology, geography, and anthropology. Over the last 30 years, however, attempts at producing theories of macro-historical development have come under severe criticism in different quarters of the SSH, particularly because of their tendency to

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cast the European experience into a universal template of development. Classical historiography and, in sociology, a variety of approaches usually associated with modernisation theory, have had to come to terms with new accounts of historical development. The new approaches emphasised the plurality of paths to development, the non-linearity of development itself, and the multiplicity of alternative modernities. The recognition of alternative sources of history, the interest in independent historical trajectories such as those of India or China, for instance, or new historiographies of colonialism and empire have challenged conventional understandings of such crucial figures of historical development as the industrial revolution. These different trends have paved the way for a renewed interest in macro-processes and for the current revival of a form of global history that has broken with Eurocentrism and made room for alternative interpretations of long-term societal processes. Whether in prominent new publications series or major international research projects, this new historiography represents a promising agenda.

“ New approaches emphasise the plurality of paths to development, the non-linearity of development itself, and the multiplicity of alternative modernities

Another form of interest in long-term studies of societal change is taking shape at the intersection of the SSH and the natural sciences. Long-term historical analysis not only benefits from but also contributes to the natural sciences, especially in the fields of climate changes, landscape, environment, and conservation. While environmental sciences often rely on relatively recent information from empirical collection and testing, history and archaeology are able to provide baselines for biodiversity and population change on centennial and millennial scales. In recent years, these new interdisciplinary approaches have led to the revision of public conservation and management strategies. Similarly, we may see an increased interest in the understanding of public perceptions, reactions, and resilience to environmental change in coming years which may be informed by comparative research in social science and humanities, from economics to philosophy and literature studies.

“ Approaches located at the intersection of the human and social and the natural sciences have opened up new perspectives on long-term societal evolutions

These new approaches located at the intersection of the human and social and the natural sciences have opened up new perspectives on long-term societal evolutions. Using insights provided by palaeontology, historical demography, ethology and other scientific disciplines, researchers have studied the long-term impact of factors such as sedentarisation patterns, cultural interactions and exchanges, endowments in natural resources and primitive economic formations. Imports from genetics are rapidly reinvigorating Palaeolithic archaeology, for instance, while our understanding of the origin of language is being changed through European-wide interdisciplinary research in linguistics, cognitive psychology, and archaeology. Coupled with history, genetics may inform new ways of understanding the scale and effects of early medieval population movements. Very long-term studies are a promising field of empirical and even experimental testing, and may contribute fundamentally to our understanding of the shaping of European society.

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CHAPTER 3

GROWTH, EMPLOYMENT AND COMPETITIVENESS

In recent years, economic research has shifted its focus from international trade as an engine of growth to innovation, thus triggering a whole series of new research programmes in the social, institutional, and cultural factors of innovation. The question of competitiveness thus tends to be reframed less in terms of relative costs in a global economy and, increasingly, in terms of the capacity to generate innovation by securing a range of social, educational, institutional and economic factors leading to innovation.

A lot of effort is being devoted to exploring the range of factors that foster innovation. Researchers examine the influence of factors beyond physical and human capital accumulation on the rate of economic growth. At the macro-level, an important line of research focuses on the influence of institutional factors on the growth prospects of countries. Considerable research efforts are devoted to the investigation of why countries with similar endowments of physical and human capital but different institutions follow different – sometimes widely divergent – paths of economic growth. This trend is likely to grow in the near future and is expected to lead to the identification of institutional settings that are more suitable to fostering faster growth rates. This type of research may also inform institutional, social, and legal arrangements conducive to innovation at the regional or local levels.

1. THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY: INNOVATION

In the year 2000, the EU set itself the task of becoming the most competitive knowledge-based economy in the world by the year 2010, with high quality growth, increased number of jobs and advanced levels of social cohesion, and envisaged a narrowing of the gap between US and EU labour productivity. The Lisbon strategy was the culmination of efforts made by a number of schools of economics to present innovation as a key mechanism of growth. By the time the Sapir Report was released (2003), innovation had become the mantra for policy-makers seeking competitiveness as well as the key ingredient of economic models of growth.

The elevation of innovation into a key policy pursuit and a core value of the economy has had a number of important implications. Policies, institutions, and ways of organising economic and social life are increasingly appraised from an innovation perspective. Nowhere has this been more profound than in the institutions involved in the production of knowledge: scientific research establishments, universities and industrial laboratories found themselves functioning within a *knowledge economy*. This economy employs *knowledge workers* and produces knowledge which feeds into innovation in the context of *innovation systems*.

■ ■ In line with theories of endogenous growth, innovation is increasingly considered as something that has to be produced

The innovation systems perspective brings the whole of society's fabric into the appraisal of what serves innovation and what does not. Research is likely to converge around a set of problems raised by the role of knowledge in the economy, and what types of changes in the structures of production and in the nature of work are involved in the rise of the knowledge economy.

In line with theories of endogenous growth, innovation is increasingly considered as something that has to be produced. Research in the field of economic growth has established the importance of technology, research and development, and innovation for the growth prospects of a country or a region. Research on *innovation systems* is therefore an area of crucial importance that is bound to develop in the foreseeable future. It will examine legal, institutional, social,

cultural, human, and environmental factors – and a combination thereof – that are most conducive to generating a sustained, equitable, and self-reinforcing growth based on intangibles.

One established and growing research trajectory concerns the role of organisations and institutions in the transformation of technology and innovation into growth. This includes the role of firms and entrepreneurship, as well as the role of institutions that frame the operations of firms and other spaces of entrepreneurship, including market regulation, intellectual property arrangements, company law as well as softer measures of institutional quality, such as public trust. Of particular importance here are institutions associated with technological knowledge. Issues related to the role of universities and research centres and their links with industry feature prominently in this trend. A first line of emerging research focuses specifically on the *harnessing of scientific knowledge* and on the available models of science policy. Studies of scientific productivity and knowledge production belong to this area. There is an important field of ‘research on research’, as it were, that is crucial to the study of innovation: scientometrics, science studies, social studies of science, etc., which is analysed in greater detail in chapter 1.

“ The impact of institutions on economic growth will remain a key aspect of research. Research on innovation systems and the knowledge economy will focus on the institutional templates for innovation

The question of *resource allocation in scientific institutions* and, more generally, of the management of science, is related to this first trend. Research on innovation systems also focuses on *institutional templates for innovation*: contract-research organisations, start-ups, incubation, spawning, etc. The *financing of innovation* and its impact on educational and research institutions is an important aspect of the analysis of knowledge-based innovation. A related issue is that of the effect of the regulatory context and in particular of the *various intellectual property* regimes on innovation: what are the legal, economic, and social dimensions of these regimes, and how do they impact on innovation on a local and a global scale?

2. HUMAN AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Issues related to the quality and quantity of human capital and the related incentive mechanisms are likely to be further scrutinised. Particular attention will be paid to issues regarding waste (such as dropping out of school early, over-education, screening and signalling and, perhaps, underemployment of particular population groups) and the improvement of human capital (such as life-long learning and, to a lesser extent, informal education). The broader role of the welfare state as a productive factor or an impediment to economic growth will also be further investigated.

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“ The institutional setting and human and social capital, the impact on growth of various cultural resources, which creative and productive processes can draw on, such as religion, language etc., are likely to be scrutinised in detail

Emerging research trends focusing on innovation are not limited to an exclusive consideration of the traditional sites of innovation, such as universities or R&D bureaus. Promising research developments tend to look beyond traditional approaches to growth, largely based on physical and human capital, and to focus on the *intangible determinants* of economic growth. The most prominent intangible that is currently gathering more and more attention is *'social capital'*. From the sociological theorisation by Bourdieu to its application to developmental issues by World Bank economists, the notion of social capital will continue to feature prominently in economic research, especially to the extent that standardised approximations of 'social capital' applicable in empirical research are developed. Besides innovation per se, the institutional setting and human and social capital, the impact on growth of various *cultural resources*, which creative and productive processes can draw on, is likely to be scrutinised in detail (such as religion, language, etc.).

3. CREATIVITY AND INNOVATION

Another emerging research agenda concerns the role of creativity in the economy. Creativity and invention are traditionally seen as underpinning innovation. The emerging agendas include factors that affect creative performance and the organisation of creative spaces, e.g. the influence of cross-cultural interactions, the importance of multicultural environments, the role of design and aesthetics, etc. An important part of this agenda is expressed in a preoccupation with the 'creative industries', and the 'experience economy', fields that bring together interests from the public and the private sectors and combine research agendas from economics, the social sciences, the arts and the humanities.

The sector of 'culture and recreation' has shown high growth rates in recent decades, as a result of increasing affluence in the developed world. It now accounts for about 8-10% of the economy in the UK, Scandinavia and the USA. While parts of the sector are susceptible to decline in times of economic recession, the sector as a whole is expected to continue to increase its share in total output with increasing productivity gains. Economists only identified the potential of the sector for overall growth in the 1990s, while a variety of researchers in sociology, media and

communication studies as well as business and management developed a sustained interest in the 'experience economy'. Research has shown that the sector is intimately linked with the widespread use of the Internet, and with digital media in general. The sector tends to enable linkages between the arts and humanities on the one hand, and engineering sciences on the other hand, with important effects for the future development of certain SSH fields.

” **The emerging agendas include factors that affect creative performance and the organisation of creative spaces, e.g. the influence of cross-cultural interactions, the importance of multicultural environments, the role of design and aesthetics, etc**

Comparative research in the commercialisation of cultural heritage has developed only recently, in part as a result of European funding, but it is crucial to develop a better understanding of the implications of the experience economy in terms of access to culture for the wider public. Digital humanities and e-learning rely on public sector funding while there is a strong private applied business potential. Design, which is heavily linked to research in arts and the humanities, adds value to products and services. Simultaneously, interaction with the corporate sector provides the arts and humanities with new stages on which to unfold, as well as inspiration and financial opportunities. However, there is also a tension between pure creative values and the market value of creativity, which makes this a highly contentious field: How can humanities research maintain a spirit of critical inquiry while engaging with the instrumental needs of innovation? We are only seeing the beginnings of research in what is likely to be a field of strong growth.

4. THE TERRITORIAL DIMENSION OF INNOVATION

Taken together, these various approaches considerably renew our understanding of innovation and production. They suggest that innovation, creativity and production are complex processes that cannot easily be contained within the walls of specialised institutions (universities, factories, studios, etc.), but run instead throughout society at large. Once considered in its different dimensions, *innovation appears essentially as a social and territorialised phenomenon*. It takes place in social spaces where different creative factors come together to form creative, productive networks. The spatial and territorial dimension of innovation is thus a cutting-edge field of research, which is bound to grow in the coming years. This entails the study of cities and metropolises as productive spaces, in both academic and more popular versions.

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This articulation between innovation and concrete territory appears for instance in the way universities strategically choose the location of their new campuses in relation to a wider environment made up of local industries, communities, technological parks, but also in relation to amenities and the quality of the environment. It also appears in the identification of location as a key element in the strategy of businesses and firms. Once the urban and social environment is seen as constituting a productive factor, what are the implications for municipal governance and urban planning? Research located at the intersection of the study of innovation/economic growth and urban studies will figure prominently in this new trend. The way in which the wider social and urban environment increasingly enters into the *attractiveness* of jobs and how it affects the labour market also belongs to this thematic area.

“ Once the urban and social environment is seen as constituting a productive factor, what are the implications for municipal governance and urban planning?

Considering innovation as a process that takes place within territorialised networks that contribute to defining new geographies of innovation has generated new research trends that revise our perception and division of space. Mapping these territories, their extension, as well as the areas that lie outside them, is an important area of research. What is the extension of innovation networks? How local are they? What is their impact on other locales? What and who do they leave out? A first issue that emerges in relation to innovation networks is that of the areas or communities that are not part of such networks. How is it possible to harness outliers to the growth generated in high-creativity urban centres? The issue of economic policies geared toward rural regions of Europe, for instance, must be re-examined in light of the above. So must the relationship between different European regions, and their respective growth opportunities.

A topic that is being considerably revisited in the light of the previous trends is that of *migration*. Innovative research in this area tends to look at migration no longer exclusively as a political, social, or cultural issue, but as a productive factor. Almost by definition, the migrant is a flexible and mobile worker, i.e. a worker in many ways adjusted to the contemporary transformation of work in the direction of more autonomy, flexibility, and individualisation. Important research topics in this area include: the role of migrations as a factor of economic growth and competitiveness; the role of transnational migration of a skilled labour force toward centres of creativity and knowledge; the study of migrations from the point of view of knowledge-based growth (i.e. brain drain, brain gain, impact of returning migrants, etc.).

5. GLOBALISATION

Globalisation and its consequences are likely to feature prominently in the research agenda, but their impact will not be as important as it has been in recent years. Nevertheless, globalisation will probably retain its popularity in the mass media. It is likely that attempts will be made to provide a more rigorous definition of the concept and the corresponding analysis will focus on aspects of globalisation that are genuinely novel in a historical perspective. The relationship between globalisation and the growth process of developed and developing countries as well as the distributional effects of these processes will be analysed further and in more detail.

An additional feature of the European research agenda is likely to be related to the applicability of most of the above in the majority of the new Member States. Questions related to the most appropriate policy mix aiming to help the economies of these countries to grow fast and converge to the EU average are likely to feature prominently in the research agendas of many social scientists in this part of Europe and beyond.

6. MEASURING VALUE IN THE NEW ECONOMY: WORK AND WELFARE

The increasing importance of knowledge and other intangibles as factors of growth makes it necessary to reconsider the ways in which added value is measured. Even though immaterial labour represents a small but growing fraction of the workforce, its importance in the overall work process is increasing. How is work in the knowledge economy calibrated, measured, quantified and remunerated? Taking into account the intangible factors of innovation and growth – social and cultural capital, networks, environment, creativity, socialisation, communication skills, etc. – blurs the distinction between leisure and work. Increasingly, researchers in the sociology of work, industrial relations, and economics recognise the need to develop *new approaches to the transformation of work centred on the issue of measure*. If measuring work on the basis of working time is increasingly inadequate as it does not capture the real value generated, which categories or measures account for it? On what basis should work be remunerated? Studies of remuneration systems, for instance those focusing on managers and top personnel (the level at which the inadequacy of traditional wages is supplemented by various devices ranging from stock options to other legal and financial arrangements) address these issues. Similarly, how should the productivity of work be measured if work becomes more knowledge-intensive? The case of the creative industries is a significant laboratory for testing new hypotheses and studying novel forms of measurement, with a much broader impact affecting the evaluation of service activities, as well as productivity in general. Here, there are important overlaps with research on the evaluation of work in knowledge-intensive industries, and in particular with work on scientometrics and academic quality assessment. Research on the transformation of

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traditional national accounting systems will certainly feature in the emerging trends (even more so since environmental factors should also be involved in the corresponding calculations).

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The transformations of work and the *financialisation* of developed economies have fostered the development of research on the *adaptation and transformation of the welfare state*. Obviously, much research focuses primarily on the issue of sustainability, in the context of the changing demographic and social structure of the population in Western countries. With an ageing population and the general tendency toward greater fiscal pressures, the issue of the funding of welfare systems features prominently on the research agenda. But efforts are also made to look beyond the welfare state as an institution in crisis and to analyse it as a productive factor in itself, ensuring not only the reproduction, but also the development of human and social capital. New research developments also focus on the articulation between security and flexibility: as work becomes more flexible (lifelong learning, requalification, retraining, career segmentation, frequent periods of unemployment, rise of self-employment and freelancing, etc.), how can social entitlements be decoupled from job stability and redeployed throughout society?

“ Considering social welfare as a productive factor has triggered efforts to develop indicators of the level and evolution of such welfare

Considering social *welfare* as a productive factor has triggered efforts to develop indicators of the level and evolution of such welfare. Interesting research developments in this area take place at two levels. At the macro-level, sectors such as health care, education, and services are registering a sustained expansion in advanced economies. This leads in turn to a better trained, better educated, healthier workforce that is more innovative, productive and creative. Indicators of general social welfare are needed to capture not only a form of well-being, but a form of wealth and competitiveness as well. At the individual level, questions related to happiness and to the subjective evaluation of well-being will gain importance in such fields as sociology, psychology, economics, and cognitive sciences. Both these research trends are bound to expand in the near future.

7. FINANCIAL INSTABILITY AND ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

The most important developments of the past two decades in the economic sphere were probably (a) the gradual withdrawal of the state from a number of economic activities, (b) the increased interdependence of economies across the globe, and, (c) the increasing importance of the financial sector. Apart from its withdrawal from the production of a number of services, in many countries the role of the state as regulator has been radically transformed. Traditional forms of 'heavy' regulation were replaced by 'light' regulation and, sometimes, by self-regulation by the economic actors themselves. The increased global interdependence was the result of both technological innovation and a general tendency towards more open economic systems, relying on international flow of goods and services to a far greater extent than in the past. Directly related to the latter was the increased role of financial capital in providing the liquidity needed for the smooth functioning of the system. These arrangements seemed to function well for a number of years, but it is likely that they had two disadvantages. Firstly, they increased systemic risk and, secondly, they amplified the effects of imbalances and crises appearing in particular markets. This became evident in the current crisis that was initiated with the crisis of subprime mortgage loans in the US, rapidly transmitted to other markets and countries.



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- a) the gradual withdrawal of the state from a number of economic activities
- b) the increased interdependence of economies across the globe
- c) the increasing importance of the financial sector

This ongoing global crisis is likely to lead to a re-examination of several aspects of regulation, supervision and, ultimately, the role of the state in economic life in general and the financial sector in particular. The optimal level of central bank supervision and state regulation of financial institutions will be the focus of the analysis of many social scientists. Issues related to the pricing of risk in general and the treatment of systemic risk in particular as well as the role of credit trading and, especially, credit rating agencies will be scrutinised by a considerable number of researchers in the fields of finance and economics. Many such studies will focus on the accounting and underwriting practices and technologies dealing with financial risk and its distribution across the society. This research is likely to focus not only on how new financial instruments are crafted, but also on how 'consumers' of these instruments are profiled and oriented toward specific niche markets. Already well represented in financial economics and the sociology of markets, these trends are certainly bound to develop in the near future.

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Another important set of questions is related to the optimal level of state activity (public/private mix) as well as the optimal mix of fiscal and monetary policy and the specific tools needed in order to prevent the emergence of a crisis or to bring the economy back to stability once the crisis has erupted. Issues related to the transmission mechanisms of financial crises across countries as well as the transmission of instability from the financial to the productive sectors of the economy will attract the attention of a considerable number of researchers. Within this framework, the stability of the world financial architecture as well as issues of global economic governance and the appropriate role of the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and World Bank) will be analysed in detail. It is very likely that some of these research efforts will reach important policy-related conclusions that may lead to changes in the corresponding policy fields both nationally and globally.

“ More research will be carried out on the articulation between financialisation and social life, focusing on the role of finance in housing, retirement, education, and inter-temporal smoothing of consumption

In addition, more research will be carried out on the articulation between financialisation and social life, focusing on the role of finance in housing, retirement, education, and inter-temporal smoothing of consumption. Studies of increasingly complex forms of securitisation of social transactions – from student loans to mortgages – will represent an expanding line of research. Further, depending on the depth of the current economic downturn, issues related to stagflation may come back into fashion. International dimensions of the current downturn will feature prominently in the research agenda of a substantial number of researchers in the fields of macroeconomics and political economy, especially if the current situation leads to a dramatic change in the world economic order or a severe debt crisis of a large number of important developing countries.

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CHAPTER 4

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THE CITIZEN IN EUROPE

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The process of European integration has given a new salience to the theory and practice of citizenship. The current situation is characterised by a multiplication of different forms of citizenship. Citizenship has become more complex and multi-dimensional. Shifting or even disappearing borders, supranational economic structures, political institutions of a new kind, and the development of a legal supranational order that some scholars describe as 'constitutionalism without a state' are some of the developments that contribute to reinventing citizenship in Europe. Individuals no longer inhabit a simple political space over which exclusive authority is claimed by a single rule and a single legal system: they belong to a variety of arenas shaped by multiple, national, supranational, corporate, and individual forces. How is citizenship being reframed in this context? What are the arenas where new forms of citizenship emerge and how are they articulated? How can European institutions mediate these claims? In this section of the report, we focus on citizenship as a political entitlement, from its more established constitutional forms to its new, emerging modalities.

1. CITIZENSHIP AND EUROPEAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

Because of the very nature of the EU, which is neither a national state nor a supranational federation, complex normative questions have arisen as to its character as a political community, and the principles of membership in it. In this respect, there are a number of genuinely European theoretical contributions, in areas such as the development of ideals of civic citizenship (for instance, in the form of ‘constitutional patriotism’), the elaboration of the problems of the so-called ‘democratic deficit’ of the EU, the ‘lack of a common European demos’ thesis, as well as normative projects characterising the union as a ‘commonwealth of commonwealths’, among others.

The process of constitution-making at the EU level, which culminated in the elaboration in 2004 of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe (TEC), initiated a significant wave of research on the role of constitutionalism in the process of European integration. The nature of European constitutionalism – a constitutionalism without a state – is of major interest for both the theory and the practice of European citizenship. The failure of TEC in the ratification referenda in France and the Netherlands, and the subsequent failure of its amended version (the Lisbon Treaty), do not diminish the importance of this emerging trend or the research on it. From the point of view of European citizenship, a number of constitutional issues are of primary importance. Firstly, there is the challenge of including the citizens in European government (through enhanced political rights; legislative initiatives; participatory rights in the administrative process, and non-orthodox forms, such as deliberative polling or other, more robust participatory arrangements). The European public remains to a large degree detached from the structures of EU governance, which is combined with diminishing political participation at the national level in many countries of the union. Research on innovative forms of constitutional design has tried to address these problems. Similarly, there has been an attempt to explore in depth the role of constitutional values for the creation of a common European identity, and for a greater sense of citizen loyalty to the EU. This development has resulted in interesting debates within the relatively new normative field focusing on the theory of European integration.

“ The attempts to democratise the EU further have made room for innovative research in the areas of the quality of democracy, democratic theory, comparative constitutional law, and jurisprudence

The perennial tension between constitutionalism and democracy has also inspired significant scholarly interest related to the constitution-making process at EU level. The attempts to democratise the EU further have made room for innovative research in the areas of the quality of democracy, democratic theory, comparative constitutional law, and jurisprudence. This research coincides with renewed interest in the quality of democracy at national level. Paradoxically, accession to the EU has witnessed a resurgence of populist and nationalist discourses and politics in Eastern Europe. Research into this topic is an interesting emerging trend, which resonates well with the re-examination of the role of different institutions of political representation – political parties, party systems, etc. – currently under way in Western Europe.

2. BEYOND FORMAL CITIZENSHIP: PROLIFERATION AND FRAGMENTATION

A noticeable trend has been the *proliferation of typologies and arenas of citizenship*. While political and, as of the early 20th century, economic citizenship are familiar notions, a number of societal transformations have recently led researchers to explore a variety of types of citizenship – including for instance ethnic, religious, sexual, scientific, biological or bodily citizenship – and to question and revisit traditional political citizenship from a gendered, subaltern, minority or migrant perspective. This new research trend corresponds in part to an explosion of the arenas within which participation and belonging are articulated. Citizenship no longer occurs within hierarchical structures or solely in the unitary framework of the nation-state. The internationalisation of a number of these arenas and the lesser role of the state in regulating them converge to produce opportunities for new and diversified political communities.

“ The mechanisms that administer affiliation and belonging to specific communities constitute a thriving area of research

At a more general level, the mechanisms that administer affiliation and belonging to specific communities constitute a thriving area of research. Whether it is scientific advances that raise new issues of political rights (such as in the case of reproductive technologies, embryo research, genetic engineering, etc.), transnational migrations that challenge the fixity of borders and represent actual demands for citizenship, or complex processes of political integration on a regional basis, the established notions of national communities are reworked to include more differentiated forms of citizenship with their varied and at times contradictory demands for representation, inclusion and participation.

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Research on political citizenship has been considerably renewed by the process of European integration and its effect on both European and non-European citizens. Research on immigration and nationality policies, on the changing criteria for granting citizenship (see the current re-culturalisation of citizenship in a number of countries where the familiarity of applicants with the national language is becoming a much debated issue), and on forms of political participation for non-citizens is an important field that will keep expanding in the years to come. The issue of immigration policies in Europe also intersects with developments in the field of security studies. There has been a growing interest in the reshaping of citizenship rights in the context of the overlap between European integration and 'securitisation', and in particular in the emergence of 'margins' of citizenship, where the juridical status of individuals is uncertain: a sociological and juridical literature on 'provisional' detention centres, for instance, or on the relationship between European borders and European citizenship, has triggered a whole new area of studies which, like its object, is transnational. Successful programmes on European security mechanisms funded under FP6 are now generating new insights into the treatment and regulation of migration and citizenship. These insights have also fuelled artistic and cultural production as well as critical humanities research on migration within Europe.

These different research programmes point to the contemporary *fragmentation* of citizenship in Europe. They suggest that citizenship can no longer be taken as a unitary status, enjoyed equally across different sectors of society, but tends to become a variable or layered set of differentiated entitlements, the nature of which shifts with their bearers, their location, and the institutional context in which such entitlements are instantiated. Both globalisation and European integration concur in displacing the traditional locus of citizenship, the nation-state, and in structuring new arenas where political claims of inclusion can be formulated. An increasing number of life-spheres are subjected to decisions, rights, and constraints that are no longer exclusively national in nature. New social movements such as lesbian and gay rights movements have emerged that articulate new demands for citizenship at the transnational level. As migrants have become central productive figures of our societies, claims for their inclusion in the fabric of society are made (for instance in favour of the right to vote at local elections for resident non-nationals). The securitisation of Europe's new borders has created areas outside the law, such as the so-called 'provisional' detention centres, and the struggles for granting rights to their inhabitants are also articulated as struggles for granting specific rights, i.e. citizenship claims. How one ensures that these differences do not become the basis for new discriminations, but instead operate in favour of empowerment, is one of the crucial issues to be analysed by those who study citizenship.

The limits of traditional, formal notions of citizenship, from which social, religious or ethnic characteristics are abstracted, appear for instance in debates about multiculturalism and affirmative action, or about religion. Important developments have taken place of late in sociological research on religious practices in secular societies, and in particular on the relation between secularised conceptions of the polity and religious citizenship. This research suggests that the fastest-growing religions are premised on a secular, modern, individualistic social context. At the same time, all religious orientations have consequences for the conduct of believers in the public sphere. How can new religious practices– new religiously informed lifestyles, new demands for specific provisions in matters of schooling, disposition of public spaces, or professional life, etc. – participate in the public sphere appropriately, and old ones be reinvented in the process? How can different entitlements – to religious practice, to individual choice, to secularism – be more effectively addressed and inter-related? Since this is considered in greater detail in Chapter 2, Major Trends in Society, we do not expand on it here. Similar issues emerge in relation to multiculturalism or ‘identity politics’, as interest in the meanings of affirmative action is gaining traction in Europe.

“ An increasing number of life-spheres are subjected to decisions, rights, and constraints that are no longer exclusively national in nature

Research in these areas has not yet addressed significantly enough the question of how these various kinds of citizenship are experienced and exercised by citizens, individually or collectively. The role of European institutions in mediating or constituting these new citizenship claims is a promising field of research: for instance, the European Court of Human Rights has played a significant role in regulating sexual citizenship across Europe; individuals have repeatedly sought redress through it in relation to issues pertaining to sexual citizenship, or the right to civil partnership among same-sex couples. What is the significance of this appeal to supranational entities in relation to the capacity of individual European nation states to produce citizenship rights, and how is it influencing citizens’ affinities to their nation states and to Europe?

3. PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGIES

Important changes in modes of governance have transformed the structures of political participation. The crisis of traditional political representation, illustrated by the tendency of recent national elections to end up in stalemates, has stimulated research focusing on new forms of interest representation and participation. One clear trend centres on the forms, theories and technologies of *'participation'* at various levels of social life. From participative budgets to 'consensus conferences,' from 'bottom-up' campaigns to art forms calling for the participation of the public, new mechanisms for translating social interests or normative orientations into political decisions are experimented with.

The rise of different forms of participation is related to the crisis of the traditional reliance on expertise, and more generally of any technocratic paradigm relying on authoritative and centralised expert knowledge for formulating decisions or policies. In the field of science, for instance, there is a growing recognition that technological change has not resulted in more certainty through more control over nature but, rather, in more uncertainty (climate change, bird flu, GMOs, etc.) This production of uncertainty is now acknowledged, as an increasing number of political decisions have to be made in contexts of conflicting values, divergent interests, and a plurality of forms of expertise. As this uncertainty cannot be reduced by traditional science-based technocratic knowledge, new forums and new technologies of participation and 'voice' are needed.

▀▀ **The crisis of traditional political representation... has stimulated research on new forms of interest representation and participation... How does the shift from technocratic to participatory models of policy and decision-making affect the practice of citizenship?**

How does the shift from technocratic to participatory models of policy and decision-making affect the practice of citizenship? What does 'participation' mean in practice? Is it always conducive to a greater empowerment of the participants? If on the one hand participation can entail the promise of more and better democracy, on the other hand it can also become synonymous with outsourcing certain types of contributions or with moving from truly deliberative and collective forums to more individualised notions of 'stakeholders/users/clients'. The contexts in which participatory demands are made, the institutional innovations that increase participation, and the actual effects of participation, are an important area of further research.

Another changing dimension of the governance of European societies that has gathered a lot of attention has been the privatisation or the outsourcing of a number of social or public services. In this area, a new arena of research focuses on the transformation of the neutral 'office' of the state into an institution of civil society, and on the consequences of this for the relationship between citizens and institutions. Questions regarding some of the characteristics of state administration, such as neutrality, impartiality, impersonality, and equality of treatment, become important as more and more services are delivered through private organisations, thus subordinating administrative acts to economic decisions and calculations. Here too, questions arise as to how it is possible to reformulate ideals of equal access and participation in a context dramatically transformed by privatisation and hence by the multiplication of interlocutors. More generally, in a context of increased attention to the local, the specific, the individual, and of lesser reliance on the state, the precise social, political and economic function of participation have to be specified and studied on a case-by-case basis.

4. CORPORATE CITIZENSHIP

In relation to the proliferation of citizenship mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, the increasing number of references to 'corporate citizenship' in the past 20 years is a trend worth observing. Beyond the slogan, the public relations and the marketing, there have been major transformations in the way in which firms articulate their social purpose. Beyond image concerns, the idea of corporate citizenship points to, what some researchers have called, an ethical turn in the economy. This does not mean that firms have become moral actors, but that their economic value increasingly capitalises on intangibles in general, and on meaningful normative orientations in particular. The notions of 'corporate social responsibility', of social enterprise (discussed below), and of corporate philanthropy are pointing to a transformation of the relationships between firms, public authorities and society at large. As the circuits of production are more and more externalised, the management of the productive cycle increasingly overlaps with the management of social networks, of social communication, and of creative social environments, thus redefining the place and functions of corporations and business entities of different kinds in society. As a result, firms do not exclusively operate as private actors, driven by profit: they also act in the public sphere and enter into relationships or patterns that exceed the motivation of profit making.

” **The notions of 'corporate social responsibility', of social enterprise and of corporate philanthropy are pointing to a transformation of the relationships between firms, public authorities and society at large**

A related development that generates much interest is the shift in the treatment of certain social problems from a public policy model to a *social enterprise* model that relies on the

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participation, or 'activation' of benefit recipients, and on organisational templates imported from the world of business and finance. Researchers have started to study these new tendencies very recently, and little is known about the history of social enterprise, its origins, or social entrepreneurs themselves. A key arena for critical research focuses on the evaluation of social enterprise projects: how can their 'social value' be measured? How can success or failure be evaluated? What kinds of metrics are needed? How does this new field fit within the wider context of contemporary governance?

An issue related to de-regulation, and in particular financial de-regulation, is the importance of *private forms of regulation or self-regulation*. Research on these issues focuses in particular on normative or value-based forms of regulation of economic activity, such as corporate social responsibility, business ethics, or philanthropy. Studies focusing on the history of these new business practices and ideological formations, of the various institutional models and strategies adopted by firms to realise such values, or of the social impact of various initiatives falling under these labels, constitute a rapidly growing line of research, the results of which are highly relevant to a wide range of stakeholders. A related topic is the displacement of business models onto the social field as substitutes for public policies: research on socially focused *venture philanthropy* is a small but expanding field of research.

5. BIOLOGICAL CITIZENSHIP

One of the most rapidly-developing trends in terms of citizenship claims relates to the politicisation of life in its biological form. Since the instantiation of habeas corpus, the body has been the site of rights-based claims and resistance to sovereign power, and the control and disciplining of bodies has always been at the centre of the political construction of the nation and of modern politics in general. But recent advances in science and technology have transformed the body into much more than a site of political struggles, by penetrating and acting upon its very materiality and its biological life. Biotechnologies, genomic sequencing, stem cell research and other scientific or biomedical projects are expanding the possibilities for introducing decision and choice in the design and the experience of life itself. By the same token, they are turning biological life into an arena for legal, ethical, economic, and political claims. What was considered strictly biological is becoming increasingly open to cultural and technical determinations. The social sciences, in fact, have rarely shown as much interest in biological issues as they do today.

“ Since the instantiation of habeas corpus, the body has been the site of rights-based claims and resistance to sovereign power... Recent advances in science and technology have transformed the body into much more than a site of political struggles, by penetrating and acting upon its very materiality and its biological life

As new genes are engineered, as organs are bought and sold, as stem cells are cultivated and harvested, as property rights extend to encompass life forms, as what was previously considered as simply ‘human’ becomes increasingly artificial, and thus fungible, marketable, or capitalised, the previously unproblematic notion of the body as a ‘natural’ substratum entering into the ‘cultural’ institutions of society is called into question. Increasingly, patent rights, expert knowledge, complex legal and prudential relationships to organ donors, medical authorities and political regulations enter into the makeup of biological life. Corporate interests, scientific authorities, and capitalism itself pervade the human body at the molecular level. The inclusion of bodies and of biological life into the public sphere and the polity thus takes new forms: regulations of stem cell research or cloning; new intellectual property rights; processes of economic pricing and marketing; claims and counterclaims opposing different stakeholders of ‘bio-capital’; patients developing new relationships with scientific authorities and becoming active participants in the development of new treatments; countries opposing pharmaceutical companies and their legal entitlements, etc.

The various ways in which biological life becomes an object of governance by legislators, experts, and various authorities, as well as a site from which new political claims are made, are and will remain, important areas of social science and humanities research. As suggested by the number of recent writings, for instance on ‘bio-politics’, cyborgs (as metaphors for the technical reengineering of the organic) and bio-value, a new area of research is rapidly emerging around the question of bio-citizenship.

6. THE MIGRANT, A NEW EUROPEAN CITIZEN

Migration studies are also showing signs of renewal, although their coverage of certain issues is still insufficient. The process of European integration has triggered an interest in *intra-European* migration and its social, cultural, and economic effects. More generally, there has been a bias in favour of research on *external* migration (across country borders) in comparison to research on *internal* migration within single countries, and within Europe. More research is needed to understand the relationship between new forms of European migration and their elaboration in citizenship.

There has been a related interest in the way various European arrangements – legal, political, international, judiciary, etc. – restructure migration flows in complex ways, determining a

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shifting geography of migration and asylum. There are two aspects to this question. The first is concerned with intra-European *secondary migration by non-EU citizens*: for instance Somalis moving first to the Netherlands, then to the UK, because the Netherlands have migrant dispersal practices that do not permit the establishment of a critical mass of migrants that would generate strong demands for infrastructures specific to migrant groups (while such practices do not exist in the UK). Another aspect is constituted by the *complex geography of the regulatory management of migration flows*. Some of the 'safe third countries' with which the EU has roll-back agreements (i.e. they must accept all refugees or migrants trying to cross into the EU using their borders) have their own agreements with other countries, thus resulting in cascading arrangements that redefine European borders and forms of citizenship in unexpected ways.

Due to the specific developments that have led to the emergence of postcolonial or subaltern studies, which tend to be characterised by a strong historical inflexion and focus on other continents and experiences, migrant experiences in Europe remain significantly under-researched and under-utilised in their capacity to offer insights into the relationship between migrant communities and individuals and European societies.

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In relation to the theme of the citizen in Europe, much cultural work by migrant communities in a variety of cultural forms (literature, film, multimedia work, internet activity, etc) raises issues about the identity and position of migrants as citizens in Europe that urgently need to be explored. From the mid-1990s onwards, cultural work from Muslim communities, largely ignored at the time, spoke eloquently of the rise of Islamism and extremism, long before the terrorist attacks of 9/11, 7/7 etc. Beyond the question of new aesthetic cultural formations (which is also important), there is a real need to understand the cultural production of migrant communities as a form of socio-political communication about their sense of identity.

Apart from traditional migration flows driven by economic necessity or political causes, *welfare or leisure migration* is a rising yet under-researched phenomenon in Europe: whether they are UK pensioners retiring to Spain, Italians seeking faster health care treatment in France or

Germany, Dutch people buying farm houses in southern France, or intra-European commuters, a whole series of new migratory patterns are emerging. Facilitated by the transport revolution and in particular by the expansion of low cost airlines, by differences in average wages or in real estate markets, by different welfare systems, and by the increased possibilities for remote work, these new migratory phenomena affect national economies and welfare systems in ways that are not well understood.

There have been important developments in diaspora studies that consider migration less from the point of view of bounded movements (bounded by time, destination) than from the perspective of permanent and multiple forms of dispersal and displacement. Here dispersal and displacement function only partly as reference points for identity; in many instances the issues are ones of recognition for people who may not consider themselves either part of a minority or members of the majority, but may have multiple affiliations, without any strong identification with a particular group. Increasingly across Europe, this phenomenon of a diasporic rather than a migrant identity can be observed but its extents, meanings, and implications for issues of citizenship remain under-researched.

7. NON-CITIZENS

A consideration of the transformation of citizenship in Europe is not complete without pointing to the importance of non-citizens. Not only does non-citizenship shed light on citizenship by making visible its limits as well as that against which it is often implicitly defined, but increasingly refugees, asylum seekers, *sans papiers* (undocumented immigrants) and other non-residents have a new visibility in public spaces. They occupy physical and symbolic spaces in new ways, forcing authorities and the wider public to think afresh about the margins of citizenship. Often, their mere presence is in itself a demand for citizenship rights of sorts (for dignity, for proper treatment, for housing, for legal representation, etc.). Here too, new social movements and new solidarities suggest that the dichotomy between citizenship and non-citizenship is losing its power and is being replaced by ill-defined margins of citizenship.

” **Most contemporary movements organised around non-citizens point to the crisis of traditional citizenship, which remains inaccessible to increasingly large segments of the population**

The variety of situations and conditions in which non-citizens find themselves raise a whole range of issues regarding the making of citizenship and the concrete conditions of access (or non-access) to it. In many cases, the predicament of non-citizens becomes the site for new solidarities and new forms of activism that contribute to reinforcing, extending, and deepening

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citizenship claims. It also creates spaces for questioning the administrative mechanisms and the political technologies that maintain, police and enforce the distinction between citizens and non-citizens, notably from a human rights perspective. But at a more fundamental level, most contemporary movements organised around non-citizens point to the crisis of traditional citizenship, which remains inaccessible to increasingly large segments of the population that, for all practical purposes, live, work, produce, and send their children to school in a given community. It suggests that the *terms of recognition* are a crucial dimension of citizenship, and that the constant redefinition of these terms is an obstacle to the acquisition of citizenship.

In many ways, the situation of non-citizens constitutes a benchmark from which one can judge the ideals of European citizenship. It is around issues such as deportation, discrimination, the granting of asylum, etc. that these ideals fail or succeed. Non-citizens raise a number of societal and normative issues that should be the focus of further intellectual and policy research. What paths out of non-citizenship could be devised? How can citizenship claims be mediated by European institutions? How does the process of European integration and its extensive citizenship model generate side-effects, in particular by locking some individuals into legal black holes of non-citizenship? How can such effects be avoided?

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CHAPTER 5

COMBINING ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL OBJECTIVES

This FP7 activity aims to assess the performance and prospects of the European social model. This includes high employment, quality jobs, extensive social protection, and equal opportunities. The extent to which it has been realized varies significantly across the different Member States. One of the prerequisites now built into this model is the quality of the environment.

Key issues in this area include the impact of globalisation on the traditional European socio-economic governance (in particular on the redistributive functions of the welfare state); intra-European differentials between welfare regimes, the capacity for institutional change and for the safeguard of social welfare and various dimensions of social cohesion; economic cohesion between regions and between urban and regional development; depletion of natural resources and degradation of environmental quality; and economic and social implications of sustainable development. Several of these issues are matters of regulation, and are partially discussed in Chapter 3. Other themes that have been addressed earlier in this report, in particular innovation, value, and knowledge economy, resurface here as a natural consequence of overlap between the different rubrics of the programme.

The 'Sustainable development strategy for an enlarged Europe', adopted by the EU in 2006, aimed at identifying and developing actions that would enable the long-term improvement of quality of life in the EU. This would be achieved through the creation of sustainable communities, able to manage and use resources efficiently, and to ensure prosperity, environmental protection, and social cohesion. Environmental sustainability has therefore become an important trend in social science research, across disciplines.

Undoubtedly, 'environmental sustainability' is an objective shared by the great majority, if not all, social scientists in Europe and beyond. 'Economic' and 'social' sustainability do not enjoy the same level of acceptance as objectives. Part of the social sciences community in Europe accepts that the observed environmental degradation can be traced to the operations of the market economy system. Among supporters of the market mechanism, who see it as the best mechanism available for the efficient allocation of resources, a considerable proportion believe that the long-term sustainability of a market economy in Europe might not be compatible with the survival of the European welfare state.

1. SUSTAINABILITY AND THE GOVERNANCE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The single most important trend in social science research in recent years has been the rise of environmental sustainability as a research topic. Even though the meaning of the term is not always absolutely clear, the topic has come to the forefront of economic and social research within a relatively short period of time and, almost certainly, is bound to remain there for the foreseeable future.

In the field of economics, the corresponding research agendas include both micro-economic and macro-economic aspects of environmental sustainability (synergies and, particularly trade-offs between faster economic growth and environmental sustainability), as well as the evaluation of the economic costs of pollution and climatic change and the pricing of alternative options. Both theoretical and empirical aspects of environmental sustainability are likely to be explored on a massive scale in the coming years. Particular emphasis is likely to be placed on examining in detail the socio-economic consequences of climatic change; international externalities and their consequences; and the design of incentive mechanisms for reducing environmental pollution at both the global and the local level.

Conversely, research on the climatic consequences of socio-economic arrangements is a promising line of work. Issues related to energy security as well as the pricing of natural resources are likely to gain significance. The main issue in many developing countries is likely to be the pricing and the governance of the distribution of water rather than oil. Alternative models for conceptualizing environmental sustainability are also being developed, which are not based on incentive mechanisms or economically computable trade-offs between performance and sustainability.

▀▀ Sustainability cannot be analysed independently from established patterns of consumption

The energy crises have been a stark reminder of the fact that natural resources can be depleted. Ultimately, oil, natural gas, coal, lumber, primary materials and water are finite resources. Although water resources are traditionally considered to be renewable, we are now witness to

the global depletion and degradation of surface water quality, diminishing fresh water supplies (due to melting glaciers) and increased water demands determined by population growth and rapid urbanisation. Fresh water may indeed become the 'petroleum of the next century'. Scenarios for the future use of water resources, water markets, and regulatory frameworks constitute an important part of the research agenda on sustainability.

More importantly, and in relation to what has been mentioned in the discussion of interdisciplinarity in chapter 1, 'combining economic, social and environmental objectives' requires significant efforts to *reengage the social sciences with the study of the environment*. This objective has been clearly advocated by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). According to the Panel, 'sustainable development is an adaptive and flexible process to changes in environmental as well as in socioeconomic systems.' Such changes cannot be forecast with precision due to the complexity of the interactions within and between these systems.

Measuring trends in the consumption and the reproduction of natural resources, and developing sustainability indicators to assess development paths in different regions, is and will remain an important trend in sustainability research. The Ecological Footprint is an example of a measurement of sustainability. It approximates the amount of natural resources a human population requires to produce what it consumes and to absorb its waste under the current technological conditions. Tools like the Ecological Footprint make it possible to assess the sustainability of development paths in different regions and at different levels of governance.

Climate change, rising sea levels and 'natural' disasters result from and affect the activity of human communities. Both the social impact of ecological change and the ecological impact of social change are of crucial importance in the management of resources, the design of sustainable policies, and the discussion of risk. The social sciences are in a position to contribute to a better understanding of adaptations to new relations with the environment, of the local dynamics at work in communities affected by or affecting the environment, and of the policy-making process in the arena of environmental conservation.

Sustainability cannot be analysed independently from established patterns of consumption. The notion of 'sustainable consumption' includes the evaluation of national, regional, and global policies that aim to alter production and consumption, and the assessment of changes in the behaviour of consumers towards more environmentally sustainable consumption practices. This research agenda cannot be divorced from the consideration of structural inequalities in global consumption patterns. In 2005, for instance, the wealthiest fifth of the world population accounted for 76.6% of total private consumption. The poorest fifth, on the other hand, accounted for 1.5%.

2. DIMENSIONS OF THE WELFARE STATE AND SOCIAL COHESION

A subject likely to remain at the forefront of socio-economic research in the near future is that of the prospects of the welfare state. The relevant issues are discussed more in Europe than in the rest of the world, even though the topic is of importance to all developed countries. The problems of the sustainability of the welfare state and primarily its future funding feature prominently in this debate, especially in view of a rapidly ageing population. Two very important issues in this respect are international migration as a significant factor in the funding of welfare, and incentive structures (in a micro-context 'security and flexibility', in a macro-context 'welfare state as a productive factor or an impediment to economic growth'). Both are discussed in Chapter 3.

A number of important changes have transformed the conditions of life in European societies and debates about the prospects of the European social model and of the welfare state ought to take stock of these changes. A major trend in this respect is the transformation in the nature and significance of work. At a first level, this entails an increasing role of the tertiary sector in European economies, and an overall decrease in the number of people involved in primary, but also in industrial production. At a second level, it entails the changing significance of work relative to the lifespan of individuals, as the active population has experienced a general contraction of the amount of time worked. This contraction is in part a result of a gradual prolongation of the time spent acquiring an education and in retirement, and partly the result of a tendency toward reduced working hours (from around 3 000 hours per year in the 1890s to approximately 1 500 hours per year in the 1990s in many industrialized countries).

▀▀ **The prospects of the welfare state... are discussed more in Europe than in the rest of the world, even though the topic is of importance to all developed countries**

How this tendency is affecting the workforce; how it may split the workforce between those who benefit from it and those who do not; and how it transforms the relationship between free time and leisure are important questions. In addition, the contraction of working time must also be analysed in relation to the changing nature of work. As European economies are

increasingly knowledge and service based economies, the nature of 'work' has evolved considerably, making it difficult to distinguish between working time and non-working time. In sectors such as the creative industries, for instance, distinctions between leisure and work are blurred to such an extent that the entire lifespan can be seen as productive and potentially mobilised in the production of value. It is crucial to bring these evolutions into the debate over the future of welfare.

An important dimension of welfare has to do with the cohesion of society. Income and wealth distribution as measured by the Gini index has tended to become more equal over the 20th century in most European countries. But in the last two decades of the century the tide seems to have turned in a number of countries. Fiscal policies, the increased role of finance in private wealth and weakening of social solidarities embodied in the redistributive functions of the welfare state and other factors have diminished social cohesion. The resulting crisis of social cohesion is deepened by a growing divide between the working and casual- or non-working sectors of societies. The working sector that is part of the wage system benefits from a range of associated welfare provisions, while the growing mass of casual workers and unemployed individuals drops out of the range of social protections. Here too, the re-articulation of welfare as a cohesive project needs to be rethought in the context of its long-term evolution.

Income and wealth distribution... has tended to become more equal over the 20th century in most European countries. But in the last two decades of the century the tide seems to have turned in a number of countries

With the increasing availability of longitudinal administrative data, a growing interest is likely in the long-term redistributive role of the welfare state – primarily in terms of the value of net monetary and non-monetary transfers over people's life-span – and its effectiveness in reducing long-term poverty and, to a lesser extent, social exclusion. The long-term redistributive role of the welfare state is also likely to be examined in a comparative cross-country context, in order to investigate the relative efficiency of alternative welfare state regimes. Likewise, research will continue to focus on the determinants of unemployment (and labour market participation) and on the effectiveness of corresponding public policies, especially if unemployment rates remain high. Various forms of human capital and their effects (on growth rates, private and social returns to human capital in its different forms, distributional effects, links with social capital, etc.) need to be further scrutinised.

Just like sustainability, many aspects of the future of the European welfare state are likely to be analysed in a global rather than European framework. Globalisation in relation to welfare presents a number of risks as well as opportunities that are likely to be carefully scrutinised by social scientists in the near future. It may result in a relocation of capital and, perhaps, a

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better allocation of resources internationally, but this may in turn lead to growing inequalities and higher levels of low-skilled unemployment, poverty, and social exclusion in developed countries. The aggregate effects reported in a number of detailed empirical studies might not seem enormous, but the anxieties of the general public are far too large to ignore and the corresponding issues are likely to receive a lot of attention in the future.

A related issue is the taxation of the mobile factor of production (capital), since in the new international environment tax competition is likely to be high. Therefore, pressures to reduce the corresponding tax rates will intensify, thus raising questions about the financial sustainability of Western European welfare states. Related issues are likely to be high on the research agenda of many social scientists in Europe in the coming years.

Another aspect of globalisation that is likely to receive a lot of attention, in the framework of the European social model, is that of international migration. Most existing empirical studies show that international migration is beneficial for the receiving countries, especially taking into account the rapid greying of the population in most industrialised countries. However, its distributional consequences are not neutral and popular anxieties remain high. The economic and social impact of immigration will continue to feature among future research topics.

3. TOWARDS A NEW GROWTH REGIME

Most of these questions reflect uncertainty regarding the future of the European social model. This model of welfare was tightly coupled with a Fordist economy, which enjoyed 30 years of uninterrupted growth and stability after the Second World War. As this type of economy has undergone radical changes since the mid-1970s, giving way to more flexible principles of production; a central role of finance in the coordination of production (as opposed to the 'techno-structure' of the past); and a general reengineering of 'the firm', the socioeconomic foundations of the European social model have been radically transformed.

While there is by now a substantial body of literature on the new modes of production (industrial basins, flexible specialisation, just-in-time, Toyotism, etc.), a pressing issue and an emerging trend in research has to do with more speculative attempts to delineate what types of virtuous 'modes of regulation' could evolve from these new 'regimes of accumulation' and contribute to making them socially sustainable.

In the years ahead, research is likely to move into an empirically informed yet speculative mode of inquiry into regimes that build upon current economic trends. Recognizing that the economic sectors registering the most impressive growth and expansion in advanced economies are person-oriented services such as health, education and training, etc., some economists envision a growth regime centred on the development of human capacities. Research is likely to be carried out on institutional conditions that will be most conducive to this new model of growth. How can the investment in education, increasingly considered to be a condition of endogenous growth, find an institutional expression in a 'learnfare state', thereby ensuring the capacity of individuals to train themselves and constantly update their knowledge?

4. DEVELOPING NEW UNDERSTANDINGS OF VALUE

A number of innovative research projects in various different fields are delineating a broader research programme on *new theories of value* or on the *crisis of value*. The limitations inherent in an exclusive reliance on economic pricing for informing policy decisions have led researchers to develop *alternative theories of value*. This is an important development, which takes very literally the idea of 'combining economic, social, and environmental objectives'. Examples of such efforts vary, especially in the degree to which they move away from traditional notions of economic value. However, they have in common an endeavour to change existing accounting rationalities by reframing certain common goods – the environment, meaningful relationships, a high degree of social cohesion, solidarity, etc. – as increasingly productive assets in a knowledge-based economy that derives its strength from the productive capacity of social networks and autonomous social cooperation. Such attempts include for instance: notions of 'blended value' which include environmental and social components; the economic and environmental stewardship of firms and corporations; the rapid development of socially-oriented corporate philanthropy; the capacity of firms to capitalise on an extensive social and urban fabric that operates as fixed capital; and critical research on ethical investment, ethical economies, and more generally on the 'ethical turn' in the economic life of contemporary societies.

A second stream of research is closely related, but it tends to put the emphasis on the inadequacy of categories that seek to capture value, and on the difficulty if not the impossibility to measure some forms of value that are fundamental today. An assumption of this approach is that the knowledge economy is based in a fundamental way on processes that can hardly be captured by the measuring tools we have inherited from the industrial economy (such as working time for instance – see chapter 3). As added value becomes increasingly difficult to measure, our capacity to remunerate and redistribute adequately diminishes accordingly. And since value is increasingly generated in flexible, distributed networks of social cooperation, a

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number of welfare state guarantees become increasingly exclusive as they are attached to a status – wage – that may still be the most numerically prevalent but the dominance of which is being eroded by the expansion and increasing importance of more flexible arrangements.

“ Research will increasingly address the institutional setting and policies most conducive to social cooperation and to the development of an economy of socially beneficial production

This second type of emerging research focuses on the nature of ‘goods’ generated by distributed social cooperation and on their intrinsic worth. The core idea is that social production generates value that is in excess of the value captured by traditional economic indicators. Such value resides in self-expression, increased and meaningful socialisation, positive affects; a sense of accomplishment and all kinds of positive externalities. It is linked to the production of lifestyles and new social relations. It is fundamentally based on non-monetary interests and it is difficult to translate through pricing or costing systems. This is the phenomenon behind such social networking sites as Facebook or mySpace, which thrive off the autonomous interactions taking place within their expanding base of users. Value linked to these activities has the paradoxical quality of increasing as it is being consumed. It points, in that sense, towards an economy of abundance and offers important insights for rethinking and redeploying a strong European social model.

Research on what some authors call the ‘ethical economy’ concentrates on modes of production or social structures of production where economic, social and environmental perspectives are not only combined, but are actually *impossible to dissociate*. Studies and projects falling into this area focus on themes such as: the economics of social networking; distributed production; the commercial harnessing of value generated through autonomous social cooperation; the impact of social cooperation on social life; the development of indicators reflecting this ‘ethical’ or combined value; open source models of production.

It is probable that, in the years ahead, research will increasingly address the *institutional setting and policies* most conducive to social cooperation and to the development of an economy of socially beneficial production. What kinds of social environments are most conducive to distributed cooperation? Which policies could capitalise on the widespread capacity of individuals to self-organise and encourage rewarding expressions of their creative capacities? How best to promote value-generating economic activities that, by their very nature, increase

social welfare? An important dimension of this new trend in economic/social research is that it requires a fundamental reconsideration of our economic notions. It thus draws not only on forward-looking scholarship, but also on classical economic and sociological theory.

5. THE GEOGRAPHIC DIMENSION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

Research on regional development patterns in Europe has shown that the gap between urban centres and the rural periphery continues to widen in the new EU Member States, despite the structural funds provided in support of the economic development of peripheral regions. These regions continue to suffer from emigration and brain-drain, de-industrialisation, negative demographic trends, and environmental depletion. Since these countries are usually located on the fringes of the European Union and border less developed third countries, they are becoming 'double peripheries': they are distant from the dynamic centres of core European countries, as well as from more prosperous national centres. In stark contrast to the objectives of the EU Cohesion Policy, a consolidation and calcification of territorial patterns based on core-periphery inequalities is taking place in the new EU Member States, thus leading to stagnation in a number of European peripheral regions.

Part of the explanation for this has to do with the fact that the European Union policies aimed at fostering economic growth and cohesion have conflicting goals: they promote efficient economic development in the Member States on the one hand, and regional convergence on the European level on the other. As newcomers to the EU have to compete economically with the old Member States, this is usually done at the expense of underdeveloped peripheral areas in these 'new States' which do not have the skilled personnel, the RTD potential, and infrastructure that major urban centres have. This results in quick economic development of competitive capital cities and stagnation of peripheries in a number of new Member States.

” **A balanced model of development involving all dimensions – economic, social, environmental – inevitably entails a spatial or geographic dimension**

A balanced model of development involving all dimensions – economic, social, environmental – inevitably entails a spatial or geographic dimension. In fact, an even territorial distribution of access to goods, culture, economic development, social benefits, healthcare, etc. is an essential aspect of social cohesiveness. There is a growing community of researchers involved in studying the implementation of EU and national regional development policies in European peripheral

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areas, including the process of rural/urban polarization and the emergence of double peripheries on the borders of EU Member States. Comparative studies of the implementation of EU, national, and regional development policies identifying ways to overcome the 'double peripheries' status of some areas is an important item on the research agenda.

6. RISK GOVERNANCE

Through the combined action of fiscal crises and political attacks, the transformation of the Welfare State in the past 30 years has had major implications for the social distribution of risk at both the global and more local level. Risk is no longer socialised as it used to be and is instead increasingly privatised or individualised. As the range of effective social entitlements has diminished and as more people are living outside the reach of such entitlements, citizens have to deal with increased uncertainty at the individual level in a number of life-spheres (work, health, pensions, etc.). Not surprisingly, risk and risk management have become topical issues in social science research in recent years. Research addressing the institutional arrangements for coping with increased levels of risk, the reshaping of social bonds around risk, and the self-image of 'risk societies' have become important trends. The European Commission has recognised the importance of this topic and supported a variety of research initiatives aimed at defining, understanding and improving risk governance instruments.

▀▀ **Research addressing the institutional arrangements for coping with increased levels of risk, the reshaping of social bonds around risk, and the self-image of 'risk societies' have become important trends**

So far, the focus has mostly been on the policy and institutional aspects of risk governance. But new directions are emerging and deserve to be carefully followed. Regarding institutional formats of risk governance, there seems to be a growing awareness that science and scientific expertise do not necessarily minimise risk. Increasingly, science appears to be only one of the voices that should be heard in public deliberations over risk, but one that does not have a specific authority or privilege. Science, in fact, generates both certainty about particular things and uncertainty about their consequences. Such insights clearly orient research on risk governance toward explorations of *new forms of democracy*, of new forums and organisations that allow a wide range of stakeholders to become *issue-specific publics*. This new orientation, however, is

countered by the development of risk governance as a new area of professionalisation, with its dedicated organisations, its experts, its know-how, its legitimate credentials, and its proprietary instruments. An important stake of future research will be to avoid that the democratisation of science becomes the scientific technocratisation of democracy.

Part of the answers to these dilemmas may be yielded by greater attention being paid to the instruments of risk governance. This is a novel tendency in risk-related research. In order to fulfil their mission, risk-management policies and organisations rely on and deploy a wide range of instrumentations for governing risk: audit technologies, calculation devices, recording instruments, management tools, algorithms, adversarial argumentations, etc. The success or failure of risk management initiatives is tightly related to the nature and capabilities encapsulated in these instruments. In fact, such instruments are *constitutive* both of risks and of the policies that address them: they define and make risk visible; and they also shape the range and type of possible 'solutions' or arrangements. Fine-grained research on the materiality and effects of these instrumentations is an expanding area of risk-governance research. The history, sociology, and technical examination of these instruments are indeed crucial for understanding the social impact of risk management.

“ In contexts of growing uncertainty, less government oversight, and increased levels of self-regulation, trust appears as a possible instrument for limiting uncertainty and reducing risk

Another research area that has been gathering momentum lately focuses sociologically on the way in which these instruments travel across different social, institutional, cultural, and national contexts. Studies of this kind tend to analyse various processes pointing to the constitution of a *global field of risk regulation*. They inquire for instance into how risk management technologies originally designed around one issue travel to other contexts where they are applied to other issues. How are risk management instruments being applied in contexts as diverse as food, bioterrorism, financial investment, insurance, disaster preparedness assessments, all the way down to everyday life decisions? How does such a field validate certain credentials and discard others? Who are the professionals of risk management? How is risk management redefining the idea of government and policy-making? How does one act in uncertain contexts? How does prudential rationality (as opposed to the idea of science-based certainty and mastery) redefine our perceptions of society and social action? How is the very idea of the state transformed by risk regulation and management? For some, risk governance promises new forms of public deliberation and democratic rationality, while for others it is one of the main foci of neoliberal governmentality. In any case, a vast field of inquiry is being explored and is bound to thrive in the years to come.

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A related topic is that of trust. In contexts of growing uncertainty, less government oversight, and increased levels of self-regulation, trust appears as a possible instrument for limiting uncertainty and reducing risk. A classical topic of social theory and political science, usually analysed in relation to associationism and civil society, trust is now the focus of a revived interest that looks at it from a pragmatic point of view. Of particular significance is the study of consumer and investor behaviour in terms of trust in markets and consumer confidence. The main question underlying this interest is usually: how do you *generate* trust? The value of trust has increased significantly in a context where external enforcement or disciplining powers that can generate certainty tend to be called into question. A variety of issues and topics fall into this new field of research on the social functions of trust. They include studies of trust in science; the economics of branding and the role of implicit contracts contained therein; trust as a form of social capital; etc.

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CHAPTER 6

EUROPE AND THE WORLD

Both 'Europe' and 'the World' are not only tangible realities, but also constructs and imaginaries located in the minds of both Europeans and citizens of other parts of the world. Such imaginaries, 'habits of the heart', historical memories, and subjective identities are also major ingredients of international relations. Europe is not just an object of governance and political, economic, and social coordination: it is a cultural complex and a concept, a continent of the imagination, as well as a changing geo-political entity. Its boundaries are uncertain. Its origins go back to regions located outside Europe, to Asia Minor, Phoenicia, North Africa. Many defining figures of European culture, from the legendary Homer to Augustine of Hippo, came from territories located outside the continent. Classical Hellenic culture was itself derived from Semitic and African substrata. The multilayered culture, thinking, and science of Europe, have been shaped by strong extra-European influences, not least through the influence of migrants, along with their traditions, ideas, art, and scientific advances.

Most European issues cannot be reduced to technical questions of governance, as they involve some form of self-understanding and self-representation of Europe, to which the humanities can make a decisive contribution. Recent developments in several European countries – controversies over the colonial past in France, the rethinking of empire and imperialism in Britain, Soviet legacies in the new EU Member States, the process of transition in certain member countries, and more generally the increasingly multicultural dimensions of European societies – have given a particular salience to scholarly work resituating the processes of European nation-state formation and, later, European integration into worldwide historical processes.

Overall, this theme is of the utmost importance for the Commission, since it is very poorly reflected in the national programmes. Out of the five thematic priorities funded under FP7, 'Europe and the World' is almost exclusively a European-level programme not articulated within national funding agency agendas.

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1. EUROPEAN (POLICY) STUDIES

There is a long tradition of research on Europe institutionalised as ‘European Studies’. Initially developed under American and British impulses, European Studies is now largely represented in continental European higher education institutions and research centres. There is a significant research base on European integration and on the functioning of the EU. But much less is known about the position of Europe as an integrated intergovernmental and supranational entity in a world of states and global institutions.

The EU is developing its policies and policy instruments in the context of uncertainties about the future direction of multilateral systems (UN, WTO, etc.) The various ways in which the EU finds its way into these frameworks is an issue that commands increasing attention among researchers. While some topics are well covered, such as the Common Security and Foreign Policy, much less is known about EU development policy, the EU neighbourhood policy, or the role of Europe as a ‘peace-builder’ in contexts of reconstruction and reconciliation. The same holds for research on post-conflict interventions, which is of particular importance given Europe’s ambition to profile itself as a ‘soft power’.

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The process of European integration is an advanced form of regional integration. But the EU has been studied mainly as a sui generis political entity. This body of accumulated research needs to be placed in a comparative context. The drive towards regional integration in other parts of the world has made European Studies relevant to the understanding of developments affecting other regions. The comparative study of regional integration processes is bound to develop further, as it provides an innovative model of non-hegemonic regional bloc formation. There is also a need to understand better the driving forces and obstacles of regional integration worldwide. The EU is not a neutral or passive observer of regional integration in the world. Over the years it has developed specific policies toward other world regions. A key aspect of this is inter-regional relations, which have been relatively overlooked so far.

The world of the 21st century is markedly different from the Cold War world in which the EU developed incrementally under the geo-strategic guardianship of the US. The rising new competitors of the EU – China, India, Russia and others – are all nation states, with strong investments in that identity. An illustration of this is Russia’s ‘sovereign democracy’ doctrine, which is a reinterpretation of the doctrine of the nation state, a project whose underlying assumptions are different from the European ideas of supra-nationality and divided sovereignty. It is worth studying this project comparatively, not least because of the changing inter-dependencies, for instance regarding energy, between the EU and Russia.

In terms of regional social policy, the EU has made major advances in the fields of social redistribution, social regulation, and social rights. Most of the EU’s bilateral and regional agreements include a social chapter. However, there is still a need to make full use of the social provisions stipulated in these chapters. The EU also provides an example of complex institutional architecture where the implementation of regional social policies occurs at the local, regional, and national levels. For instance, the harmonisation of labour regulations under the EU *acquis communautaire* and EU regional funds can promote employment and decent work at the local level. Here too, evidence-based research is key to effective policy-making.

2. EUROPE BEYOND THE AREA STUDIES MODEL

Much of the research on Europe’s relations with other countries or regions has been conducted within the scope of European Studies or International Relations. While the analysis of Europe’s external relations with the tools of IR theory is certainly of importance in the context of ongoing debates about European foreign policy, the very perspective of IR theory tends to project onto the European entity categories and notions primarily developed to deal with the nation-state. To what extent do they apply in the case of a complex, *sui generis* political entity? Europe’s relations with neighbouring countries cannot be dissociated from the analysis of Europe’s internal institutional configuration, or from the question of European identity.

” The eastward expansion of the EU underscores the transient nature of its boundaries and configures Europe as an open-ended system of governance. Moreover, the gravitational pull exerted by Community law over countries that are not yet formal members of the EU but demand their inclusion delineates a complex and multi-layered geography of Europe

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Beyond political science, law has been another major discipline contributing to the development of European Studies. These disciplines have made important contributions to the analysis of complex forms of political governance that sustain the process of European integration and are neither comparable to vertical bureaucratic authority, nor to decentralised decision-making. The notions of 'multi-level governance', complex institutional coordination, regulatory processes, and – last but not least – integration through law, have been important and much-researched topics since the 1990s.

It is however important to understand these processes from different perspectives, not exclusively confined to political science. In recent years the sociology of law has developed interesting and promising lines of research focusing on the European Union, suggesting that law is not merely the outcome or the reflection of socio-political processes that shape the EU, but a central field where the actual *governance* of Europe is made. There has not been a single aspect of European integration that has not taken a legal form. Legal frameworks provide a central tool for the coordination and the transformation of the variety of interests (private or public) that they represent and/or formalise in EU processes. As a result, the sociology of law and, in general, socio-historical approaches to the EU are an important research area able to generate critical and important insights into the operations of EU institutions and the future of their expansion.

The very nature of the process of European expansion is an invitation to rethink both European Studies and the relation of Europe with the rest of the world in creative ways. The dramatic changes of 1989-1991 raised new issues for European Studies: extended borders to the east and the perspective of an enlargement process suggested that the boundaries of Europe were increasingly uncertain. In terms of the organisation of knowledge, these events meant for instance that the clear boundary that had run between European Studies and Soviet/East European Studies was suddenly blurred and in flux.

The current situation is not fundamentally different. The eastward expansion of the EU underscores the transient nature of its boundaries and configures Europe as an open-ended system of governance. Moreover, the gravitational pull exerted by Community law over countries that are not yet formal members of the EU but demand their inclusion delineates a complex and multi-layered geography of Europe. European Studies thus focuses on an object that does not abide by the traditional division of the domestic and the international, and whose geographical boundaries do not have a clear definition. But boundaries play a central role in giving shape to and defining the identity of territorially organised political entities, of social configurations and cultural domains. As

a result, Europe is more readily defined as a specific *political, social, cultural, and economic process* related to complex sets of norms and values, rather than as a territorially defined area.

European Studies thus point towards a different organisation of SSH knowledge that no longer *takes for granted* the geographical, social, cultural, and economic space it applies to, but rather considers it as the outcome of the practices it seeks to map. The dialogic relationship between Europe and the rest of the world is no longer formatted within a space that is externally given, but deployed within a variety of arenas and geographies that are those of the social sciences as well as those of cultural and media studies. These arenas may be domestic, transnational, or international; they may be defined by cultural, technological, economic, religious, or political processes; they may overlap and no longer be continuous as were the physical geographies of area studies.

SSH research on the *flexible spaces* making up Europe and Europe's dialogic relations with the rest of the world, or on the *innovation of space* induced by the European project, are therefore novel, expanding, and innovative trends that should be aided in carving out a visible niche next to the traditional, fixed territorial modes of representing political and social issues.

3. EUROPEAN IDENTITY AS A GLOBAL QUESTION

The comparative weight of the European model of governance in the world is related to the problem of the global perception of Europe and European identity. To the extent that Europe is present in the eyes of a global public it has been conceived in terms of a strong material base, particular forms of political governance and of cultural expression. The EU is often seen as a legalistic, expert body, a fact which has broad implications for the standing of Europe in the world. The question of European identity should not be conceptualised only as a problem of its construction or articulation by the inhabitants of Europe: it has a global dimension as well, which deserves additional scholarly attention.

” **By underscoring the constitutive character for Europe, of its colonial past... (the) new approaches radically recast the relations between 'Europe and the world'**

The question of what European identity is has been at the foreground of a number of intellectual and political agendas. Much has been written about what it means to be 'European' and about the nature of European identity. Little is known about how these conceptualisations map onto the everyday life of European citizens, or about their relationship to the perceptions of European identity around the world.

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The question of European identity also emerges at the level of socioeconomic and socio-cultural differences internal to Europe, and compounded by historical divisions. The creation and expansion of the European Union has changed some of these divisions. But certain 'walls' remain: East-Central Europe vs. Western Europe, *Mittleuropa* vs. the rest of Europe, Mediterranean Europe vs. Nordic Europe, core and peripheries of the EU, EU members and others, two-speed EU, etc. The incidence of these differences and the ways of overcoming them are obviously an important issue.

But the question of European identity can also be apprehended at a more general level. As noted above, the process of European integration is an invitation to rethink political space, and more generally territorialised political concepts. The identity of Europe may thus be understood as a *subject-in-process*. This is, in some sense, intrinsic to the European project itself. Much European history as an academic discipline has been instrumentally loaded with ideological meaning as it was largely intended to serve the purposes of European unification, and therefore mapped onto patterns of national history: infused with notions of common 'origins' or 'roots', it fulfilled functions similar to those of nation-building by projecting a unity into the past and seeking to strengthen adhesion to the European project.

What it means to be European is poorly understood and requires more extended research. In this context, the ways in which different parts of Europe have had very different histories need to be considered. The reunification process of Germany and the recent history of new EU Member States represent histories and presents that are not similar to those of countries such as France or the UK, for example. Additionally, European countries have very different cultural histories which are not necessarily accounted for by relying on the Enlightenment narrative of the progress of reason, rationality, secularism, and the modern administrative State. The enlargement process raises questions about the ways in which diverse cultures can be brought to co-exist and interact peacefully and productively not only among themselves, but in relation to the rest of the world. This diversity and the resultant complexity of European identity are at present insufficiently accounted for. It is clear that conventional identity-consolidating narratives cannot describe a process – European integration – that is in fact built upon the transcendence of traditional identities. The European project challenges the traditional notion of identity in terms of, for example, a well-delimited territorial space. This is a crucial aspect of the European project that entails important consequences both for the traditional notions of citizenship but also for Europe's relations with the world at large.

“ The importance of memory as an object and a channel of European politics and policies (postcolonial memory; memories of communism in Eastern Europe; the Holocaust) calls for a better understanding of the role of contested memories in current social debates

One of the trends in European SSH that has contributed to changing our understanding of European identity is the development of *postcolonial* and *subaltern* studies in Europe (more recent in continental Europe than in the UK). Another is the resurgence of an interest in the understanding of imperial formations, ranging across history, sociology, and political science. Postcolonial studies have had the effect of reversing the perspective from which European identity is apprehended and of emphasising the central place of the ‘other’ and of the ‘non-European’ in the constitution of European self-understanding. Along with new directions in the historiography of empire and imperialism, postcolonial and subaltern studies have suggested that European modernity cannot be understood as a self-contained process of self-development, but is essentially related to – in fact, made possible by – the global phenomenon of land-appropriation and colonisation. By underscoring the *constitutive* character for Europe of its colonial past – both in terms of external relations and sociological makeup, but also, more essentially, in the development of its political and administrative institutions – these new approaches radically recast the relations between ‘Europe and the world’.

Simultaneously, there is an increasing realisation that empires are not a matter of history but of continuing and changing configurations of power and spheres of influence, in relation to which Europe needs to position itself continuously. Here, Europe’s relation with new emerging economic powers such as China, India and Russia require imaginative social, cultural and political research engagements in order to understand their orientation, their understanding of Europe, and Europe’s relation to them. They have wide-ranging consequences for Europe’s external relations, and for the perception of Europe abroad. These trends are important because they configure Europe’s relations with the rest of the world beyond the traditional paradigm of power in international relations as also and significantly *cultural relations* (or, in the terms of international relations theory, ‘soft power’) that cut across the domestic-international boundary, as they engage both European minorities and foreign countries. This entanglement between the domestic and the international, specific to Europe, is certainly one of the most promising lines of research in this thematic area.

Similarly, the place of law as an instrument of integration and as a field of European diplomatic activity (around human rights, for instance) points to the alternative that Europe represents with respect to the traditional understanding of international relations encapsulated in IR theory and its concept of power. Culture and law are crucial aspects structuring Europe’s reciprocal dealings with the rest of the world, and SSH research should cultivate this modal difference by seeking to promote research on Europe and the world beyond the disciplinary area of political science and IR and to sustain cultural investigations.

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The critique of Eurocentrism that has developed in the SSH is a crucial trend with positive implications for Europe's outward policies. By 'provincialising Europe', this critique has brought to light a wealth of historical, social, institutional, and cultural resources that can provide alternative ways for relating to third countries – ways that are not primarily structured around economic or strategic interests, but rather around cultural expression, history and memory, around the production of non-national histories, around some form of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, of historical management of the past that delineate alternative forms of international relations. Last, but not least, this is a field where the social sciences (sociology, political theory) and the humanities (philosophy, literature, cultural and media studies) can cooperate productively with the visual arts given the importance of *memory* in constituting its historical archive. Beyond the issue of Europe's relations with the rest of the world, the importance of *memory* as an object and a channel of European politics and policies (postcolonial memory; memories of communism in Eastern Europe; the Holocaust) calls for a better understanding of the role of contested memories in current social debates. This is not merely a matter of re-viewing the past but also one of re-thinking the present. Europe needs to understand itself in all its diversity both as a subject and as an object of others' gazes and interventions, and its effective interactions with the world at large depend on the systematic exploration of this understanding.

A variety of empirical research programmes flow from these premises. These explore the historical affinities between European countries and different regions of the world, as well as their contemporary repercussions. If, as has been pointed out, *colonial history* is an important area that has recently shown a remarkable vitality, the historical translation of colonial relations into postcolonial relations – which means both relations with a foreign country and with a domestic minority – is a field that is developing in parallel with debates over the colonial past and newly emerging colonial presents in many countries. But more comparative research on the various European patterns of relationship with former colonies and newly emerging powers is needed. The ways in which such patterns may be mobilised effectively for cultural, social, and economic purposes are also an open question.

4. EUROPE AS A KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY: INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The European Union has adopted the development of its knowledge-based economic competitiveness as an official policy objective. The way Europe produces, transmits, certifies, and mobilises knowledge in economic processes is a key dimension of its relations with third countries. The relations between Europe and the rest of the world can be conceptualised as processes of knowledge exchanges and circulation. Historically, a number of European countries have acted as global hubs providing elites from a variety of countries with educational credentials. These patterns of educational circulation were shaped in part by international politics, by cultural ties forged between European metropolises and their colonies, and by more autonomous processes specific to specialised fields of knowledge. This role has been largely challenged in the second half of the 20th century by the rise of North American and indeed Australian university campuses as the global brokers of educational credentials – a process in part shaped by the capacity of those universities to transform themselves from relatively restricted social universes into institutions capitalising on diversity (starting in the US with the wave of European émigré scholars of the 1930s-1940s).

There are signs, however, that this situation is changing. The constitution of a European Research Area and the integration of national educational systems have provided Europe with an attractive knowledge infrastructure. At the same time, visa restrictions and the costs of education have somewhat diminished the hegemonic position of the US as a global knowledge provider. More importantly, new conceptions of education and research as important factors in economic growth but also as commercialised services oriented toward an increasingly international market have led to the development of new institutional arrangements for the production and delivery of such 'services'. One of these arrangements is the export of education and research infrastructures directly to foreign countries – e.g. the off-shoring of campuses to China. These new patterns of interaction with third countries are very far from the old models of the colonial imposition of metropolitan educational systems: rather, they should be understood as the application to the production of knowledge of the flexible, decentralised principle of production at a lower cost, drawing advantage from the differential between academic markets. The social, cultural, and economic implications of this phenomenon are yet to be explored.

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Europe – the EU-27 – generates 23,3% of the world's GDP (at purchasing power parity, for FY2007), and spends 1,84% of its GDP (2005) on research and development (with important

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national variations, ranging from 0,4% for Cyprus to 3,9% for Sweden). For comparison purposes, the US generates 21,4% of the world GDP and spends 2,68% of its own GDP on R&D (2004). While these differences may be explained by a variety of factors – in particular higher productivity rates in several European countries than in the US – it is interesting to note that the EU, compared to the US, is leading in the production of university degrees. This advance is notable not only for the total number of degrees, but also for each kind of degree, whether doctoral, or science and engineering. This situation raises a number of questions: what impact do these graduates have in the world? How do they shape the culture, the economy, or even the politics of other regions? Which disciplines are most influential (in terms of the number of graduates who migrate, hold transnational jobs, etc.) in shaping the perception of Europe in the wider world? What levels of intra-European and global mobility exist amongst European graduates and what are the factors influencing this mobility?

A crucial issue for researchers working on education and research is the capacity to map the knowledge-based relations that Europe maintains with the rest of the world. How attractive is its educational infrastructure? What patterns of brain-drain or brain-gain can be identified? What is the position of Europe on the maps of global research mobility? At the methodological level, how can the circulation of knowledge be mapped and made visible?

Comparative work on higher education, on research and development trends, and on science policy in the social sciences is bound to grow as the stakes associated with knowledge production are rising. Comparative research on intellectual property regimes is of crucial importance here to understand some of the future trends affecting the relations between Europe and a variety of world regions. How is Europe construing its notion of intellectual property rights? How is it seeking – or not – enforcement? How is Europe integrating intellectual property, a notorious obstacle for late developers (Brazil, India, but also some east European countries), into its development policy?

5. EUROPE IN THE GLOBAL CULTURAL MARKETS

Last but not least, a very significant trend of research in the social sciences and humanities focuses on worldwide flows of cultural goods, on global cultural markets, and on the changing

position of Europe as a producer and consumer of cultural artefacts in these specific markets. The emerging SSH literature on this topic is characterised by a stronger focus on empirical analysis than the more general literature on cultural globalisation characteristic of the 1990s. One can observe the emergence in literary studies and in the sociology of culture of empirically informed works that focus for instance on the worldwide book market, on translation, on longitudinal trends in publishing, or on the global art market and its various niches. These works suggest that cultural goods must be analysed in terms of institutionally organised markets, with their power centres, their peripheries, their asymmetries, etc. They use new and innovative data sets to analyse the global economic and social structures that sustain these markets, the way in which their internal hierarchies fuel various forms of 'hegemony' at the cultural level, and their impact on the structures of production, diffusion, and consumption of cultural commodities. They allow for a fine-tuned analysis of the position occupied by Europe in each of these cultural markets.

These new trends also point to the changes intervening in the structures that traditionally buttressed European pre-eminence in a variety of cultural fields, these structures being obviously wedded to more material – i.e. economic and political power – structures. In the movie industry for instance, next to the Hollywood and the European sectors, rival Asian markets are emerging and quickly developing, thus changing the global playing field (e.g. Bollywood, Hong Kong, Japan and now Korea or even continental China). How do these new flows of cultural goods affect attitudes and shape new consumer orientations? How do they redefine the global cultural market? How do they reshape Europe's position?

More generally, research in the SSH will focus increasingly on the institutional, legal and economic factors shaping European cultural markets. These markets generate products and goods, of course, but they also impose forms of cultural legitimacy ('high literature', or even 'literature', for instance, in the realm of the written text). How such canons are constructed, and premised on specific economic and social structures, is an important trend in current literary theory for instance. A better understanding of both the patterns of consumption and the future formats of culture are at stake in these research trends.

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CHAPTER 7

BEYOND THE FP7 RUBRICS: A FEW EXAMPLES

The structure of this report reflects the thematic areas of the Seventh Framework Programme for social sciences and the humanities. Although these areas are very broad and even overlap, they do not fully indicate emerging trends in the SSH: no matter how encompassing they may be, such categories inevitably have their limitations. This final chapter provides some examples of methods, orientations, experiments, or interests that the expert group believes to be important forces shaping the SSH landscape, but that could not be easily addressed in the preceding chapters. Once again, our purpose is not to be exhaustive, but to provide a first take on emerging trends. We insist on the fact that the following items are only *examples* that reflect the specific experience of the Metris group members. They may not be the most important trends, or the only ones. Because they are wider and cross-cutting, they also tend to be more contentious and open to interpretation than those addressed in the previous chapter.

An obvious paradigmatic shift has been an evolution from more structural to more cultural concerns and questions, often tackled at the level of everyday life, and more specifically in the realm of the observable and visual aspects of everyday life. These scenes become new windows for thinking afresh old macro-problems. The first phenomenon that is flagged here is the growing importance of images in a visually saturated social environment. Images are dis-embedded from their traditional backgrounds as new technologies rearticulate them in novel settings. A new ecology of the visual spans from the scientific laboratory to society at large and its artistic expressions. The second phenomenon flagged here comprises various ways in which space is becoming an important object of reflection across the social sciences and the humanities. Globalisation has brought about radical displacements that destabilise our notions of space, as it connects spaces that are physically distant. More fundamentally, it suggests that space is less given than constructed and shaped by a variety of social, technological, and aesthetic processes. As a result, a whole series of spatialised concepts inherited from modernity can no longer be simply used unreflexively and need to be revisited. The third phenomenon flagged here includes the ways emotions and affects are fruitfully redefined across a variety of disciplinary and interdisciplinary endeavours. Finally, we conclude with current trends that do not take for granted the partitions between subject and object, nature and artifice, natural and social, but focus instead on the mechanisms that create and enforce such distinctions.

1. THE ICONOSPHERE AND THE ICONIC TURN

Visualisation and visual tools have always played an important role in the sciences. Anatomical atlas makers, illustrators of herbaria, and physicists have made ample use of images when presenting, representing, illustrating, and explaining natural phenomena. Yet, the history and the use of visualisation as a field of specialised study have gained prominence only recently. This ‘iconic turn’ has become a major paradigm in the SSH. Several dimensions of this turn can be identified, including the new role of images and of the visual in sciences as well as in contemporary societies in general. The recent study of images, as a more general category than works of art, is underpinned by important studies published in the past two decades. Recent work of art historians, media theorists, philosophers, historians of science, and computer scientists has changed both the perception of and the discourse about the nature of images. Today the use and study of images navigate the intersection between science, the humanities, and the arts. A number of recent scientific publications provide an intuitive, artistic element by making visible processes that it would be difficult or impossible to verbalise or formalise. Imaging has become an indispensable field in the neurosciences, immunology, microbiology, stem cell research, nanophysics, astronomy and many other scientific procedures. Visualisation technologies and visual rhetoric pervade the scientific process on all levels. This is true both for the production of knowledge and for its presentation and distribution.

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The natural sciences substantially contribute to the formation of a knowledge society based on and articulated by images and visuals. A new set of scientific icons has recently emerged and reached a wide public. Drawing on technological changes, visualisation has entered a completely new phase. In nanomanipulation, for instance, the production and use of interactive images does not aim at representing something that exists, but at producing or presenting something that did not exist before. Visualisation becomes a tool of creation, thus challenging and changing established notions of representation and external reality. The new instruments and methods of visualisation raise important epistemological issues and theoretical questions in general, related to several disciplines in the humanities and the arts. We are experiencing a

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shift from image-as-representation to image-as-process. These advances in technology, experimentation, and creation have far-reaching consequences for the way the world is perceived, not only by the practitioners of the arts and sciences but by the general public as well. Reliance on images brings closer spheres that were remote from each other in the past. The natural sciences, for instance, now ask questions and approach problems in ways that were considered exclusive to the social and human sciences or the arts. Studying the historically distinct use of images in different eras, fields and disciplines, provides an opportunity to explore methodological and epistemological issues in new ways.

The iconic turn in the sciences is a special aspect of a more general trend in contemporary societies. In fact, the private and public spheres in European and Non-European societies alike are characterised, if not dominated, by an increasing flood of images. Television, digital photography, the Internet and the print media have led to new forms of interaction and intertwining or fusion between the private and the public. Information has become more and more ‘iconic’. Events like the first Gulf conflict were presented to and perceived by the European and global spectator as a war of images. 9/11 was ‘performed’ and ‘consumed’ as a media and iconic event. It drew on and subverted the Western relation to images; it combined iconoclasm and iconophilia in unprecedented ways. Images are also used more frequently as means of substantiating claims, including ethical ones, in scholarly works. Such phenomena cannot be described or explained according to the traditional concepts of visual propaganda or theories of representation. They are not even sufficient anymore for understanding advertising or other connections between image proliferation and economic interests. The entertainment industry (TV programmes, computer games etc.) has become a global force, influencing and refashioning different spheres of representation from news production to politics – a fact mirrored by the formation of media studies and the interest of other SSH disciplines.

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We do not only exist in the extremely dense and saturated iconosphere, but we contribute to shaping it constantly with the help of largely diffused visual recording equipments and information technologies. As if TV, movies, billboards and commercials were not enough we have become ‘producers’ of films (e.g. for YouTube or similar portals) and photographs (e.g. Flickr.com) for virtual exhibitions open to anonymous others, or instant editors and re-editors of films and images produced by others. This new tendency is not yet systematically studied, and it

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may have a deep influence on the collective imagination, and therefore also affect political imaginaries and economic realities. Future research will question the foundations of the contemporary information and communication regimes as such and undertake a historical as well as a trans-cultural study of the iconosphere.

In such horizons, the iconosphere does not only consist of the permanent confrontation with and production of images by means of the digital and traditional media, but also of the self-imaging and self-fashioning of individuals and groups in public and private spaces which are themselves created, formed, and permanently transformed as iconic spaces. Social distinctions and demarcations by fashion, life-style, visual exhibition of status etc. have reached an unprecedented degree in the age of visual mass culture and mass communication. Dynamics of imaging of the self and the other, or the appearance of fluid, if not multiple identities (for example in European societies with great ethnic and cultural differentiation) is an important field of research for the new fields of visual anthropology and visual studies, but also in art history, sociology, education studies, media studies and comparative literature. There are many voices asking for a genuine *ecology* of images, and for an authentic education to critical viewing, starting from early childhood.

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Thus, the iconosphere is an all-pervading domain to which visualisations in science contribute by creating visual knowledge. The SSH have begun to study this aspect of the presence and promotion of scientific discourses in the iconosphere with increasing interest and multi-layered methodologies which require less of an inter- than a cross-disciplinary approach. Iconic rhetoric, visual persuasion and proof administration are some of the many issues that deserve further scrutiny and delineate a promising field of research. A special form of interaction of the SSH and the natural science is the research on the dynamics of sensory perception and cognition in primates and men. The role of visual cognition and learning in the human brain is a field not confined to neuroscience in the narrow sense, but involves questions of socialisation, milieu, gender etc. A related field is constituted by the rapidly spreading projects of experimental aesthetics which are partly in search of inborn universals, partly in search of the dynamics of culturally acquired values that could in turn become 'inscribed' within the human brain. A prominent example is the search for neuroscientific parameters of beauty, embracing the visual (especially

the human body) and the acoustic sphere. There is an increasing number of collaborations between musicologists and neuroscientists around such questions.

The collaboration of the SSH and neuroscience is a challenging phenomenon which speaks against defining borders within the European funding policy, and in favour of promoting and facilitating transdisciplinary studies between the SSH and the natural sciences. Incidentally, the neurosciences provide a good illustration of the role of visualisations: they study the topography of the brain and the areas involved in the process of seeing and visual thinking by means of visualisations which are themselves constructed images following specific codes of representation.

Finally, this brief overview of the turn to the visual would not be complete without a few observations regarding the role of images in the discourse of religion or religious difference. The legitimacy and role of images is a fundamental problem for the monotheistic religions. Over the centuries, they have produced a rich corpus of theological and theoretical texts discussing the nature and role of images which today substantially inspires media studies and a new iconology. The public visibility of religious symbols and dress codes has become a difficult problem for secular societies. So have critical or cynical approaches to religious imagery (or prohibition of images) by the media. Radical religious groups and fundamentalist movements are active participants in the iconosphere, when they are not a by-product of or a reaction to the globalisation of iconic communication, dominated by the mass media and the Internet. What we are witnessing therefore is not so much a return of the religious, but rather new forms of religious movements under new conditions of social communication, which are becoming a major field of study in the SSH.

2. NEW UNDERSTANDINGS OF SPACE

A number of research programmes, methodologies, and disciplines are renewing themselves around the question of space. The notion of space obviously cuts across many disciplines: it is at the centre of geography, it has visual qualities that are analysed, rendered and experienced in art or architecture, it is also central to anthropology, ethnography, and other types of research programmes oriented toward specific locales. But space can also operate as a grid for organising knowledge – for instance the branch of the social sciences known as ‘area studies’ – or as an implicit background for a number of notions and concepts that have currency in the SSH. Many concepts of political theory, philosophy, or political science, are implicitly or explicitly spatial or territorial concepts, starting with the notion of the State, for instance.

To the extent that a number of SSH disciplines operate on the basis of an implicit notion of space, the crisis of our traditional notions of space brought about by globalisation has triggered various processes of adjustment, revision or experimentation with new approaches in a number of fields. It would be impossible to review them all within the confines of this report,

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but the general trend toward rethinking spatiality is cutting across a number of fields and disciplines, with major consequences for the SSH.

“ A marked trend is the crisis of political space... What is politics when it is disconnected from the relation to concrete spaces?

A first marked trend is the *crisis of political space*. There has been a growing awareness that fundamental political concepts are essentially territorial concepts that make sense in relation to concrete and well-delimited territories. The State, and a number of collateral notions – democracy, community, polity, nation, etc. – have also been understood in relation to this grounding in a concrete space. But the displacements operated by globalisation, the weakening of physical and symbolic boundaries, the lesser role of the State as a force that organises and bounds territories (and more generally the global weakening of the State or its increasing inadequacy as a template for effective governance – cf. ‘failed states’) as well as the emergence of stateless forms of governance, have destabilised the modern representations of politics. In political theory, philosophy, or political science, efforts are made to understand the political once it is detached from a concrete, bounded space: what is at stake in notions of ‘empire’, of ‘post-national’ formations, and other similar terms is the capacity to think such de-territorialised forms of politics. How are we to conceive of democracy, of the possibility for exercising collective capacities, of rights and entitlements, beyond the bounded horizon of the territorial state? What is politics when it is disconnected from the relation to concrete spaces? Can we re-imagine politics beyond the dimension of bounded space?

While these questions are confined to specific fields in the humanities or in the social sciences, the transformation of the relation to space is also involving the way in which entire compartments of knowledge are organised. The discipline of geography has obviously gone through an impressive renewal and diversification in the past 15 or 20 years, as it explored non-linear geographies or extended to objects that were not contiguously territorialised. The knowledge of foreign areas – area studies, *aires culturelles* – which for 50 years has reflected the geopolitical partitions of the Cold War, has also been the object of constant calls for renewal. Yet, in the absence of a clear and stable pattern of world order, the basis on which this knowledge can be reorganised has remained unclear. In a rapidly changing world, spatial divisions can hardly be taken for granted and seem to be fluctuating. How should the knowledge of other contexts be organised? What are the criteria for defining what the relevant ‘contexts’ are? What are the principles and the practices that bound today’s spaces?

” Different techniques of spatial inquiry – geography, architecture, art – are now essential to explore the new and shifting territories of politics and society

Different techniques of spatial inquiry – geography, architecture, art – are now essential to explore the new and shifting territories of politics and society. As the social sciences are no longer faced with the supposedly stable social landscapes of modernity, ‘mapping’, ‘charting’, ‘exploring’ become crucial exercises that call for creative collaboration across disciplines. At the same time, the crisis of spatial representations alluded to above has led to a *de-formalisation and de-objectivation* of space, in the sense that space is less and less conceived of as an external given, with its ‘hard’ structures (whether social, geographical, material, etc.) and is increasingly seen as the outcome of specific practices, or as something that is relative to specific configurations of forces. A number of trends point at this pervasive reflection about space: social life itself is being reconfigured around environment-shaping practices like ‘security’ or ‘terrorism’ or ‘environmental preservation’; the currency of the notion of ‘empire’ suggests a political formation that shapes its own environment; the ‘war on terror’ is fought not against a well-defined enemy, but against hostile environments that have to be controlled and reshaped. Artificial environments have recently become a prominent subject of philosophic theorising; and as suggested in Chapter 6, reflections on Europe itself and on European identity are largely conditioned by a rethink of the notion of space. If modernity discovered that time was relative, then late modernity has found that space was too. How the social sciences, in collaboration with the humanities, are reformulating concepts, images and representation of space and of spaces (political, social, urban, natural, etc.) is a central issue in the future development of the SSH.

3. RESEARCH ON ‘AFFECT’

Research on collective behaviour and emotions, which has a long tradition in psychology, is taking on new shapes and significance in the era of global interconnections and flows of information, people, and goods. Affect, as it manifests itself both at the level of the individual and in relation to collectivities, has become a new object of research in a number of disciplines. This has been prompted by seemingly incalculable events such as terrorist actions which have raised important questions about the role that affect plays in individual and collective, private and public decision-making. Research into this issue, in social and cultural rather than physiological or psychological terms, has a longer history in some European countries than in others. There is a burgeoning body of work that examines the ways in which affect is mobilised as a theoretical and embodied category motivating actions in the public and in the private domain. What is at stake in this line of work is the relationship between reason and affect. A certain idea of rationality and ‘reasonableness’ as the governing principle of private and public action has remained the benchmark of public and social action, from legal discourse (e.g. ‘taking reasonable precautions’) to risk management. However, further research is needed to understand the

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Further research is needed to understand the role that affect plays in cultural, social and other interactions, including at the political and economic level. Europe... represents the ideal context for generating research on this topic

role that affect plays in cultural, social and other interactions, including at the political and economic level. Europe as a federated entity with diverse and conflicting agendas amongst its Member States, motivated not least by affective responses to social, economic, and political issues, represents the ideal context for generating research on this topic.

Empirical evidence shows how the phenomenon of social moods (collectively shared and mutually enhanced emotions) influence the domains of politics (in unpredictable swings of electoral support, in the collapse of trust in previously supported politicians, or unwarranted enthusiasm for populist leaders etc.), as well as the economy (investors reactions, consumer confidence, market panics – exemplified by the current deregulation and chaos of world markets, but also by the naïve and unwarranted optimism of investors, producers and consumers in periods of prosperity and economic growth). Another topic of interest in this area is the phenomenon of moral panics: the tendency to generalise and amplify the instances of crime, corruption, abuses of power. Widespread anxiety is stimulated by the pervasiveness of the mass media biased toward pessimistic reports and exaggerating the negative and tragic aspects of life. Gossip, rumour, unconfirmed information, false reports spread through the Internet, mobile communication, etc. also influence the making of collective affects.

The study of affects and emotions is generating new forms of collaboration between the neurosciences and the humanities

Like visual cognition, the study of affects and emotions is generating new forms of collaboration between the neurosciences and the humanities. A major concern of these collaborations is to understand the interplay of inborn faculties, neuropsychological dynamics, and culturally formed expressions or codes of emotion. The study of the language and the visual rhetoric of emotions, which in Europe has a long history in poetics and art theories, is expanding in new directions and becoming a suitable component in the increasingly important research projects on emotions in social sciences. This trend has also affected contemporary art, in some areas of which a shift from the conceptual to the emotional can be observed of late.

4. INQUIRY UNBOUND

For scholars and lay observers alike, it would be difficult to deny that the strict distinction between what is man-made and artificial, and what is 'natural' does not quite hold anymore. Weather reports moved from their traditional position as mere addenda to nightly news programmes to the status of 'breaking news'. Together with other natural phenomena, the climate has become an issue for international politics, economic and welfare theory, philosophy, anthropology, etc. Nature has ceased to be only a force we have to reckon with, and has become part of our inner world, the terrain of human manipulation with long-term global consequences in almost all spheres of life. A look at a satellite map is enough to convince any of us that we live in one world, where distinctions between artificially created agglomerations and still undisturbed natural habitats no longer make analytical sense. As the distinction between the natural and the artificial is being eroded, maintaining the division between the natural sciences on the one hand, and the social sciences, the humanities and the arts on the other, is becoming less and less tenable.

“ We live in a world where the traditional divisions – between natural and artificial, subject and object, given and constructed, self and other, etc. – no longer apply

Biological research does not simply have ethical consequences that warrant consultation with bioethicists and the need for traditional interdisciplinary research, but the ethical and moral issues it is confronted with penetrate deep into the core of biological problems, and constitute them as complex issues that are of interest to both natural scientists and scholars coming from the classical areas of the humanities. Ideas considered to be abstract in the past are metamorphosing into propositions and processes with practical consequences. Biologists and medical scientists treat molecules as if they were bytes or elementary units of information; they conduct *in silico* or in virtual space experiments that are very real; and when developing new drugs, they treat social and anthropological information as intrinsic factors that affect the use and effectiveness of the medicine as much as the chemical compounds it is made of. Global pandemics are now known to be determined by agricultural practices, settlement patterns, economic decisions, social conditions, religious traditions, ideological concerns, etc.

We live in a world where the traditional divisions – between natural and artificial, subject and object, given and constructed, self and other, etc. – no longer apply. The disappearance of these long-standing divisions reformulates historical questions under a new light: historical research is becoming informed by insights coming from the natural sciences (for instance, the history of the Spanish Influenza has progressed by including genetic analysis into the traditional historical inquiry), and these insights suggest in turn new questions and novel approaches for natural scientists dealing with urgent, contemporary issues in their disciplines. Conversely, a growing

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number of areas of the humanities turn to experimentation (aesthetics by internalising methods and research programmes of neurobiology; history, anthropology or archeology by collaborating with genetics; philosophy, by turning to neurology; etc.). At the same time, fields that were once considered to belong squarely to the natural sciences, now internalise insights and concerns of social sciences and the humanities. This *Gestalt* switch is aided by technological changes that enable new ways of framing issues, experimenting with intangible objects, making things of the past available for present manipulation, and communicating scholarly results and knowledge. In turn, these new technological tools suggest new issues or new ways of looking at things in different disciplines, thus triggering further cross-disciplinary alliances.

“ The tight separation between funding research in the natural sciences on the one hand, and the social sciences and the humanities on the other is no longer warranted in many issue-areas

These changes in our perception of the world and the realignments that are taking place within the sciences and the humanities should be taken into account by funding agencies. The tight separation between funding research in the natural sciences on the one hand, and the social sciences and the humanities on the other is no longer warranted in many issue-areas.

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CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“ The unique educative, ethical, and culture-shaping roles of the social sciences and humanities are of fundamental importance for understanding current developments and for informing future policies

The social sciences and humanities (SSH) are a cornerstone of the European Research Area, and European society benefits from their vast and diverse contributions to knowledge. Research develops according to long term agendas that reflect the needs of changing social, cultural, and economic environments. This report on monitoring emerging trends in social sciences and humanities was written at a time of great insecurity about global economic and financial stability, but also, more broadly, of uncertainty about the future of the social sciences and the humanities. Paradoxically, this conjuncture may provide the opportunity for reasserting the social purpose of SSH research and strengthening their contribution to European governance. The unique educative, ethical, and culture-shaping roles of the social sciences and humanities are of fundamental importance for understanding current developments and for informing future policies.

The Commission asked the METRIS group to identify and assess emerging research trends within the five thematic priorities of the SSH section of the 7th Framework programme. The report contributes to identifying future research priorities and to the integration of national programmes at the European level. Below we summarise the trends identified and put forward recommendations to strengthen the use of SSH for the European Research Area.

1. STRUCTURAL TRENDS IN THE EUROPEAN RESEARCH AREA

Scientific inquiry depends on specific forms of social organisation of science. As the European Research Area is developing, these forms are dramatically reengineered. *We need a better understanding of how the ERA and other changes in organisation and funding impact on scientific research in the SSH:* How do funding agencies understand and identify excellence across disciplines? What are the regional differences in the European landscape of SSH research? How do different forms of science research organisation and science governance coexist in Europe and influence each other? What are the consequences of the rise of projects and output-driven research for the nature of scientific inquiry and for the general production of knowledge? A follow-up METRIS 2 exercise could address such questions building on and improving the conceptual map laid out in the present report.

Statistics on public research funding are still very lacunary, while knowledge of funding volumes and priorities from private donors and corporations is almost non-existent. We recommend that the Commission develops monitoring capacities for reliable statistics on public and private funding of the SSH, the latter being particularly underdeveloped.

In recent years, great emphasis has been placed on collective, project-driven work. Yet, The METRIS group emphasises *the continuing need for excellent disciplinary studies and for studies by single scholars*. These are modes of research that have proved immensely productive and innovative, particularly in the humanities, and should be encouraged also in the future. We find that institutes for advanced study as well as the new funding mechanisms of the European Research Council are valuable instruments in support of single scholars.

While recognising the need for traditional disciplinary approaches, the group emphasises the need for 'deep' forms of interdisciplinarity, which are achieved rather than given, and require significant cross-disciplinary efforts from a team of researchers. This type of research has a strong potential to address the complexity of real world problems and their solutions. Integrative approaches are constrained by the distance between disciplinary paradigms and the lack of multidisciplinary training in many fields prioritised for EU funding. The need for and obstacles to deep interdisciplinarity need to be recognised as a prerequisite for the development of the full potential of the social sciences and humanities. Close collaboration across disciplines

makes it imperative for funding agencies, usually concerned with one strictly defined field (the natural sciences, the social sciences or the arts), to collaborate with each other and jointly fund scholarly work.

The dissemination of academic knowledge is increasingly challenged by new regimes of intellectual property rights (IPR), by the transformation of publishing practices, and by the challenges of data capture and obsolescence. *Ensuring the appropriate diffusion of SSH research* should be a high priority in building the European Research Area, in a context where new business models are increasingly capitalising on immaterial value and digital technologies. We encourage existing bodies to advise on new ways of disseminating academic output, to assess new ways of making scholarly research, especially research funded by public agencies, more easily and openly accessible, and to deal with controversial issues of intellectual property rights and privacy issues.

In the last few years, the *importance of European SSH research infrastructure* has been clearly identified and support schemes are being developed. European-wide surveys have demonstrated the added value to knowledge of regularly monitoring European societies on a comparative, cross-national scale. Yet, the financial costs of recurrent monitoring are high, and they would be sustained better through institutional rather than project-based funding. Digitisation is transforming the role of traditional libraries and archives as sites for research and there is a need to rethink the role of traditional paper-archiving institutions. The rapid growth of databases calls for increased capabilities in informatics in terms of both training and appropriate infrastructures. Large-scale digitisation projects harnessing researchers of universities, libraries, and research institutes add benefit across institutions and have a huge potential for new research insights as well as for social and cultural impact. Today such projects occur mainly within national confines only and there is a significant potential for European added value.

2. MAJOR TRENDS IN SOCIETY AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

European societies are being redefined by changes in their demographic morphology, evolutions of their systems of governance, technological advances, and new approaches to their self-understanding, all of which translate into changes experienced in everyday life.

Demographic change, a slowing population growth at the global level and the falling share of Europe in the world population will have implications for economic growth and social systems, thus opening new research agendas on future societal scenarios.

The city as the standard human habitat. While the concentration of populations within cities has long been regarded as a social issue generated by rural poverty and creating new problems

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(housing crisis, slums, etc.), it is being reconsidered through the lens of sustainability. Research on sustainable urban habitats is bound to expand in the future.

The future of global democracy. The previous optimism about the worldwide prospects of democracy has been followed by more sober reassessments. Research in this area will not only focus on the spread of democracy but also on its crisis. In particular, the crisis of political representation and the rise of new forms of social activism and politics will feature prominently on the research agenda. A focus on the re-composition of politics and on processes of depoliticisation and re-politisation of various areas of governance is also emerging.

Everyday life and the acceleration of change. There is a revival of interest in phenomena such as interpersonal trust and individualised experiences, especially as they intersect with new technological possibilities. Research in this field will address new forms of technologically mediated socialisation, virtual communities, and social cooperation.

Impacts from the advances of biotechnology. Given the rapid progress of science and the erosion of the boundary between natural and social sciences in a number of areas, the need for researchers in the social sciences and the humanities to engage with issues ranging from biotechnologies to epidemiology will increase. It will be important to train a new generation of researchers who will be able to span the divide.

Ageing. The global ageing of the population in a number of societies has long been recognised by political authorities and is clearly reflected in economic and social science studies. The implications of this trend for the future of welfare systems, lifestyles, and migration patterns will be important topics of research in the social sciences, while the study of life cycles and the dynamics of ageing will develop in the humanities.

Migration flows. Migrant subjectivity is a rising focus in research on migration. This research gives voice to migrants on such questions as their vision of borders and understands them as active subjects who produce economic and cultural wealth, rather than passive reagents to economic necessity. The access of migrants to welfare facilities and their participation in civil and political life is also studied from this perspective.

New intersections between the political and the religious. Religion provides a mode of belonging beyond the nation-state, a form of de-territorialised citizenship that is in many ways

adapted to a globalised world. The political dimension of religious orientations has become an important subject of research, from liberation theologies to political jihads, and a new interest in theology, religion and secularism is emerging in the humanities as well.

New forms of governance. With the crisis of the welfare model, the interplay between the individual, the different life-spheres, and the state has become an open question again. Research on future forms of welfare and new forms of governance is bound to expand. How can new institutional and social arrangements deliver welfare in the future? How can real solidarities be reconstituted in a context where the role of government is being redefined?

Very long-term change. The study of change on the centennial and millennial scale has benefitted from new research methods in recent years. Comparative research in world history has challenged our understanding of the rise of Europe, while interdisciplinary developments in environmental, cognitive and biomedical sciences have greatly advanced our understanding of the long-term development of humanity.

3. GROWTH, EMPLOYMENT AND COMPETITIVENESS IN THE KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY

In recent years, economic research has emphasised the importance of technology, research and innovation for the growth prospects of an economy. The study of innovation and innovation systems is critical for understanding economic growth in Europe.

Institutional settings harnessing scientific knowledge. The impact of institutions on economic growth will remain a key aspect of research. Research on innovation systems and the knowledge economy will focus on the institutional templates for innovation: contract-research organisations, start-ups, incubation and spawning, etc. The financing of innovation, its impact on higher education and research, as well as IP regimes will be important items on the agenda.

Human, social, and cultural capital is a growing research field. Issues related to the quality and quantity of human capital and its impact on growth and competitiveness will be investigated further. Such topics are likely to grow in importance if universally acceptable approximations of 'social capital' applicable in empirical research are developed. The valorisation of various cultural factors is also likely to be analysed by researchers.

Creativity and innovation appear essentially as a social and territorialised phenomenon. They take place in social spaces where different factors come together to form creative, productive

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networks. When does urban and social space become a productive factor? What are the implications for municipal governance and urban planning? How is it possible to harness outliers to the growth generated in high-creativity urban centres?

The culture and experience economy is a small but growing sector of the economy with important implications for the arts and humanities. The sector spans an area that ranges from the creative industries to public institutions in the fields of culture, heritage, and sports. There is a need for research on the public-private relations within the sector. The tension between pure creative values and the market value of creativity emphasises the challenge and the opportunity for the humanities to maintain a capacity for critical inquiry while engaging with the instrumental needs of innovation.

Measures of value. Increasingly, researchers in the sociology of work, industrial relations, and economists recognise the need to develop new approaches to the transformation of work and remuneration. How should the productivity of work be measured if work becomes more knowledge-intensive? This question overlaps with research on the evaluation of work in knowledge-intensive industries, and in particular with work on scientometrics and academic quality assessment.

Social welfare as a productive factor. At the macro-level, sectors such as health care and education are registering a sustained expansion in advanced economies, leading to a better trained, better educated and healthier workforce that is more innovative, productive and creative. Indicators of social welfare are needed to capture this phenomenon. At the individual level, questions related to 'happiness' and 'subjective evaluation of well-being' gradually gain traction in fields such as sociology, psychology, economics and the cognitive sciences. We need to understand how social entitlements can be decoupled from job stability and rearticulated in a context of more flexible work conditions.

Financial instability and trust. Central bank supervision and state regulation of financial institutions, world financial architecture, transmission mechanisms of financial crises across countries and from the financial to the productive sector are set to become the focus of much research. Issues related to the pricing of risk in general and the treatment of systemic risk in particular as well as the role of credit trading and credit rating will be scrutinized. The subject of 'trust' as an instrument for limiting uncertainty and reducing risk is likely to grow in importance.

Economic governance. Issues related to the optimal level of state activity (public/private mix) as well as the optimal mix of fiscal and monetary policy and the specific tools needed in order to prevent the emergence of a crisis or to bring the economy back to stability once the crisis has erupted as well as various aspects of economic governance will be examined afresh.

4. THE CITIZEN IN EUROPE

More individuals than ever before inhabit a political territory over which exclusive authority cannot be claimed by a single rule and a single legal system: they belong to a variety of arenas shaped by multiple national, supranational, corporate, cultural, and individual forces. We need to understand how citizenship is being reframed in this context.

Constitutionalism. Research on constitutionalism, and especially the challenge of including citizens in European government, will remain an important item on the agenda. Innovative research has emerged in such areas as the quality of democracy, democratic theory, comparative constitutional law, and jurisprudence. The study of the resurgence of populist and nationalist discourses and politics in Eastern Europe also belongs to this trend and it resonates with the re-examination of the role of different institutions of political representation.

Types of citizenship. A number of societal transformations have recently led researchers to explore new types of citizenship beyond economic and political citizenship – e.g. ethnic, religious, sexual, scientific, biological, and bodily citizenship – and to question traditional political citizenship from a gendered, subaltern, or migrant perspective. Sociological research on the relation between secularised conceptions of the polity and religious citizenship is crucial for informing policies, while the role of European institutions in mediating or constituting these new citizenship claims also needs to be analysed.

Participation and accountability. The crisis of traditional political representation has stimulated research focusing on new forms of interest representation and participation. One clear trend centres on the forms, theories, and technologies of 'participation' at various levels of social life. How does the shift from technocratic to participatory models of policy and decision-making affect the practice of citizenship? What does 'participation' mean in practice? How can it be effective in a context of privatisation or outsourcing of social or public services?

Corporate citizenship. The concept of 'corporate social responsibility' (CSR) and the development of corporate philanthropy and 'social enterprise' point at a transformation of the relationships between firms, public authorities and society at large. More rigorous research is needed on the capacity of organisational templates imported from the world of business and finance to effectively address social issues and on their limitations.

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Biological citizenship. Recent advances in science and technology have transformed the body into much more than a site of political struggles, by penetrating and acting upon its very materiality and its biological life. Increasingly, patent rights, expert knowledge, complex legal and prudential relationships to organ donors, medical authorities and political regulations enter into the makeup of biological life. This intersection of the biological with political technologies and economic rationalities commands increasing interest.

Migration. The process of European integration has triggered an interest in intra-European migration and its social, cultural, and economic effects. The complex geography of the regulatory management of migration flows at the European level is also a topic of growing importance. Researchers in this area will also address cultural expressions of migrant communities (literature, film, multimedia work, internet activity, etc), the position and identity of migrants in Europe, but also the role of non-citizens as the negative mirror of European citizenship.

5. COMBINING ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL OBJECTIVES

Environmental sustainability is an objective shared by the great majority, if not all, social scientists in Europe and beyond, but not necessarily so regarding 'economic' and 'social' sustainability. The ambitious aim of the EU FP7 thematic priority of combining these objectives thus raises a number of research questions.

Environmental sustainability. There is a need for the social sciences and the humanities to engage with the study of the environment. Particular emphasis is likely to be placed on efforts to examine the socio-economic consequences of climate change, international externalities, and the design of incentives for reducing pollution at both the global and the local level. Research on the climatic consequences of socio-economic arrangements, energy security, the pricing of natural resources and alternative models for environmental sustainability that are not based on incentive mechanisms or economically computable trade-offs between performance and sustainability is likely to gain significance.

Environmental governance. There is an emerging interest in linking the humanities with environment, biodiversity, and earth system approaches, and with community participation in

landscape management and planning. Major transformations in rural and urban landscapes triggered e.g. by the Common Agricultural Policy, global economic development, climate change, demographic developments and the transition from government to governance are generating new research questions. Environmental history, for instance, can inform policy makers on baselines of past landscapes and resource use that can contribute to setting conservation targets. More generally, sustainability research needs to measure trends in the consumption and the reproduction of natural resources, and to develop indicators for such trajectories in different regions.

Economic disparities. An important dimension of welfare has to do with social cohesion. Income and wealth distribution have tended to spread more equally over the 20th century in most European countries, although the last three decades have witnessed an inversion of this trend. With the increasing availability of longitudinal administrative data, the long-term redistributive role of the welfare state – primarily in terms of the value of net monetary and non-monetary transfers over the life-cycle of the members of the society – and its effectiveness in reducing poverty and social exclusion will be analysed more closely.

Globalisation. Many aspects of the future of the European welfare state are likely to be analysed in a global rather than European framework. Globalisation presents a number of risks as well as opportunities that are likely to be carefully scrutinized by social scientists, and research located under this rubric will probably continue to thrive.

New models of growth. The economic sectors registering the most impressive growth in advanced economies are person-oriented services, such as health, education, training, etc. This development opens new perspectives for research on the future of European welfare: What are the institutional conditions that will be most conducive to this new model of growth? How can the investment in education, increasingly considered as a condition of endogenous growth, find an institutional expression into a 'learnfare state' allowing individuals to update their knowledge continuously?

New approaches to valuation. De-industrialisation and the emergence of a 'post-Fordist' economy have triggered a crisis of the traditional ways of measuring value and have led researchers to develop alternative theories of valuation. What they have in common is an attempt at changing existing accounting rationalities by reframing certain common goods – the environment, meaningful relationships, a high degree of social cohesion, solidarity, etc. – as increasingly productive assets in a knowledge-based economy that derives its strength from the productive capacity of social networks and autonomous social cooperation.

Risk and risk management have become topical issues in social science research in recent years. In contexts of growing uncertainty, less government oversight, and increased levels of

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self-regulation, trust appears as a possible instrument for limiting uncertainty and reducing risk. Of particular significance is the study of consumers' and investors' behaviour in terms of trust in markets and consumer confidence.

6. EUROPE AND THE WORLD

The current international situation requires a deep rethinking of the role of Europe. Many emerging global actors display a strong economic growth based on an expanding and diversified industrial base, but also an impressive development in the most advanced sectors of the knowledge economy, including science and technology. As a result, Europe's distinctiveness and advantages, as well as new forms of exchange and partnerships are in need of informed analysis.

Europe as a global actor. The place and behavior of the European Union within the multilateral system is still a phenomenon not well understood and is attracting the interest of researchers. European specificities in foreign policy, such as its ambition to use 'soft power' effectively, are also translating into promising lines of research on post-conflict resolution, for instance, or other forms of norm-based interventions.

Energy. The EU considers the use of renewable energies for environmental but also strategic reasons, in order to diminish its dependency on energy-exporting countries. How the measures designed to address environmental and energy issues can be more appropriately embedded in socio-cultural practices is a topic of growing importance.

One Europe or many? The process of European integration is an invitation to rethink political space, and more generally territorialised political concepts. Europe may be understood as a subject-in-the-making that is never foreclosed. This gives a special salience to historical research on contested identities, and to research programmes that relate Europe to its 'others', such as postcolonial and subaltern studies, as well as the study of imperial and regional formations in history, sociology, and political science.

European identity as a global question. Culture and law are crucial components of Europe's dealings with the rest of the world. Beyond political science and international relations, the analysis of cultural formation, European elites, the circulation of ideas or the sociology of law may contribute significantly to our understanding of European integration.

Memories. The critique of Eurocentrism that has developed in the SSH is a crucial trend with positive implications for Europe's external policies. The importance of memory as an object and a channel of European politics and policies (e.g. postcolonial memory, memories of communism in Eastern Europe, the Holocaust) calls for a better understanding of how contested memories play into current socio-cultural debates.

Europe as a knowledge economy. The constitution of a European Research Area and the integration of national educational systems have provided the EU with an attractive and diversified knowledge infrastructure. These new patterns of interaction with third countries are different from the old models of colonial imposition of metropolitan educational systems and yet determine new hierarchies. The social, cultural, and economic implications of this phenomenon are yet to be explored.

Europe in the global cultural markets. A very significant trend of research in the social sciences and the humanities focuses on worldwide flows of cultural goods, on global cultural markets, and on the changing position of Europe as a producer and consumer of cultural artefacts. How canons of cultural legitimacy are constructed, and premised on specific economic and social structures, is an important trend from literary theory to the sociology of culture.

7. BEYOND THE FP7 RUBRICS: A FEW EXAMPLES

The final chapter points to some examples of emerging fields of research that are not identified as priorities for FP7 but seem to be important for the future development of the social sciences and the humanities. Given the open-ended nature of this chapter, the group has selected only specific examples of such trends and does not claim to provide an exhaustive picture.

The iconosphere and the iconic turn. The 'iconic turn' in SSH research will very likely become a major trend over the next decade. In the private as well as in the public sphere, images have become the ubiquitous mediators of our orientation in the world. The ecology of this 'iconosphere', the ways in which individuals contribute to its expansion as producers and consumers of images, the role of visualisation and visual tools in everyday practices or in scientific protocols, are many questions that lead researchers to look at images in new and creative ways, beyond their traditional embeddedness in the disciplines.

New understandings of space. The SSH exhibit a clear tendency toward rethinking spatiality in a number of fields and disciplines. As globalisation destabilises traditional visions of space and territoriality, a number of concepts attached to space, and in particular political concepts,

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are being reconsidered. New approaches to space emerge in fields as diverse as architecture or political theory, with important consequences for the organisation of knowledge in general. As the social sciences and the humanities are no longer faced with the stable spatial structures of modernity, 'mapping', 'charting', 'exploring' become crucial exercises that call for creative collaboration across disciplines.

Affects, both at the individual and at the collective levels, have become a new object of research in a number of SSH disciplines. Important questions about the role that affect plays in decision-making, wealth-production, creativity, panic movements, etc. lead to new research in a variety of fields relevant to political, economic and everyday life. Research on affects is generating new forms of collaboration between the neurosciences and the humanities, questioning the interplay of neuropsychological dynamics and cultural codes or languages of emotions.

Inquiry unbound. Increasingly, the clear division between 'hard' and 'soft' sciences is being eroded, as is the distinction between constructed and given facts. A growing number of issues warrant internalising the concerns, methods, theories, approaches, and experimental techniques of fields that were previously considered very remote. This represents an opportunity for the SSH, which should inform the thinking and the practice of funding agencies.

8. CROSS-CUTTING THEMES

The METRIS group was mandated to look at emerging trends within the five thematic priorities of FP7. We are confident that a good selection of emerging research trends may be funded by future thematic work programmes and we offer our observations on emerging research trends as an indication of funding opportunities for European research agencies. However, the current work programme leads SSH researchers to address a number of phenomena through the lens of the five 'silos' of the thematic priorities, while a better understanding of the phenomena might be gained from perspectives cutting across these thematic priorities. This is probably the inevitable consequence of any prioritisation. Yet, in order to reap the full potential of the SSH and secure cross-fertilisation of research, a small number of thematic areas that cut across the thematic priorities can be flagged out.

A possible way forward would be to use existing funding instruments (EU and national programmes) to fund research cutting across the thematic priorities. Existing ERA-nets (HERA and

NORFACE) have prioritised a small number of cross-cutting themes that are currently considered for funding. However, for reasons such as the remit of participating councils, the calls perpetuate the divide between the social sciences and the humanities. These priorities are also few and they will not address the full range of research trends identified in this report.

Another concern is the limited budget of FP7, and the fact that SSH research is funded mainly from national sources. A criterion is thus needed in order to identify topics that the Commission might consider funding. The most appropriate criterion is probably that of subsidiarity, and it is currently applied in a number of EU policies. According to this criterion, support should be provided primarily a) to high quality projects in topics where, in the absence of EU support, no research would be carried out, or b) to projects that would be more valuable if they were conducted in a comparative fashion and at the European level rather than as independent national projects.

Based on the conceptual mapping of this report we have identified a number of research fields which cut across the FP7 priority themes that seem to call for European coordinated funding:

- **Welfare.** The expansion and continuous evolution of the welfare state is one of the main post-war developments in Europe. The social model helps shape a European identity and contributes to the distinctiveness of Europe in the world. The functions of the welfare state contribute crucially to the achievement of Europe's social as well as economic and, to a lesser extent, environmental objectives. The role of social welfare as an engine of growth in Europe is a crucial research topic.
- **Migration.** Alongside traditional research on migration flows at the macro-level there is a need to support micro-level research centred on migrants' perspectives, embodied experiences, and cultural practices. Global economic, cultural and political changes now require sustained attention on intra-European as well as transnational migration flows, their political and legal regulation, chosen migration (e.g. health tourism; education-based and retirement mobility), and migration motivated by political conflicts or economic necessity.
- **Innovation.** The mechanisms linking technology and innovation to economic growth, in particular the role of knowledge institutions, are an important focus of SSH research. In a number of fields, interdisciplinary research is mapping the institutional and territorial dimension of creativity and innovation.
- **Post-carbon society.** In a context of uncertainty about long-term environmental changes and the evolution of socio-economic systems, studies of human adaptation to new relations with the environment are a crucial yet under-researched topic. Market mechanisms, regulations, and participatory approaches to managing natural resources are and will remain important research agendas. The strategic and environmental dimensions of

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alternative energy sources as well as their social implications will be important directions for research.

- ***The crisis of value and valuation.*** De-industrialisation and the rise of a post-Fordist economy have triggered a crisis of the instruments – such as working time – measuring added value. Increasingly, remuneration and valuation systems seem inadequate in the context of increasingly autonomous, flexible, and knowledge-intensive labour. New theories of value and new understandings of what constitutes productivity and creativity are promising lines of research.
- ***Space, landscape, and virtuality.*** The SSH have begun to reformulate the concepts of space, territory and landscape (political, social, urban, natural etc.) as the overlap between physical space and political/cultural space is increasingly questioned. In political theory one can observe great efforts to redefine space as a dynamic category beyond the bounded horizon of traditional territories. The organisation of knowledge and the structure of scientific processes involve new concepts of spatiality and ‘mapping’ is becoming a new major paradigm in the SSH. Virtual landscapes of communication are redefining our sense of space. The human habitat and its landscapes are being redefined in dramatic ways, and new physical and symbolic geographies are needed to explore it.
- ***Time and memory.*** In past decades, research on memory has played an important role both in the humanities, the social and natural sciences, and in the creative arts, often in a cross-disciplinary fashion. Memory is the site of history, of individual and collective identity formation, of cognition, communication, etc. The study of discursive frames, of ‘memorialisation’, and of the politics of memory and history would benefit from cross-disciplinary cooperation.
- ***The technologisation of SSH.*** In recent years the technologisation of SSH, both at the level of methodological innovation (e.g. GIS, Geographic Information Systems) and at the content level (e.g. HCI, Human-Computer Interaction), has led to new collaborations across SSH and other sciences, and to the re-conceptualisation of scientific research environments in terms of network structures and new interfaces between the human and the non-human. These developments raise important research questions about the role of quantification and description in interdisciplinary research; data capture and its

applications; the legitimisation and regulation of knowledge production in highly technologised contexts and of technologically driven content, and its social, economic, and cultural implications.

- ***Iconosphere.*** Contemporary societies are characterised by an increasing ‘flood’ of images, while digital technologies have contributed to revolutionising the production and consumption of images. Images are now connected to each other into a seamless web, spanning visualisation tools in scientific research, artistic representations, as well as everyday life. This ‘iconosphere’ defines a new ecology of the visual that needs new theoretical and empirical methods of research.
- ***Governance and regulation.*** In the current climate of financial instability and economic recession, questions related to the appropriate level of state intervention in the economy have gained momentum again. Related debates on the appropriate regulatory tools for national and global economic governance are also bound to open new research perspectives.
- ***The future of democracy in a globalised world.*** The issue of democracy is of crucial importance both at the national level and the EU level and affects both citizenship issues and the place of Europe in the world.

The role of the social sciences and humanities today has moved from the old agendas of social engineering and national identity-building to a wider set of contributions to society. The conceptual map of this report highlights some of these contributions and suggests some areas where the social sciences and the humanities can make decisive contributions to the solution of urgent and long-term issues of government, sustainability, and culture for the 21st century.

Glossary

Acronyms used in this report include:

CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
ERA	European Research Area
ERA-NET	Scheme aiming to step up the cooperation and coordination of national research programmes in the European Research Area
FP6	Sixth Framework Programme of the European Community for research, technological development and demonstration activities (2002-2006)
FP7	Seventh Framework Programme of the European Community for research, technological development and demonstration activities (2007-2013)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
HCI	Human-Computer Interaction
HERA	Humanities in the European Research Area (ERANET project see: http://www.heranet.info/)
IP	Intellectual Property
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
IR	International Relations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PPI	Public-Private Initiatives
R&D	Research and Development
RTD	Research and Technological Development
SSH	Social Sciences and Humanities & Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities (In this report the two terms are used interchangeably)
SME	Small and Medium Size Enterprise
TA	Teaching Assistant
TEC	Treaty for a European Constitution
NORFACE	New Opportunities for Research Funding Agency Co-operation in Europe (ERANET project see: http://www.norface.org/)
UN	United Nations
WTO	World Trade Organization

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short biographical notes

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European Commission

EUR 23741 - METRIS REPORT

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

2009 — 144 p.p. — 17.6 x 25 cm

ISBN 978-92-79-11136-5

DOI 10.2777/57083

Price (excluding VAT) in Luxembourg: EUR 20

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METRIS stands for Monitoring European Trends in Social Sciences and Humanities. The aim of METRIS is to support the European Research Area (ERA) in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (SSH). This is particularly important for these sciences, because their knowledge is embedded into national systems, and the ERA brings about novel insights and perspectives that result from comparing national systems and situations as well as rising above such comparisons. European level research in SSH forms an important support for European policy-making.

This first report from a METRIS expert group identifies important new and emerging trends in social sciences and humanities in the 5 themes of the framework programme:

- Growth, Employment and Competitiveness in a Knowledge-Based Society,
- Combining Economic, Social and Environmental Objectives
- Major trends in society and their implications.
- Europe and the World
- The citizen in Europe

In addition the report highlights some themes that are cutting across these areas (such as migration for example) as well as some examples of cutting edge research that lie outside the thematic coverage of the Framework Programme, such as new conceptualizations of space, the rise of visual and affective themes in social sciences and themes that arise from the breaking down of the boundaries between the sciences.

It is envisaged that the reflection of expert groups will be combined with a sound monitoring system to form a powerful supporting instrument for the advancement of the ERA in SSH. It will provide for a collective understanding of the state of the art, trends, needs, challenges and research policies for SSH across Europe and in all its Member Countries, and will thus support the advancement of SSH in Europe through coordinated research efforts and coordinated research policy interventions.

Price (excluding VAT) in Luxembourg: EUR 20

