closing gaps in European social citizenship

Analysing gaps in European social citizenship. The interaction of capabilities, active agency and social resilience

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i) to advance the knowledge base that underpins the formulation and implementation of relevant policies in Europe with the aim of exercising the EU social rights as an integral part of EU citizenship and promoting upward convergence, and
ii) to engage with relevant communities, stakeholders and practitioners in the research with a view to supporting social protection policies in Europe. Contributions to a dialogue about these results can be made through the project website (euroship-research.eu), or by following us on Twitter: @EUROSHIP_EU.

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Abstract: *This paper examines fruitful ways of conceptualizing social citizenship in a multi-scalar and territorially diverse governance system in Europe. Ongoing changes in European welfare states call for a new, dynamic and multifaceted understanding of social citizenship. For most people this situation means that they face new demands, as well as new opportunities, to exercise social citizenship. The paper argues that if we are to understand the changing landscape of social citizenship in Europe, we need to open up the existing ways in which citizenship is conceptualised and empirically approached. In particular, we ought to become more sensitive to how contrasting aspects of citizenship may be combined and reconciled in new and unexpected ways. Based on an innovative and multidimensional conception of social citizenship, the paper offers an analytical framework for a comparative assessment of the gaps or inequalities in the scope for exercising social citizenship.*

The analytical framework integrates the concepts of capability, active agency, and social resilience. The paper assesses how these concepts contribute to an understanding of gaps in the scope for exercising social citizenship and how improved social rights may enhance the social resilience of individuals, households, nation states and the European Union. A key interest is how to conceptualise the interactions between citizens' agency and structurally given constraints and opportunities in a multi-scalar and territorially diverse social protection system.

Combining insights from the capability approach and strong structuration theory, we outline a framework that allows analysis of how citizens perceive and use their scope for action through networks and active agency, even in seemingly adverse circumstances, and in what ways individuals and households address risks of poverty and social exclusion over the life-course.

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1. Introduction: the changing landscape of European social citizenship

European social citizenship is an ambiguous concept. The adoption of social rights at the EU level has transcended the nation state as the basis of social citizenship. Since the 1992 Maastricht Treaty national social citizenship has been complemented with EU social citizenship as an added layer. Jacques Delors, former president of the European Commission, frequently observed that "you cannot fall in love with the single market".[1] To him and later commissioners the social dimension of the Internal Market has been a source of legitimacy of the European project.

With the economic integration of Europe, questions about the sources of solidarity and principles of membership are more important than ever before. While social citizenship was historically closely related to having formalised membership in a nation state – state citizenship – there has been a notable trend towards weakening of this relationship. With the expansion of the European Union, more European citizens have the opportunity to work and live in other EU countries and able to acquire social rights (and associated obligations) in their country of residence. Rights to social protection (rights to cash benefits and services and associated duties) are dependent on having legal residence in a country. Work immigrants from other EU countries do not need to be formally naturalised, i.e. become state citizens, to acquire such rights (Bruzelius and Seeleib-Kaiser, 2017).

The introduction of the Social Chapter in the Maastricht Treaty and later progress have stirred significant discussions about the scope and nature of EU citizenship rights. The member states have committed themselves to new social minimum standards and entitlements. They have also agreed on principles for transportability of social rights which allows more citizens effective freedom to move, reside and take work in another Member State. In this respect the adoption of social rights at the EU level has transcended the nation state as the basis of social citizenship.

However, the idea of European social citizenship finds itself in a contested and uncertain position (Carella & Graziano 2022, Ferrera 2014, Ferrera and Bauböck 2017, Offe 2013, Ross and Ciornei 2021; Seubert, Eberl and Waarden 2018; Vandenbroucke, Keune, Ferrera & Corti 2021. Vesan, Corti & Sabato 2021). In the 2000s, several political and economic crises have cast doubt about the future of a meaningful and substantial EU social citizenship (Schäfer and Gross 2020). Solidarity among the member states is fragile. It is not obvious that the large majority of EU citizens and governments believe they share a common destiny or have common interests. When the two Eastern enlargements arrived, concerns increased in the high-income part of the EU about control with and sustainability of their social protection systems (income maintenance system, health, education and social services, and social regulation of the market), and increased risks of downward convergence ('race to the bottom', 'social dumping').

One of the most recent and prominent initiatives to enhance and give more substantial content to EU social citizenship is the adoption of the European Pillar of Social Rights in 2017

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[1] For instance, in his address to the Members of the European Parliament on 17 January 1989. See https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2003/8/22/b9c06b95-db97-4774-a700-e8aea5172233/publishable_en.pdf

(Sabato and Vanhercke 2017). The Pillar should be seen as part of the Commission's goal to achieve a European 'Triple A' in employment and social affairs (Juncker et al. 2015). While the European Commission (2020) clearly has ambitions to follow up and give more substantial content to the Pillar, it is not self-evident that all member states will endorse or be in the position to follow up the ambitions of a 'Social Europe', a more 'Caring Europe' or a 'European Social Union'.

We find considerable diversity in the economic and political capacity of the member states to ensure people's opportunities to enjoy full and effective social citizenship. In their 2017 discussion of the future of Social Europe the Commission expressed concern that not all Member States are 'delivering the right safety nets and new protections to help individuals use their full capacities to live their lives and for society to function' (European Commission 2017a: 19). Despite the need to spend countercyclically to aid the economy through the 2008 financial crisis and the Covid-19 shocks, it is not obvious that all Member States are in the position to increase their social investments in human capital.[2] The territorial diversity in capacity to provide a social safety net has had asymmetrical effects on citizens' capability to mitigate social risks over the life-course.

Despite the ambitions to deliver a Social Europe and foster social cohesion across Europe, social inequalities have been increasing both within and between member states (Vandenbroucke and Rinaldi 2015). Persistent but territorial divergent poverty levels threaten the wellbeing of European citizens and challenge EU ambitions for an inclusive and cohesive Europe (European Commission 2015, Vaughan-Whitehead 2016, Eurostat 2019). Thus, the question of how the EU and national governments may foster citizens', communities and nations' social resilience; i.e. their "capacity to sustain and advance their well-being in face of challenges to it" (Hall and Lamont 2013) is high up on the political agenda at all levels of governance. The question involves a broad range of actors, from the European Commission to national governments, social partners and civil society organisations. *The question is not only whether the actors have the capacity to cope with shocks, crisis and conflicts that hamper the realisation of a Social Europe. It is also a question whether the citizens have the capacity to transform and improve the conditions for exercising full and effective social citizenship.*

To realize the European Pillar of Social Rights, the EU and national governments are faced with the challenge to close current gaps:

- gaps in which social risks are covered (how and to what extent citizens are protected against risks of poverty and social exclusion in different stages of the life-course),
- gaps in how EU-level and national social rights are implemented by national and local governments,
- gaps in how social rights are enforced by public institutions,
- gaps in how social rights are used by individual citizens, and

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[2] During the still ongoing Covid-19 crisis, public spending to support workers and industries seem more at the forefront than economic austerity arguments. That said, it might be that austerity discourses will pick up again once the immediate economic and health crises have been weathered.

- gaps in how civil society organisations and citizenship movements claim and advocate social rights

In this paper, we outline an analytic framework to examine the mechanisms and processes that foster or hamper the capacities of the EU and national governments to deliver opportunities for people to enjoy social citizenship. To examine the relationship between social protection policies, the exercise of social citizenship and social resilience, we draw on insights from strong structuration theory and the capability approach. Thus, we aim to contribute to *a theory of social change* understood as structure/agency dynamics and their outcomes over time. Rather than presenting static analysis or 'still photos' of the opportunities for exercising social citizenship, we emphasise the importance of *a process perspective* that links the (i) macro, (ii) meso and (iii) micro level: e.g. the relationship between (i) the social protection systems, structural traits of the labour markets and a country's economy, (ii) enforcement mechanisms such as bureaucratic administration, litigation and social dialogue, and (iii) how individual citizens and households at risk poverty and social exclusion use their scope for action. A process perspective that aims to link the macro, meso and micro level can provide better knowledge of the mechanisms that influence individual citizens', advocacy groups' and citizenship movements' capacities to cope with or improve (transform) their opportunities for exercising social citizenship.

In Section 2, we review the literature on social citizenship. We identity three main models or approaches to social citizenship. In Section 3, we examine the concept of resilience and how it connects with our three ideal typical models of social citizenship. In Section 4, we examine how the capability approach and the conceptualisation of resilience may complement each other in social citizenship studies. We focus on *conversion factors and processes* as tools for understanding the diversity among persons at risk of poverty (due to gender, age, ethnicity, disability) and the conditions that need to be in place to enable these sections of the population to exercise citizenship. In Section 5, we further develop a process perspective on social citizenship by combining threads in the structuration theory. A key issue is to ensure that our conceptualisation of social citizenship does not only guide our work in a general sense, but that we succeed in specifying the different and most significant meanings of this concept and make it useful in empirical research, In Section 6, we summarise the main points of a process approach to citizenship studies.

2. Recent directions in the international scholarship on social citizenship

Citizenship as a social institution

In his now classic essay *Citizenship and Social Class*, T. H. Marshall (1965 [1949]: 71-134) distinguished between *civil, political* and *social* aspects of citizenship. In his historical account of citizenship as an institution, he found that participatory and material rights gradually had been added to the earlier protection of individual autonomy against state intervention. This included protection of private property, freedom of speech and association, the right to vote, the minimum wage, regulated working hours and social security.

Marshall (1965) defines citizenship as ‘a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed’ (p. 92). Endowment of full citizenship should furnish a sense of community membership, but also material enjoyment. “By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to standards prevailing in the society” (p. 78). The civil, political and social rights codify the status of the citizen in society. You are not a full citizen if you are excluded from one or more of these rights.

Marshall’s conceptualisation of citizenship is reflected in his extensive occupation with education as an aspect of social citizenship. The rights dimension is not so much the right of children to attend school as the right of adults to have received elementary education so that they can function as full citizens and make use of their other citizenship rights. Through education, one becomes able to exercise one’s civil and political rights. Education is not only a right; it is also a duty. According to Marshall (1965: 71ff., 257ff.), the purpose of education is not only, or even primarily, to satisfy individual needs. Society needs educated workers to maximise the welfare of the community. The duration and content of compulsory education has changed as society’s needs have changed. Education operates as an instrument of social stratification by allocating people in occupational groups. In part, people are categorised in working life according to their achievements in the educational system.

Marshall understood citizenship in terms of both rights *and* obligations. His ambiguity with respect to the balance between rights and obligations was reflected in his remarks on the emergence of trade unionism and recognition of the right of collective bargaining since the late nineteenth century. Civil rights in industrial society were used collectively in the economic and political system to improve workers’ social rights. On the one hand, new civil and political rights facilitated opportunities for pursuing the self-interests of individuals and groups of workers and more bounded loyalty and community membership with co-workers rather than the nation state. On the other, you had a moral duty not only to have a job and hold it, but to work hard and put your heart into it.

Citizenship rights coincided with the rise of capitalism in the early nineteenth century. Whereas capitalism created inequality, citizenship at the same time made individuals more equal. This emerged as opposing principles; the value of egalitarian society and meritocracy. Basic human equality associated with the concept of full membership in a community was combined with inequality in the allocation of resources in the economic system. In feudal societies, citizenship had been the privilege of the elites. Modern society tried to combine two apparently contradictory principles. How could they grow in the same soil? Marshall argued that the apparent inconsistencies are in fact a source of stability, achieved through a compromise. To some extent he appears to argue that the two allocation principles could be complementary, although he does not rule out the possibility of conflicts between the two.

Marshall argued that the poor law did not really represent an attack on what he called the ‘class system’. This referred to the stratification system of wage, fortune and prestige associated with occupational statuses rather than property or ownership as such. Poor relief made the stratification system less vulnerable to attack by alleviating its less defensible consequences. Minimum social rights abated the nuisance of poverty without disturbing the pattern of inequality. The social-security system promoted relief of destitution and eradication of vagrancy. The poor law was also an aid to capitalism, as it relieved industry of social responsibilities outside the contract of employment. The state guaranteed a minimum supply of certain essential goods and services, including medical supplies, shelter, education and/or a minimum income. Inequalities at the bottom of the scale were ironed out without altering the stratification system.

Marshall argued that if social-security systems are designed to meet individual needs, some discretion is needed. Furthermore, he asserted, if you concede to a poor person an absolute right to relief, the question arises how to deny him or her the right to become poor if he or she so wishes (Marshall 1981: 90). All in all, he expressed an ambiguous perspective on the welfare state. His concern about the moral duties connected to citizenship seems to have been more prevalent than sometimes suggested when only his three types of rights are focused upon. It appears that he was not concerned as much with the redistribution of resources or the modification of the stratification system as he was with the constitution of basic minimum guarantees to everyone as a subsidiary system that would complement market mechanisms.

The duality of rights and duties implies that Marshall's notion of citizenship has both an individual and a collective aspect. The welfare of the individual and the community have to be balanced. It is the responsibility of the state to harmonise the two. The rights were legally enforceable, which was not the case with all the duties associated with citizenship. While there have been legal duties to pay taxes, take an education and serve military service, some duties have been in an intermediate position; the duty to work may have been enforceable for those claiming cash benefits, as a condition for the benefit, but not for others. Some had the nature of moral or civic virtues; to take care of those closest to you, keep updated about society, participate in general elections and, for the affluent and better-off citizens, to work for the benefit of the disadvantaged and underprivileged and participate in charitable and voluntary work (*noblesse oblige*). In general, these have been moral duties to contribute to what has been perceived as the common good and the best for society as a whole.

We may read T. H. Marshall's essay as an investigation of societal inclusion. Citizenship can be regarded as an inclusionary social institution, codifying societal membership as well as a contractual relationship between the individual citizen and society at large. Inclusion or incorporation of new categories of people as full citizens by conferring equal rights and duties, as well as opportunities for participation, can be regarded as a civilisation process. More people are considered on an equal level or as 'gentlemen' and attributed the same level of autonomy. The legal, political and welfare-state institutions were constructed as mechanisms for integrating the individual citizen in the greater society.

Marshall was a sociologist who fully accepted the main premises and assumptions of the dominant sociological paradigm of his time. The chief concerns of this paradigm were the conditions for societal integration and social inclusion. According to this paradigm generally shared norms for action, based on a fundamental consensus over values and norms, served as integration mechanisms. People's conformity with these basic norms of action were ensured through socialization (the internalization of norms and values) and social control (positive and negative sanctioning of behaviour). Marshall's preoccupation with integration and inclusion involved a stronger collectivist orientation than typically found in liberal thinking. This collectivism and belief in a reciprocal and organic relationship between the individual and society implied rights and duties prescribed by shared norms. When he emphasized that citizenship involved both rights and duties on the part of the individual, these corresponded to the rights and duties on the part of the state. It was not an accident that Talcott Parsons and other leading representatives of the sociological paradigm of the mid-twentieth century easily absorbed Marshall's into their own works (e.g. Parsons 1967, 1971; Bendix 1964; Bendix & Rokkan 1971).[3] Similarly to Emil Durkheim (1893), one of the modern sociology's forefathers, Marshal suggested that one should aim to develop people's sense of having both rights and duties in the context of intermediate institutions, for instance within their local community or the organisation where they are employed.

A large industry has developed around criticism of Marshall's essay on social class and citizenship. Many critics appear to have read his essay only as a historical account of the emergence of the three institutions. Thus, they have pointed to shortcomings in his historical account rather than finding inspiration in applying his general approach to mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in society. An example of research informed by Marshal's general approach is the work of political scientist Helga Hernes (1988). She identified three research questions: Who participates? What are the rights and duties associated with participation? Which values and resources are institutionalised, defended and distributed by the public authorities? Hernes focused on the position of women within the Scandinavian welfare states and argued that a central social-democratic policy assumption was that only as high employment rates as possible ('full employment') and economic growth could defend generous income maintenance benefits and services in kind.

Citizenship as practices

We argue that citizenship is not only about social status or their social rights and entitlements. Citizenship is just as much about the social and cultural practices that shape the opportunities for participation. Marshall did include a focus on the moral expectations and obligations to participate in society in his conception of the social element of citizenship. Yet, his concern was more with the institutionalisation of formal and informal rights and duties than with citizens' practices as such. We follow the prevailing understanding of citizenship in the social sciences today:

> But being a full and equal citizen is, basically, a question of *practices*: living a decent life in accordance with the prevailing standards in society, being able to act autonomously, being able to participate in social and political life in the broadest sense, and having 'civic' orientations to the political community and to one's fellow citizens. (Andersen & Halvorsen, 2002, pp. 12–13, our emphasis)

Often, the concept of social citizenship has been used to describe the relationship between the citizen and public institutions in terms of the provision of social security. Feminist scholars have argued for a broader conceptualisation of social citizenship:

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[3] For a discussion of the relevance of Parsons' work on citizenship today, see Sciortino (2010).

> … social citizenship is not only a question of entitlement, it also involves participation in all realms of public and societal life: not only in political institutions or bodies but also in neighbourhoods, at workplaces, in charity work or voluntary organisations and social movements. (Lister, Williams, Anttonen, Bussemaker, Gerhard, Heinen & Gavanas, 2007, p. 37)

Setting the scope for individual and collective agency by citizens and local communities centre stage can enable social policy researchers to examine the mechanisms (factors) that foster or hamper the exercise of social citizenship (Eggers, Grages and Pfau-Effinger 2019; Wohlfarth 2020).

Three models of social citizenship

Following our previous theorisation of social citizenship, we distinguish between three dimensions of social citizenship as experienced by the citizens (while acknowledging that there may also be others) (Hvinden and Johansson 2007, Johansson and Hvinden 2012; Halvorsen, Hvinden, Bickenbach, Ferri, and Guillén Rodriguez 2017; Halvorsen, Hvinden, Beadle Brown, Biggeri, Tøssebro, and Waldschmidt 2018):

- *Security:* Whether public policy, (largely) through redistributive measures, enables citizens to maintain a sense of security by effectively using the social rights intended to protect them against major life risks and contingencies such as old age, poverty, disabilities, illness, and care needs.
- *Autonomy:* Whether public policy, through a mix of redistributive and regulatory measures, allow citizens to decide for themselves what is valuable, living their lives in accordance with this decision (i.e. that they are allowed to define their own needs and receive relevant support, exercising choice and pursuing the life they have reasons to value).
- *Influence*: Whether public policy creates the conditions for citizens' participation in public deliberation and decision-making processes, creating the framework for their own lives as well as promoting common good and regulating social behaviour, given the interdependence of human action. Such citizens' participation may take place at the individual level or collectively through citizens' groups and organisations.

The three dimensions have been derived from the main perspectives on and approaches to social citizenship in political philosophy, political science, sociology, and social policy. These perspectives tend to cluster in three main approaches to social citizenship (Miller 2000):

The *socio-liberal approaches* are concerned about the citizens' rights and duties vis-à-vis the community and the state, and the rights and duties of communities and states vis-à-vis the citizen, with a focus on what degree and form of protection against insecurity, uncertainty or risk (lack of income or maintenance, illness, incapacity, violence) the citizen ought to receive or be able to expect from others than his or her own family or kin. These approaches tend to emphasise the reciprocity and interdependence between the responsibilities of the community and the citizen, involving encompassing sets of mutual rights and obligations. This is largely the tradition associated with T H Marshalls' (1965) conceptualisation of social citizenship.

By contrast, *market-liberal (libertarian) approaches* emphasise citizen's autonomy and freedom in relation to the community or the state, with a focus on what degree and form of protection of this autonomy and freedom the citizens ought to enjoy or be able to expect. Although these approaches may also refer to rights and duties vis-à-vis the community or state, these are constructed on a few basic principles and contractual agreements. Hence these approaches tend to emphasise the citizen's independence and self-responsibility, combined with limited and narrowly defined activity on the part of the state. In this tradition we find among others economist Friederich Hayek's (2011 [1960]) criticism of the Keynesian welfare state and philosopher Robert Nozick's (1974) argument for a minimalist state.

Finally, *civic-republican approaches* focus on citizen's participation in the life of the community (e.g. through voluntary engagement), with a focus on what degree and forms of participation in deliberation and decision-making related to promoting the common good should be expected of the citizen. This moral duty to participate does, however, imply a democratic right to co-determination and influence. We find this approach among others in Jürgen Habermas' (1992, 2012) theorisation of deliberative democracy, Nancy Fraser's (2008, 2013) conceptualisation of representation, and in Philip Pettit's (1999) conception of freedom as non-domination.

Table 1.1 Three ideal-type images of social citizenship and their affinities to the main directions in social citizenship studies

Idealised images of social citizenship	Affinity to the main directions in social citizenship studies
Citizens exercising a range of rights and duties vis-à-vis the community (other citizens) or the state	Socio-liberal approaches
Citizens exercising autonomy, freedom and self-responsibility in relation to the community or the state	Market-Liberal (Libertarian) approaches
Citizens exercising co-responsibility for the common good, and as part of this co-determination and influence	Civic-Republican approaches

A key insight underlying our approach is that these three aspects or dimensions of social citizenship are most fruitfully analysed when studied together under a common framework. We suggest a unified framework for studying social citizenship that enables us to examine issues of rights and duties in relation to social protection; autonomy, self-responsibility and choice; and participation and self-government at the same time in the context of the situation and lives of women and men at risk of poverty and social exclusion.

It is worth stressing that the three clusters of approaches to social citizenship are simplified and ideal type constructions, focusing on different but complementary aspects of citizens' relationship with the community.

Why a multidimensional approach to social citizenship?

What can we gain from a multidimensional conceptualisation of social citizenship? Ongoing changes in European welfare states call for a new, dynamic and multifaceted understanding of social citizenship. These transformations have made the contrasts and tensions between the different dimensions of social citizenship more manifest.

- First, the links between the rights and duties of citizenship have been strengthened, particularly in the context of 'activation reforms', (re)introduction of more conditionalities, work first approaches, and the introduction of individualized action plans as a means to accommodate individual needs and emphasise the individual responsibilities of the service recipients (van Berkel 2020, Bothfeld and Betzelt 2011, 2013; Bothfeld and Rosenthal 2017, Künzel 2014, Lødemel and Moreira 2014, Minas et al. 2018, Hansen 2019; Otto eds. 2020).
- Second, citizens' self-responsibility and choice have become more in focus through new mixes of public and private provisions of social services and social insurance (Sivesind and Saglie 2017). Changes to old age pension systems represent a good example in this regard (Ebbinghaus, 2011). The introduction of user choice and control in care services – including residential care, home care services and personal assistance – represents another example (Pfau-Effinger, Jensen and Och 2011, Rodrigues and Glendinning 2015; León 2016, Moberg, Blomqvist and Winblad 2016).
- Third, citizen participation in deliberation, planning and decision-making has been both demanded and encouraged, most clearly under the headings of individual user involvement and choice in encounters between individuals and the welfare state and consultations with stakeholder groups but also the recognition struggles of grassroots organisations among marginalised and underrepresented citizens (e.g. persons with experience of poverty, ethnic minorities, immigrants, persons with disabilities) (van Berkel, Coenen and Vlek 1998, Martin 2001, Anker and Halvorsen 2007, Annetts, Law, McNeish, Mooney 2009; della Porta 2017; Waldschmidt, Sturm, Karačić and Dins, 2017; Halvorsen, Hvinden, Beadle-Brown, Biggeri, Tøssebro and Waldschmidt 2018).
- Fourth, citizens are relying less on the benevolent discretion of administrators and professionals, and looking more to lawyers and the court system to secure access to welfare provisions, equal treatment and labour market opportunities (Belavusau and Henrard 2018, Brown, Deakin and Wilkinson 2002, Conant 2006, Ellis and Watson 2012, Fuchs 2013, Kilkelly 2015, Pennings and Vonk 2015, Reich 2008, Vanhala 2009).

As observed by Johansson and Hvinden (2012), there is a strong tendency to deal with these changing aspects of social citizenship in isolation, as completely separate phenomena, or as issues only weakly related to one another. The scholarly literature informed by the traditional Marshallian framework has contributed important analyses of the security dimension of social citizenship but ignored or not been able to fully integrate other dimensions of importance for people's opportunities for human flourishing and to participate as full members of society (e.g. Cantillon, Goedemé and Hills 2019; Greiss, Cantillon and Penne 2020).

While European countries have different arrangements for providing for and protecting their citizens against risks, and some of these arrangements are closer to one of these citizenship models than to others, a country's actual configuration of social provision and risk protection is always more complex than the pure and simplified picture drawn by a model. The distinction between the clusters of approaches is analytical; in the social practices of citizenship the focused aspects will co-exist in various ways and degrees. Nonetheless, it is fair to say that the social protection systems of some countries (e.g. Norway) have given relatively greater emphasis to the public redistribution of resources and collective risk protection ('security') than others. Conversely, some countries (e.g., Germany Spain, Italy, the UK) have in diverse ways granted a greater role to individual or family responsibility for risk protection ('autonomy'). Last, citizens' opportunities for exerting influence on public affairs or the contents of personalised public provision have also varied among European countries. The citizen may also experience conflicts between the three dimensions, for example between security and autonomy in the introduction of 'welfare conditionalities' (Watts and Fitzpatrick 2018, Whelan 2020) or in the exercise of choice in use of care services.

For most people, the ongoing changes in European welfare states means that they face new demands, as well as new opportunities, to exercise social citizenship. These demands and opportunities call for a more dynamic and complex understanding of citizenship. If we are to understand the changing landscape of social citizenship in Europe, we need to open up the existing ways in which citizenship is conceptualised and empirically approached. In particular, we ought to become more sensitive to how contrasting aspects of citizenship may be combined and reconciled in new and unexpected ways.

3. Social citizenship and resilience

The current discussions about the future of European social citizenship are related to concerns about the viability of the welfare state or the welfare policy system. Not only are European countries facing several long-term structural changes that impact on the sustainability and social robustness of the social protection systems (such as digitalisation of the economy, demographic ageing, more single person households, and integration of the EU market). The last two decades European countries have also faced new external challenges to the national economies: new cross-country mobility since the widening of the EU in 2004 and 2007, the 2007-2008 financial crisis, the refugee crisis in 2015 and the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, the question is how the EU and national governments may foster citizens', communities and nations' capacities not only to *adjust* to the challenges they face but also *improve* their situations. Such internal and external pressures raise questions about the robustness and sustainability of the national social protection systems.

To foster a robust and sustainable social model, both scholars and policy makers have called for a renewed contractual relationship between the individual and the state, and rethinking of people's rights and obligations.

- Within the *socio-liberal approach* there has been a call for stronger obligations for beneficiaries of income maintenance benefits to participate in active labour market policy measures and not only receive 'passive' benefits. This debate has focused predominantly on notions of conditionality, as expressed in slogans like 'no rights without responsibilities' (Marchal and van Mechelen 2017, Reeves and Loopstra 2017; Seikel and Spannagel 2018, Hvinden 2018; Haikkola 2019; Rosenstein 2021; Valadas 2022).

- Within the *market-liberal approach* there has been a call for more self-responsibility, choice and autonomy. According to the premises of this approach individuals are to enjoy consumer sovereignty, and this is to be accomplished through choice and contract. As observed by Burchardt, Evans and Holder (2015):

  > "Choice has been promoted as an objective in a range of social policy areas in many welfare states – for patients in healthcare, for parents in education and childcare, for service users in social care, and for employees in pension provision. Often this has been motivated by claims that choice by service users will incentivize providers to respond with enhanced quality and efficiency of services."

  People's role as consumer-citizens may be limited to exercising a choice between a given set of providers or 'suppliers of services, whether private or public, expressing any dissatisfaction through complaints or by demanding a change of provider. The instrument of contract means that consumers who feel they have not been given the service they are entitled to. may take legal action against the provider. In this kind of mixed or semi-private welfare market, people's demands for a service may be regulated through user fees or charges covering at least part of the cost of providing it (Dunér, Bjälkebring and Johansson 2019).

- Within the *civic-republican approach* there has been a call for more self-organisation, self-help groups and peer support among persons in marginalized and vulnerable positions, and consultations with and involvement of advocacy groups, civil society and labour organisations in the deliberation and implementation of EU, national, regional and local social policies (Elstub 2006, Kaldor and Selchow 2013, Landemore 2020, OECD 2020, Smith 2021).

Many actors have seen a need for modernisation of European welfare state to make them more sustainable and to promote social cohesion and economic growth in a more globalised economy. The internal and external pressures on the welfare policy systems also raise questions about the capacities of individual citizens and households to overcome the challenges they face and improve their opportunities for exercising social citizenship. It has become increasingly popular to frame these issues as a question of *social resilience* (European Commission 2020).

The origin of and diversity in conceptualization of resilience

In this section we examine the relevance of the concept of resilience for analysing the ongoing and changing relationships between European welfare states and the citizens. We first account for the theoretical origin of the concept of resilience. Second, we analyse the relationship between resilience and similar concepts. Third, we narrow down our focus to *social* resilience. Fourth, we discuss on how the concept relates to our three models of social citizenship.

The concept of resilience has for a long time figured as a key concept in general system theory. Many units of analysis and phenomena can be conceptualized as open systems (i.e. a system that has interactions with an external context outside the system's boundaries): the human body and psyche, cities, and communities are just a few examples of the entities that can be conceptualized as open systems. The "general theory of complex systems" (Von Bertalanffy, 1969) proposes an overarching framework to analyse all these topics. The concept of resilience is one of the key components of this framework.

Resilience is a genuinely multidisciplinary concept that originally stemmed out in engineering and later has been then applied in many fields such as biology, the social sciences, urban planning, and psychology. Not surprisingly, the definition of resilience has been adapted to the different disciplines. The attempts to use resilience as a bridge between various disciplines have often required further attempts to provide an overarching definition of the concept (Plodinec, 2009). In the following paragraphs we systematize and provide an overview of some of the different meanings of 'resilience'.

First, a quite well-defined group of definitions of resilience is rooted in engineering. All these definitions link resilience to a system's ability to "survive" a perturbation and return to equilibrium, i.e. to the pre-perturbation state (Pimm, 1984; O'Neill *et al*., 1986; Tilman *et al*., 1994). An intuitive way to think about the engineering approach to resilience is the behaviour of a modern skyscraper in the case of an earthquake: a resilient structure will swing during the earthquake and go back to the steady state when the perturbation is over. It is worth to notice that the behaviour of the system is fully predictable as long as you have enough information about the system and about the shock.

Second, a socio-ecological approach to resilience was developed to analyse eco-systems and, later, their interaction with social and economic systems. This kind of approaches refuse the idea of a single steady-state and suggests focusing on disturbances and their impacts on system's structures and functions. According to Holling (1973, p. 14) resilience is

> "a measure of the persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables" or the "buffer capacity or the ability of a system to absorb perturbation, or the magnitude of disturbance that can be absorbed before a system changes its structure" (Holling and Jansson., 1995, p. 53).

All in all, the difference between the two approaches relies on this: engineering resilience is focused on equilibrium and how to maintain or restore it, whereas ecological resilience is focused on systems' behaviours under stress and boundaries between different basins of attraction (i.e. how to flip from one equilibrium to another one) (see also Ungar 2018).[4]

Adaptive versus transformative resilience

Another relevant qualifier of definitions and approaches to resilience relies in the difference between adaptive and transformative resilience. While *adaptive* resilience is focused of system's and system components' abilities to cope with or adjust to stressors and shocks, *transformative* resilience tend to identify stressors and shocks (and the need to deal with them) as possible opportunities to transform the system itself (Folke, 2006).

Holling (1986) has theorized the "panarchy cycle" to describe adaptation and transformation into ecological and social-ecological systems (Gunderson and Holling, 2002). His model defines four phases (Figure 3.1). We start from the Conservation/Institutionalization phase where the system is in equilibrium. When and if the equilibrium is not sustainable anymore, we have a release of resources and de-structuration of the previous institutional architecture. At this point the system tends to re-organize and to find new ways to exploit resources. Once the system has been able to find a sustainable relation among its components, the new structure is institutionalized and/or considered as a new equilibrium. The model can be used to conceptualize both change and adaptation within social and economic systems and has intuitive linkages with innovation and transformation theories.[5]

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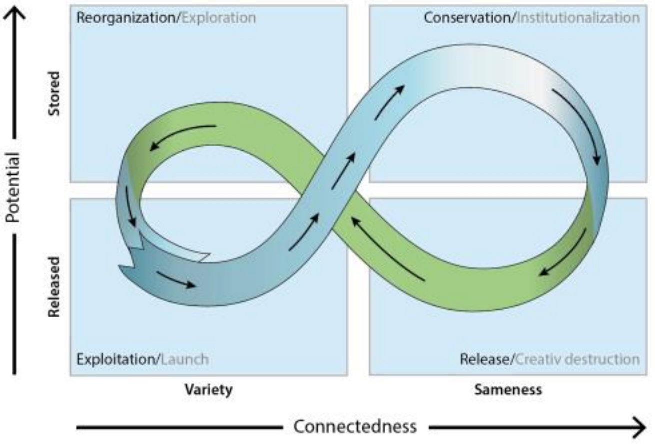
[4] Arguably, these approaches to resilience resemble the research focus in functionalist explanations in sociology (Parsons, 1951; Merton, 1968, Alexander and Colomy 1985, Mouzelis 1995). Functionalist explanations have been concerned with the interdependencies between the different parts of society. The social system (or society as a whole) is viewed as consisting of a plurality of interrelated actors or institutions. They are orderly and systematic arrangements of social interaction governed by beliefs, norms, rules, roles and social positions. Functionalist analyses focus on the interrelations among institutions such as families, religion, the military, the welfare state, the labour market and education, or actors such as households, corporations, civil society and labour organisations. Additionally, the focus is more on how the social whole affects the participants rather than how the actors produce or shape the social whole.

[5] Economist Joseph Schumpeter's (1942) theory of innovation and his idea of "creative destruction" comes to our mind as one example.

Figure 3.1 Holling's panarchy cycle of resilience


Reorganization/Exploration
Conservation/Institutionalization
Stored
Potential
Released
Exploitation/Launch
Release/Creativ destruction
Variety
Sameness
Connectedness

Source: Westley et al. (2013)

The border between adaptation and transformation is fuzzy. In theory, adaptation tends to leave the system's fundamental structures unchanged while transformation challenges the system's architecture. However, when moving from theory to practice it can be hard to disentangle adaptation and transformation processes from each other. Scholars may disagree how radical the changes are. It is also a risk that we attach subjective judgements to our definition; i.e. that we define as transformation what we believe is progressive in a normative sense and as adaptation what we think of as regressive. It seems to be more promising to focus on the role or practices of actors who are part of the systems. A truly transformative process should leave a space for actors' active agency that can contribute to shape new forms of equilibrium.

Westley et al. (2013) have contributed to this shift in focus by proposing a theory of *transformative agency* for social and economic systems. Westley and colleagues have identified several types of transformation mechanisms and transformation-enhancing actors. According to their perspective, to deal with transformative resilience means to focus on the actor's ability to promote change in unexpected and negotiable ways and not only along pre-determined trajectories established by an 'unavoidable' set of rules.

While this brief review of the origin of the concept of resilience illustrates the polysemic meanings of the concept, we want to specify and operationalise its relevance for social policy analyses. We start by describing the relationship between resilience and analogous analytical concepts. We then narrow down the focus to social resilience.

The relationship between resilience and other concepts

Resilience as an analytic concept shares some similarities with other concepts we find in the social policy literature: stability, vulnerability, sustainability and coping strategies.

Resilience vs stability: Resilience does not necessarily mean preservation or conservation of the existing systems or institutions. There is a fundamental difference between resilience and stability of a social-ecological system: being resilient does not necessarily imply a return to the steady-state typical of the status *quo ante* shock. For instance, Ludwig, Walker and Holling (1997) have argued that an excess of stability might undermine the self-(re)organization ability of the system after a shock.

Resilience vs sustainability: At the macro-social or societal level, sustainability deals with the ability of a social-ecological system to maintain its own flow of goods and services over time. In comparison, system resilience is the ability of the actors or the social system itself to absorb shocks without changing its main functions. Enhancing the resilience of a system can make it more sustainable (Adger, 2003). The lack of sustainability is one of the factors that can activate the “panarchy cycle” and, so doing, favour a resilient transformation of the system (Westley et al., 2013).

Resilience vs vulnerability: Vulnerability analysis is typically an ex-ante strategy to identify the units (individuals, households, communities) that are likely to experience some form of deprivation in the future given their current characteristics. Such analyses are often characterized by a rather passive role of agents (households) who are exposed to shocks. In comparison, analyses of resilience place agents and their ability to react in creative ways to shocks centre stage (Almedom (2008a; 2008b; 2009). Nevertheless, Miller et al. (2010) argue that resilience and vulnerability are closely related and that the differences between the two approaches provide a space to use them as complements. The authors argue that most differences between the two approaches are due to their dissimilar origin: vulnerability has a longer history in the field of social sciences while we find fewer attempts to apply the resilience approach to analyses of social groups.

To others, resilience is a determinant of vulnerability (Alinovi et al. 2008, 2010). Focusing on risks of vulnerability at the household level, Dercon (2001) finds that vulnerability is determined by (i) the risks faced by households and individuals in their efforts to make a living, (ii) the options available to households and individuals to make a living, and (iii) their ability to handle this risk. Building on Dercon’s definition, Alinovi et al. (2008) argue that vulnerability is a function of the household’s risk exposure and the household resilience to such risks. Alinovi et al. define resilience as the ability of the household to maintain a certain level of well-being withstanding risks. The ability depends on the options available to the household to make a living and on its ability to handle risks.

Resilience vs coping strategies: Finally, one could argue that resilience and coping strategies are two overlapping concepts as coping strategies refer to actions taken by actors to handle social risks. Households in vulnerable positions use coping strategies to adapt to unfavourable circumstances such as risks of poverty. In sociology and social policy ‘coping strategies’ typically refer to practices aimed at what British sociologist Ruth Lister (2006: 130) calls “getting by” in poverty, such as finding alternative income sources or consumption reduction.

Resilience moves beyond this notion. Resilience does not deal only with adjustments to social risks but also efforts and capacities to overcome them. Such meanings of resilience have more in common with what Lister (ibid) refer to as practices for

- “*getting out*” of poverty for instance by job search and re-education,

- "*getting (back) at*" poverty by making individual resistance and protesting against the level of income maintenance benefits and social services, and/or the conditionalities for receipt of social benefits in cash or in kind, and
- "*getting organized*" against poverty by participating in social movements, advocacy groups and interest organisations in efforts to influence political decision-making processes.

Later Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013: 5) has distinguished between three defining capacities of social resilience:

- "*coping capacities* –the ability of social actors to cope with and overcome adversities;
- *adaptive capacities* – their ability to learn from past experiences and adjust themselves to future challenges in their everyday lives; and
- *transformative capacities* – their ability to craft sets of institutions that foster individual welfare and sustainable societal robustness towards future crises".

For Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013: 11) coping capacities have a short-term perspective and are aimed at overcoming immediate threats to people's standard of living and by use of those means that are immediately available to them. Adaptive capacities imply a longer time horizon. They presuppose that people are reflexive and able to learn from past experiences. Such measures are more proactive and preventive as people anticipate future risks and adjust accordingly. Transformative capacities encompass people's capacities to participate in decision-making processes and influence public policies to enhance people's standard of living and opportunities for participation in face of present or future risks. Again, such measures imply a long-term perspective on how to achieve social resilience.

While Keck and Sakdapolrak address social resilience more explicitly than Lister, both argue that the questions of how to foster social resilience among disadvantaged and underprivileged persons at risk of poverty and social exclusion, is a political issue. Public policies matter. Keck and Sakdapolrak's focus on institutions additionally suggests that research on social resilience among persons at risk of poverty ought to involve an attempt to understand the mechanisms that influence the governance of policies aimed at promoting social citizenship.

From resilience to social resilience

One reason why the concept of resilience has gained popularity in the social sciences is the increasing attention to external and internal pressures on mature European welfare states. Social scientists have used conceptualisations of resilience to analyse the impact of recurring (and unexpected) financial and economic crisis: the "Asian tigers" crisis in 1997-98 (Lau, Yung and Yong, 2003) and the 2008 financial crisis triggered by the US subprime market crack (e.g. Jordan and Jain 2009; Davies 2011, DesJardine, Bansal and Yang 2019). Additionally, the debate about climate change has been framed as a question of resilience as the social and economic consequences have become evident (IPCC, 2007). The empirical evidence about the systematic increase in the frequency of extreme climate events has raised the issue of how to maintain the level of prosperity, standard of living, and promote “upward social convergence” and economic growth in Europe when we are witnessing a higher prevalence of climate-related shocks.

Peter Hall and Michele Lamont (2013) argue that resilience has become more relevant as an analytical category due to what they believe is the establishment of ‘neoliberalism' as a hegemonic paradigm in the Western world: “a wide-ranging shift in prevalent ideas and social relationships privileging more intense market competition, less state intervention, and an entrepreneurial orientation to action” (p. 3). What they refer to as neo-liberalism covers a wide range of phenomena that goes beyond libertarianism to include also more communitarian ideas about a strong role for civil society in the provision of social services. In their view, the change has not only an economic dimension but a social and cultural. ‘New public management’ has been built into the delivery of public services. Supranational and regional authorities have taken over tasks previously managed by the state. New cultural narratives (“collective imaginaries”) tell people what to expect from the state, reframe the criteria for social worth and citizens’ rights and (individual) responsibilities:

> “A discourse that elevates market criteria of worth tends to classify people who are affluent into a bounded community and to marginalize those with fewer economic resources. Corresponding ideas about productivity are often used to draw rigid moral boundaries around people who are unemployed, low skilled, or low paid, thereby narrowing the circle of people to whom citizens feel a sense of responsibility.” (p. 10)

It is an empirical question to what extent the hypothesis about a general trend towards neoliberalism is valid and provides a meaningful basis for examining social policy reforms across countries with highly different policy traditions and institutions. To the extent that we find a general trend towards neoliberalism, we should expect to find (i) more emphasis on individual responsibilities in social policy discourses, (ii) narrowing down of public responsibilities for the social security and protection of the citizens, (iii) less reliance on state-led interventions to level inequalities, (iv) and higher involvement of market actors/ for-profit organisations as providers of social insurance and services. The consequences of these trends may include (I) a substantial enlargement in the range of available opportunities and contingencies to solve risks, (II) a stronger reliance on individual resources to actually seize these opportunities, and (III) the exposure to a wider variety risks due to higher cross-national economic and political interdependencies. In such an environment, resilience building mechanisms become fundamental to guarantee the sustainability of citizens’ well-being.

Social resilience at the system and individual level

Social resilience may refer to the resilience of social systems (society as a whole) or the individual citizen. According to Cutter et al. 2008, social resilience is

> “the ability of a social system to respond and recover from disasters, […] it includes those inherent conditions that allow the system to absorb impacts and cope with an event, as well as post-event, adaptive processes that facilitate the ability of the social system to re-organize, change, and learn in response to a threat”.

In a similar vein, Adger (2000) defines "social resilience … at the community level rather than being a phenomenon at the individual level". In line with this strand of the literature, the principal concern of Hall and Lamont (2013: 14)

> "is with well-being broadly defined and how it is secured by groups of people more or less bound together in an organization, class, racial group, community or country. Accordingly, we use the term 'social resilience' to denote an outcome in which the members of a group sustain their well-being in the face of challenges to it".

Hall and Lamont focus on social relations at the meso-level. However, most definitions include the individual as a unit of concern. For example, Obrist, Pfeiffer and Henley (2010) define social resilience

> "… as the capacity of actors to access capitals in order to not only cope with and adjust to adverse conditions (that is, reactive capacity) – but also search for and create options (that is, proactive capacity) and thus develop increased competence (that is, positive outcomes) in dealing with a threat".

As Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013, p.7) put it:

> "All definitions of social resilience concern social entities – be they individuals, organizations or communities – and their abilities or capacities to tolerate, absorb, cope with and adjust to environmental and social threats of various kinds". (…) Social resilience includes "their capacity (of actors) to participate in governance processes and to transform societal structures themselves." (page 7)

Within the social sciences, the concept of social resilience has been used not only to refer to the macro and meso level but also to denote the capacity of individuals to cope with, adapt to and transform their opportunities for participation in the face of social challenges. Analyses of resilience building processes are mostly found at the individual level but with a focus on the social, financial and cultural resources that are available to them: e.g. with a focus on assets and endowments (Cinner et al. 2009; Glanovic et al. 2013), capacities and skills (Masten 2007), social capital (Adger, 2000; Pelling and High, 2005), informal networks (Bussi, Schoyen, Vedeler, O'Reilly, McDonnell & Lewis 2019; Keck et al. 2012), and cultural capital (Marshall and Marshall, 2007; Obrist, Pfeiffer and Henley 2010).

Pursuing a constructionist understanding of resilience in health science, Ungar (2004:342) sees resilience "as the outcome from negotiations between individuals and their environments for the resources to define themselves as healthy amidst conditions collectively viewed as adverse. From such a perspective, the question of the *actors' agency* emerges more at the forefront of the analyses (compared to a system theoretical or ecological perspective). It raises the question to what extent disadvantaged people have a *voice* and are listened to in the design and implementation of public services that are relevant and meaningful to them, or whether they rely on other resources than those available through public sector services to handle social risks.

A constructionist perspective emphasises the meaning the actors' themselves attribute to their action choices and their subjective perception of their opportunities for coping with and overcoming the adversities they experience. Such as perspective allow actors such as claimants and beneficiaries of social benefits and the service providers to disagree whether their responses are adequate to cope with and improve their situations, and to disagree about what is the desirable outcome of the receipt of the benefits, whether it is education, economic independence, better work-life balance, more choice in use of care services, involvement in advocacy groups or something else. According to Kaplan (1999: 31-32):

> "A major limitation of the concept of resilience is that it is tied to the normative judgements relating to particular outcomes. If the outcomes were not desirable, then the ability to reach the outcomes in the face of putative risk factors would not be considered resilience. Yet, it is possible that the socially defined desirable outcome may be subjectively defined as undesirable, while the socially defined undesirable outcome may be subjectively defined as desirable. From the subjective point of view, the individual may be manifesting resilience, while from the social point of view the individual may be manifesting vulnerability."

According to Ungar (2004: 360) a constructionist perspective invites us to examine how gender, ethnicity, class, disability, age and other factors shape our definition of resilience. By comparing population groups and countries we may become more aware of our own taken for granted assumptions and ways of reasoning about resilience, raise attention to culturally specific ideas, and dominant or even hegemonic assumptions about what qualify as resilience.[6] In a later publication Ungar (2012: 387) argues for the need to explore the tensions between "culturally and contextually specific mechanisms that help at-risk populations not only survive, but also thrive" and those that are shared across cultures. For Ungar (2012: 388) resilience is a "facilitative process that helps people overcome adversity".

When comparing countries and/or population groups we ought to examine whether a resilience promoting environment is in place; whether resources and help are available and support a positive development that is relevant to those who need it. Ungar's attention to the temporality of resilience is also useful. By examining capacity building processes, we may achieve a better understanding of the mechanism that shape people's scope for agency and how they develop (expand or deteriorate) over time.

What kind of social citizenship model for social resilience?

We argue that the three approaches to social citizenship we have identified (socio-liberal, market-liberal and civic-republican) represent different visions of how society may achieve 'social resilience'. Depending on their vision of or underlying assumptions about social citizenship, scholars in social policy, governments and civil society organizations have emphasized different forward-looking strategies aiming at social resilience; i.e. how to achieve a sustainable social models, economic growth, and social cohesion a circular economy (European Commission 2010, 2020). One may say that the three approaches to social citizenship outline different contractual relations between individual citizens', citizens groups, and society ('the state'), and how governments may promote or facilitate those contractual relations. In other words, the citizenship models deal with the compatibilities and conflicts between the needs and interests of individual citizens, citizens' groups and the cohesion of society as a whole (the coherence, equilibrium and transformative potential of the social system). Depending on what model we apply, we arrive at different interpretations of the external and internal pressures on the welfare state and different solutions as to how policy makers can best approach the current challenges.

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[6] This recommendation resembles what Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) denote as "denaturalization".

Socio-liberal approaches to social resilience

Marshall's emphasis on the duality of rights and duties implies that his notion of citizenship has both an individual and a collective aspect. The welfare of the individual and the community had to be balanced. It was the responsibility of the state to harmonise the two. The rights codified the status of the individual citizen or a social category of citizens in society. An individual was not a full citizen if he or she was excluded from one or more of these rights. While Marshall argued that there ought to be a balance between rights and duties, he noted with some regret that rights had proliferated more rapidly than duties under the modern welfare state (Marshall 1980: 90). Sometimes Marshall has been used as a strawman to argue for stronger duties or 'conditionalities' in return for the rights to social protection (e.g. Turner 2001, Giddens 1999, Kivisto and Faist 2007). However, Marshall's concern about the moral duties connected to citizenship is more present in his writing than sometimes suggested when only his three types of rights are focused upon.

Recent conceptions of European and EU social citizenship have to a large extent been in line with the Marshallian tradition. Maurizio Ferrera (2017, 2019) argues for strengthening EU social citizenship. In addition to his proposals to strengthen EU citizens' social rights he also suggests to 'strengthen EU citizenship with some soft duties, such as earmarking a small percentage of personal income tax for EU social policies or raising funds for such policies through fees on an EU social card or EU passport'. Bauböck (2017, 2019) argues that to make EU citizenship an effective 'bonding mechanism' that can foster social cohesion across Europe, we need to adopt a stronger social component as well as 'some duty'. The underlying idea is that we need more reciprocity among EU citizens to foster solidarity among EU citizens; a thicker contractual relationship that bridges social rights and duties (Vandenbroucke 2017). Others have argued against the proposal and suggested that the introduction of duties is incompatible with the liberal idea and jurisdiction of the EU (Joppke 2017, Schmidt 2017).

A number of scholars in social policy and the European Commission (2013) have argued in favour of so-called 'social investment policies' that may help to increase the employment rates and boost economic growth in the member states. One core meaning of social investment is a shift towards active measures to improve people's skills or 'human capital', as opposed to a one-sided focus on providing income maintenance benefits ('passive benefits') (Esping-Andersen 1996, Chapter 1). A number of scholars have whole-heartedly embraced the social investment approach, albeit based on different understandings and emphases (Ferrera 2014, 2017, Fransen *et al.* 2018, Hemerijck 2017, 2018, Hemerijck and Huguenot-Noël 2022, Kvist 2016, 2017, Vandenbroucke 2011, 2014, Palier 2022).

In October 2008 the EU Commission introduced the concept of 'active inclusion' as a multifaceted strategy to combat poverty and social exclusion for people at some distance from the labour market, combing an adequate level of income maintenance through minimum income provision, through employment-promoting measures and access to necessary and high quality social and health services (European Commission 2008). The Network of Independent Experts on Social Inclusion, which published an assessment of the implementation the 2008 recommendation on active inclusion, pointed to a number of limitations in the member states' implementation of the recommendation (Frazer and Marlier 2013).

Nevertheless, the Commission made an explicit link to the 2008 recommendation on active inclusion when it in February 2013 launched its Social Investment Package (European Commission 2013) and later adopted the 2014 and 2015 policy roadmaps for the implementation of the Package. The European Commission argued that:

> "In particular, the modernisation of social policies entails giving activation measures a more prominent role. This enables people to actively participate to the best of their abilities in society and the economy. Support schemes should provide an exit-strategy, so they should in principle be temporary. Conditionality to achieving an appropriate and specific goal (e.g. participation in training) is part of this." (European Commission 2013, p. 3)

It seems fair to say that the EU in this way has relaunched the active inclusion approach. In their 2017 discussion of the future of social Europe the Commission argued that to create resilient societies the member states will need "massive investment in skills and a major rethink of education and lifelong learning systems" (European Commission 2017a: 10, also European Commission 2017b, 2017c).

There is a lively discussion to what extent it is appropriate and relevant to interpret changes in European countries' social protection spending over the last decade or two as indicators of a turn towards social investment (e.g. Sipilä 2012), including how to distinguish between spending that contribute to 'consumption' in the short term (e.g. reduced child poverty), an investment with likely future pay-offs or both (Hemerijck et al 2013; 2017). This ambiguity partly reflects the flexibility of the concept social investment, partly a lack of general consensus about the precise meaning of the term. Furthermore, some researchers have questioned whether changes that have been introduced under the banner of 'social investment' have actually benefitted people at risk of poverty (e.g. Cantillon 2011; Cantillon & Van Lancker 2013). One of the critics, Cantillon (2014, pp. 307-309), argues that the social investment approach tends to have a narrow employment-promotion focus and lacks a consideration of how social spending can enhance people's independence and autonomy.

Market-liberal (libertarian) approaches to social resilience

Market-Liberal (Libertarian) approaches to social citizenship represent a quite different take on how public authorities may foster social resilience. Compared to the socio-liberal approach, the market-liberal approach envisions a "thinner" or more limited contract between individual citizens and the state, with an emphasis on the autonomy and self-responsibility of the citizens. People should take responsibility for their own well-being and risk protection. To capture this idea, the citizenship literature has referred to notions such as 'consumer citizens' (Clarke et al 2007), 'welfare consumerism' and the 'marketisation of welfare' (Taylor-Gooby 2008, Clarke and Newman 2009, Greve 2009). Apart from its role in protecting and enforcing civil and political rights (including non-discrimination in the market and transportability of social rights, guaranteed by the EU), it is not obvious which services the state should provide. To the extent that the state should provide income maintenance benefits or social services in cash or in kind, it should operate as an enterprise with the citizens as its consumers.

Market choice is presented as a positive response to foster active participation from the citizens in the provision and delivery of welfare. Le Grand (2007) argues that 'in general, the choice and competition model for delivering public services is indeed an effective instrument for improving the quality, efficiency, responsiveness and equity of those services–especially when compared with the alternatives' (2007: 95). Partly the development of more individual responsibility and user choice has been driven by neo-liberal ideas about the welfare state. Partly the discourse of choice has its roots in demands from claimants and beneficiaries of the services for more influence or 'user control' (Johansson and Hvinden 2012).

In Europe trends towards marketisation of welfare has perhaps been most clearly visible in old age pension schemes, and in the provision of long-term care services for elderly and persons with disabilities, as well as in health care. In many European countries there has been an increase in the take-up of different forms of private health insurance, sometimes on top of an NHS-style system (Olesen 2009; Immergut *et al* 2021). The independent living movement among persons with disabilities argues for instance for more user control with personal assistants. Most of these provisions are controlled by national authorities. What impact increased marketisation and consumer orientation in welfare services have on social inequalities needs thorough investigations in future research (Rostgaard 2011; Moffat, Higgs, Rummery and Jones 2012).

Civic-republican approaches to social resilience

Civic-republican approaches to social citizenship give us a perspective that points in the direction of deliberative or participatory democracy as a source of social resilience. Different from Marshal's focus on citizenship as a status, the civic-republican approach addresses the participatory dimension of citizenship; the involvement of individual citizens and citizens groups, self-organisation and representative organisations of claimants and beneficiaries of welfare services in the deliberation and implementation of social policies. Throughout Europe, we see the emergence of new discourses on the involvement of citizens and a search for new forms of civic participation beyond representative democracy, often under the heading of 'civil dialogue', 'collaborative governance' or 'participatory governance' (Chambers and Kymlicka 2002, Pfau-Effinger 2005, Ross 2011).

Discussions about the political legitimacy of the European Union has largely been occupied with the 'output effectiveness *for* the people and input participation *by* the people' (Schmidt 2013, our emphasis). Sternberg (2015) argues that input and output legitimacy have been conceived partly as complementary and that weakness in one form may be compensated for by strength in the other, and partly as antithetical and that a trade-off between the two is inevitable. While few, if any, have claimed that the EU has sufficient input legitimacy several scholars have argued the EU could compensate for this by providing greater output legitimacy (e.g. Majone, 1998).

Input legitimacy has referred to the political participation in the process leading to the adoption of legislation and other policy instruments as ensured by majoritarian institutions of electoral representation. Currently, representatives to the European Parliament are elected in a series of 'parallel' elections, ran and regulated by the member states, and, as a result, dominated by national parties (Hix 2008). Efforts to influence elected representatives may take many forms such a 'lobbying' of MPs, secretariat support and consultations with cross-party thematic groups (e.g. 'the disability intergroup') and social protests. However, political participation to elect and influence representatives does not capture how interest articulation has become an integral part of EU governance.

For the EU, a critical factor is how they balance economic and social outputs of importance for the citizens, and whether the policies resonate with citizens' values. Both politicians and researchers have been concerned with citizens' subjective satisfaction with health and social services as well as the objective consequences for citizens' quality of life, well-being and effective freedom of participation in society and the market (e.g. Eurofund 2017). In part subjective satisfaction has been considered a source of legitimacy in itself. From this perspective citizens have primarily been conceptualised as consumers of the services provided the authorities.

Schmidt (2013) provides a new dimension to this discussion by introducing throughput as a third normative source of legitimacy (in addition to input and output): the governance processes with the people, analysed in terms of 'their efficacy, accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and openness to interest intermediation' (ibid. 6). On first glance, one could have made the argument that what Schmidt refers to as 'throughput' is sufficiently covered by the term 'input'. There are several reasons for considering them as analytically distinct. First, for Schmidt consultations with interest groups represent a distinct source of legitimacy and logic different from representative democracy. Second, the term refers not only to openness to consultations with citizens' groups but also the institutional structure in EU decision-making processes. Third, the two sources of throughput legitimacy may contradict each other. Openness to interest group consultations may contradict the transparency and accountability of the policies, at least if the access is unequal for different citizens groups. Fourth, Schmidt argues that the lack of throughput legitimacy hardly can be compensated for by input or output legitimacy.

The European Union (EU) has made 'participatory democracy' a key objective, aiming at an open, transparent and regular dialog with citizens, representative associations and civil society (Kohler-Koch & Rittberger 2007). The Lisbon Treaty introduced provisions for so-called "Citizens Initiatives", an instrument aimed at overcoming the barriers that exist between European citizens and Brussels decision makers by calling on the European Commission to make a legislative proposal through the collection of one million signatures. In addition, the European Commission has set up a platform ("Your voice in Europe"/ "Have your say") as a single access point to public consultations, open discussions and other tools to interact with the European policymaking. In 2007 the European Parliament installed a model of the Citizens'

Agora, bringing together representatives of civil society, trade unions, professional organisations and think thanks to debate with politicians the key challenges faced by the EU. In 2020 the Commission presented its proposal on the Conference on the future of Europe. As a major pan-European democratic exercise, the Conference is intended to be a new public forum for an open, structured debate with citizens around a number of key priorities and challenge (European Commission 2020). It is intended that the Conference should involve citizens, including a significant role for young people, civil society, and European institutions as equal partners and last for two years.

Decision-making processes in the EU have often been criticized for a lack of transparency, due to complex consultation processes between the EU institutions and with the member governments, and for a lack of accountability to the European Parliament. Efforts to influence elected representatives may take many forms such as 'lobbying' of MPs, secretariat support and consultations with cross-party thematic groups ('inter-groups') and social protests. In response to accusations in the 1980s and early 1990s of only lending an ear to business interests, the European Commission has since then provided core funding to a large number of pan-European civil society organisations that represent the interests of their constituencies in the member states (Johansson & Kalm 2015). These processes seem, however, to be very little known and visible at the national level, and the capacity of national labour and civil society organisations to be involved in the pan-European umbrella organisations and networks vary considerably.

At the national level, European welfare states have introduced more individual 'user involvement' in the social services, provided financial support to and established new forums for consultations with self-help activities, user organisations, and community-based organisations speaking on behalf of marginalised groups (Wohlfarth 2020). Such local initiatives have come to be seen as valuable additions to more established interest representation such as labour organisations. European governments are focusing more on the role of citizens could play as co-producers of welfare, by volunteering in charities and civil society organisations, and hence demonstrating their commitment and solidarity with fellow citizens (Köppe, Ewert and Blank 2015).

From an actor perspective, Williams, Popay and Oakley (1999), Williams (2021) and Lister (2006/ 2021) argue that we need a new thinking that focuses on claimants and beneficiaries of welfare services as active subjects that aim to pursue their idea of the good life, and not as passive recipients of other people's help, assistance or control measures. These authors point to the increasing influence of user organisations, citizens groups and new social movements, as a challenge to much reasoning on state/ citizen models in existing social policy research. Criticizing established models of citizenship, Williams (1998) argues that we need a new thinking that "… involves a shift away from seeing people as passive beneficiaries of welfare provided through state interventions and professional expertise…". As a way of conceptualizing this new relationship between states and citizens, she proposes a notion of 'welfare agency' to address the strategies and activities of 'welfare subjects'.

The core element of this conception of citizenship practice is the identification of citizens claiming benefits and services as creative and reflexive agents who do not respond to services in cash and in kind in uniform ways. We find a growing literature that has aimed to analyse such dynamics relationships between states and citizens (Anker and Halvorsen 2007; Annetts, Law, McNeish & Mooney 2009; Barker and Lavalette 2015, Berkel, Coenen, Vlek 1998/ 2018; Baudot 2018; Fox Piven and Cloward 1977; Mantovan 2010, MacKinnon and Driscoll 2013; Martin 2001; Millward 2015).

These authors create an analytic space in which we can reconsider the participatory dimension of citizenship. Throughput as a source of legitimacy is so far the dimension that has received least attention in European social policy. The emergence of new arena and forum for public consultations at the EU level provide new opportunity structures for welfare claimants and their representative organisations to influence EU and national social policies (Halvorsen, Hvinden, Bickenbach, Ferri and Guillén Rodriguez 2017). When welfare claimants challenge their ascribed identity as silent or passive objects and give voice to their opinions and demonstrate the capability to develop independent strategies to cope with risks and transform their opportunities for human flourishing and standard of living, they contest established public and professional boundaries and practices. This new dynamic might imply that citizens develop new and alternative to make their voice heard in relation to public services which they feel are violating their integrity and personal rights.

New tasks for research into social citizenship and social resilience

One important task for research into social citizenship is to describe and analyse the ways in which new and "hybrid" forms of social citizenship give rise to tensions, conflicts and ambiguities. By "hybrid" we mean combinations of elements from at least two of the three forms of citizenship we have outlined.

A second task is to gain more systematic knowledge about how the Europeanization and denationalization of social policy may promote such hybridization and a relative shift in the overall configuration of social citizenship. Are we witnessing a more prominent role for Market-Liberal (Libertarian) or Civic- Republican elements at the expense of Socio-Liberal elements? Or is the EU successful in promoting socio-liberal elements of European social citizenship, for instance through social investment policies and the implementation of the European Pillar of Social Rights?

A third task is to analyse whether new hybrid forms of social citizenship creates tensions and conflicts between individual/ household and societal resilience. For instance, we may ask if the introduction of new social rights at the EU level, reforms in social investment strategies and/or the introduction of new welfare conditionalities foster social resilience at both the individual/household and societal level. Sometimes policy makers claim that social policy reforms are in the interest of both the welfare claimants and society as a whole. This is, however, not always self-evident. Sometimes social services have been designed in such a way that one could argue that the self-interests of the others were equally or more important, for instance with the introduction of welfare conditionalities or reductions in the generosity of welfare benefits.

In our review of the literature on social resilience we have emphasised (i) that welfare claimants, policy makers and local service providers can have different and conflicting views of what qualify as resilience, (ii) that resilience is a process where welfare claimants and providers negotiate, (iii) that resilience has both an individual and societal dimension, and (iv) that the institutional setting may provide resources and opportunities in a more or less universal or selective manner to support resilience. We may summarise key findings from our review of the literature on social resilience and the relationship to our three idea-typical approaches to social citizenship as follows:

Table 3.1 Social resilience in the context of European social citizenship

Level	In the context of European social citizenship, social resilience is the
Individual/ household	Capacity of individuals and households to acquire a sense of security, autonomy and influence, even in adverse circumstances, and realize valued and meaningful achievements in the short and long-term
Organisational	Capacity of organised civil society and labour organisations to influence local, regional national and EU social policies, and promote improvements in the opportunities for their member constituencies to exercise social citizenship.
Societal	Capacity of governments to provide support (benefits, services and regulations) that maintains and enhance individual capabilities that are valuable and meaningful to individuals

Social resilience defined in this way means that that we consider the active agency of citizens as a constitutive element of social resilience. Normatively, our conceptualisation of social resilience implies that citizens should have the opportunity acquire security, autonomy and influence, pursue their values and lifegoals, govern themselves and live a life that is meaningful to themselves. Moreover, our definition of resilience is in line with Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013) and Ungar (2008, 2012) in incorporating a wider time horizon rather than focusing on a single point in time. We consider it important to increase our understanding of how and to what extent the actions taken by citizens at one point influence the same persons' opportunities for participation subsequently.

Much of the current debate on the widening gap in inequalities has focused on inequalities in income and wealth, without addressing how people's agency affects the take up and use of social rights. While the study of the impact of social protection policies on life-course dynamics is not new (Hansen & Lorentzen 2018; Leisering and Leibfried 1999, Gautun 2007), cross-national comparisons of welfare and work trajectories are rather few (see however Allmendinger & Hinz 1998, Dale & Holdsworth 1998, Scherer 2001). As a consequence, we know relatively little about cross-national differences in work, care and welfare trajectories. Furthermore, the dynamic between citizens' exercise of agency and the construction of social protection policy systems is still under-theorised (Halvorsen and Hvinden 2018, Hvinden et al 2019 a & b).

In this section we have argued that we need a focus on how citizens and their representative organisations exercise agency given the resources that are available to them and the cultural expectations (rules, norms, traditions, ways of seeing) they are faced with. Citizens' ability to realise their expectations is affected by their subjective interpretation of their opportunities, ways of learning and coping with social risks. In other words we need both data about the objective economic, social and cultural conditions as well as people's subjective interpretations of them.

4. The capability approach, social resilience and social citizenship: towards a common ground

In this section we examine how the capability perspective, developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, may inform analyses of people's opportunities to exercise social citizenship over the life-course and foster social resilience. Rooted in Aristotelian philosophy, the capability perspective emphasises the idea of human flourishing (Nussbaum 2011). By combining ethics with economic principles, the capability approach has provided a *raison d'etre* for participation and empowerment as central features of human development indicators (Biggeri et al 2011). We argue that, a capability-oriented approach adds innovative value to the study of social protection policies by asking whether they increase individuals' opportunities to participate as full members of society.

The capability approach: key concepts and possible extensions

The Capability Approach is a framework for evaluating social justice based on the notion of 'capabilities', 'functionings' and 'freedoms of choice' (Sen, 1999; 2009). According to the Capability Approach the freedom to achieve is to be conceived in terms of people's opportunities (or opportunity freedom) to do what they have reason to value (i.e. capabilities). The Capability Approach is not just a theory that can explain poverty or inequality related processes. It is also an intentionally underspecified framework to evaluate different social arrangements and to promote policies that are likely to generate capability expansions (Robeyns 2005, 2016; Alkire, 2008; Gangas 2020).[7]

Sen and Nussbaum borrow the concept of capabilities from Aristotle and Marx (Nussbaum, 1988; Sen, 1980, 1992). It expresses a state where individuals are fully able to develop their human nature according to their natural predispositions, abilities and aspiration (Hart, Biggeri and Babic 2014). In other words, the Capability Approach's main contributions consists in broadening the information space needed for evaluating social arrangements and design policies that bring about development, the level of commitment for individual and social well-being (agency) and the distinction between different types of individual, social and environmental conversion factors (1999). In Sen's words*:*

> "Development consists in the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency. The removal of substantial unfreedoms is constitutive of development" (Sen, 1999, xii).

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[7] According to Robeyns (2015), the capability approach can be transformed into a capability theory of X (such as social resilience) if it is linked to other theoretical frames (Robeyns, 2015).

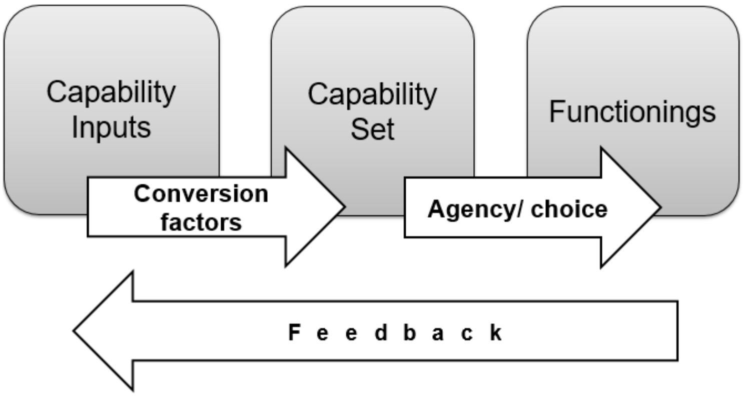
The Capability Approach emphasizes the fundamental role of agency. This refers to what a person is free to do and achieve in the pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important. Sen, as principle, rejects the idea of setting a list of dimensions of well-being but rather posits that this should be the result of public scrutiny and public reasoning (Sen, 2009). In his early writings Sen (1985) argued that "agency freedom is freedom to achieve, whatever the person, as a responsible agent, decides he or she should achieve" (p. 204). Later Sen (1999) has argued in favour of an "agent-oriented view" in which individuals and groups should decide by themselves which capabilities and functionings are important to them, "'effectively shape their own destiny and help each other'" (Sen, 1999, 11), and be 'active participant[s] in change, rather than … passive and docile recipient[s] of instructions or dispensed assistance' (Sen, 1999, 281)" (Crocker and Robeyns, 2010, p. 75).

While capabilities are defined as the freedom to achieve thing people have reason to value, functionings are defined as people's actual achievements in terms of being and doings. In between, there is the freedom to choose. Then, capabilities reflect a person' s freedom to choose between different ways of living. This approach stands in contrast to resource focused accounts of social justice which analyse social arrangements based on the distribution of resources.

A key concern for Amartya Sen is that if we want satisfactory analysis of social inequality, we cannot define it based on resources that are available to them alone. Rather we want "*to look directly at the quality of life that people are able to lead, and the freedom they enjoy to live the way they would like*" (Sen, 2006: 34). According to Sen, the capability to function should be put at the centre stage of assessment. Where functionings refer to what people actually do and are, the capability set denotes what people really «can do and can be» if they want to. Functionings, then, are a subset of the capability set. They are the realized options or life chances of the individual. Because people experience of access to capability inputs differ and their exposure to conversion factors vary, their abilities to convert resources into capabilities will also differ. The capability inputs are the resources individuals can avail of in their efforts to live the life they want for themselves (e.g. money, material resources and services) The potential transformation of capability inputs into capabilities is mediated by conversion factors; i.e. the factors constraining of facilitating conversion.

The relationship between the concepts can be illustrated in the following way:

Figure 4.1 The relationship between key concepts in the capability approach



Source: Halvorsen and Bøhler (2018)

The feedback loop in the figure points to the importance of including a wider time horizon or time perspective in the study of how people's capabilities change over time.

From formal to substantial citizenship - the role of conversion factors

The Capability Approach has often been taken to represent an individualist approach and with little regard for how social and material factors shape the freedom of choice of individual persons. Hvinden and Halvorsen (2017) demonstrate that this criticism is exaggerated. The Capability Approach has increasingly recognized the role of groups and social structures (Deneulin, 2005; Sen, 2002; Stewart 2005; Ibrahim, 2006; Trani et al. 2011) in influencing individuals' capabilities. In our own research, we have argued that self-organisation among people at risk of social exclusion can provide a link between social policy reforms and fostering individual capabilities (Halvorsen, 2018).

Both Sen himself and other scholars working within the Capability Approach have to an increasing extent identified and empirically examined the interaction and interdependencies between different conversion factors and how they shape people's effective freedom to choose their own lives. While the Capability Approach might be ethically individualistic, in the sense of placing individual freedom centre stage, it is a misunderstanding to assume that it is methodologically individualistic. By addressing conversion factors, the Capability Approach provides a conceptual tool to address human diversity and differences in needs between people (Sen 1999, 2005, 2009). Because people experience of access to capability inputs differ and their exposure to conversion factors vary, their abilities to convert resources into capabilities will also differ.

Sen has himself identified five main sources of variations in the conversion of capability inputs into capability sets and functionings (1999, pp. 70–71, 2005, p. 154, 2009, pp. 254–255), as follows:

- *personal heterogeneities* (diversity in individual characteristics, physical and mental capacities, knowledge and skills),

- *distribution within the family* (household and intra-family distribution of paid and unpaid work, earnings and purchase power, gendered division of labour),
- *differences in relational positioning* (e.g., cultures, social norms and conventions affecting the respect and recognition of others, as well as the person's dignity, self-respect and the 'ability to appear in public without shame' (Adam Smith, as cited in Sen, 2000, p. 3),
- *varieties in social climate* (e.g., the quality of public services and community relations) and
- *environmental diversity* (e.g., climate, differential exposure and the risk of illnesses).

In her codification of Sen's Capability Approach, Ingrid Robeyns distinguishes between three main types of conversion factors influencing the extent to which a person can transform a resource into Functionings (Robeyns, 2005: 99; 2011; Crocker & Robeyns, 2010: 68):

- *Personal Conversion Factors* (e.g. metabolism, physical condition, sex, reading skills or intelligence)
- *Social Conversion Factors* (e.g. public policies, social norms, gendered divisions of labour, social practices that unfairly discriminate, societal hierarchies or power relations)
- *Environmental Conversion Factors* (e.g. the physical or built environment in which a person lives, climate, pollution, geographical location and topography)

We may note that not only are the different types of conversion factor likely to interact with each other. We also have good reason to expect *interdependencies among the conversion factors*. For instance, a person's reading skills will largely depend on the existence of a system of universal education, social class (parents education), and an inclusive learning environment. In this sense, the lists of types and examples are invitations to sociological theorisation about such interrelationships rather than a strict sorting of factors of relevance for conversion.

Bøhler, Krasteva, O'Reilly, Vedeler, Stoilova and Tolgensbakk (2019: 48-49) argue that Sen's and Robeyn's

> "… sub-categories are both too few and too broad to adequately capture the complex empirical reality that shapes a person's sense of capability in practice. For example, by grouping such various phenomena as 'public policies, social norms, discriminating practises, gender roles, societal hierarchies and power relations' within a broad rubric termed 'social conversion factors' Robeyns does not pick up on specific experiences of these diverse factors. For instance, a specific public policy to promote gender equality may have little traction where discriminatory practices and social norms are not supportive of such policies."

From a sociological perspective, other categories and types of conversion factors may be equally or more important than those identified by Sen and Robeyns. Bøhler et al. (ibid.) propose using the following seven conversion factors. Bøhler et al. (ibid.) bring attention to the need to examine what conversion factors matters and the interdependencies between then[8]. Researchers may disagree on what are the most important conversion factors and how they should be categorized. However, the conceptualisation of conversion factors in the Capability

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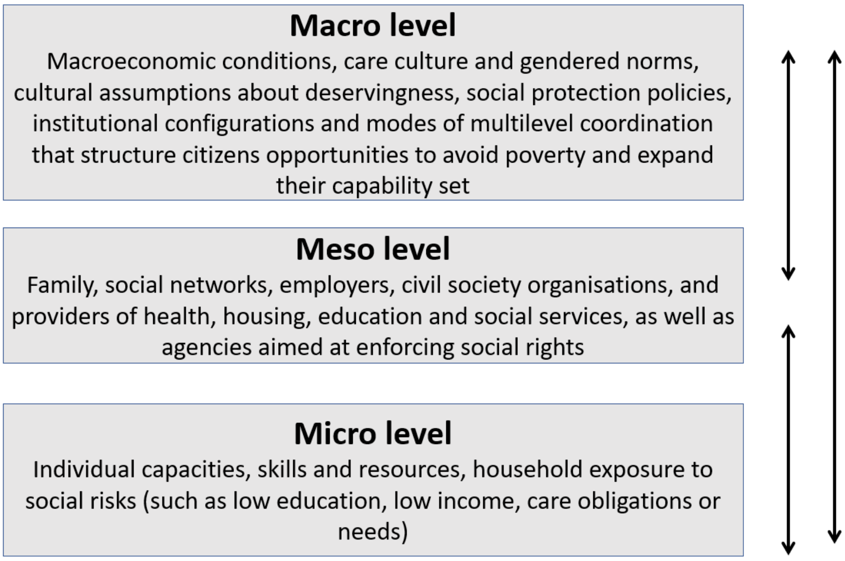
[8] Arguably they conflate agency and conversion factors in their conceptualization of "personal conversion factors"

Approach provides an analytic tool to examine social inequalities in the opportunities to exercise full and effective social citizenship (Robeyns, 2005, Crocker and Robeyns, 2010). In EUROSHIP we want to ask

> ***(i) whether social protection policies in European countries ensure people's capability to achieve the functionings they have reasons to pursue, given the diversity in needs and interests in the population, and***
>
> ***(ii) examine the conversion factors and their interdependencies that shape people's opportunities to convert the resources that are available to them into capabilities.***

Broadly speaking, we may distinguish between capability inputs/ conversion factors operating at the macro, meso and micro level respectively (see Figure 4.2). In this respect we take a different approach to conversion factors than those presented by Sen and Robeyns:

Figure 4.2: Examples of capability inputs/ conversion factors at different societal levels



Macro level
Macroeconomic conditions, care culture and gendered norms, cultural assumptions about deservingness, social protection policies, institutional configurations and modes of multilevel coordination that structure citizens opportunities to avoid poverty and expand their capability set

Meso level
Family, social networks, employers, civil society organisations, and providers of health, housing, education and social services, as well as agencies aimed at enforcing social rights

Micro level
Individual capacities, skills and resources, household exposure to social risks (such as low education, low income, care obligations or needs)

By differentiating between conversion factors at different levels we can more easily examine the possible interactions between cultural and structural conditions, social policy reforms and implementation, and individual agency and thus people's opportunities for exercising full and effective social citizenship. For instance, we may examine how gendered norms are reflected in national social policies (macro level), influence the allocation of social services (meso level) and division of labour in the household (micro level). In other words, the differentiation between the societal levels may sensitise us to the interdependencies between the different factors that impact on people's capability set. The differentiation can also sensitise us to better understand the links between social policy at the EU, national and local level and individual practices.

Conversion factors at the macro, meso and micro level are instrumental in the process of moving from means or inputs via the capability set to actual functioning (understood as realised capabilities). At the same time, the same factors may operate as initial conditions or sources of capability inputs. This means that empirically they are not distinct from each other. Rather this is a question of *perspective,* whether we focus on micro, meso and macro level structures as sources of capability inputs, or whether we alternatively focus on them as potentially important conversion factors, i.e. factors affecting the transformation of capability inputs into functionings (e.g. in terms of security, autonomy or influence) (Hvinden and Halvorsen, 2017).

Institutional conversion factors – the role of institutional analysis in EUROSHIP

- ***What role does public policy play in promoting social citizenship for persons at risk of poverty?***
- ***To what extent is the historical development of European social protection policies for those at risk of poverty path dependent?***
- ***How do European welfare states differ in their institutional constellations of social protection policies for persons at risk of poverty?***

The challenge of responding to currents gaps in social citizenship, reducing risks of poverty and social exclusion, and promoting upward social convergence, social resilience and social cohesion in Europe belongs to a broad class of complex policy and governance challenges requiring a combination of (1) well-integrated, *interlinked and mutually supporting social protection policies* (combinations of income maintenance, social services and social regulation), (2) networks of *horizontal collaboration* between relevant actors and stakeholders, and (3) *vertical coordination* across different levels of governance (supra-national, national, regional and local). In EUROSHIP we aim examine to what extent the policy measures and actors are coordinated, support or contradict each other, and how the policies evolve within their social environment.

(i) Combinations of income maintenance, social services and social regulation

A particular concern in EUROSHIP is how different types of policies can be mutually supportive in enhancing the opportunities to exercise social citizenship for persons with low education and low income. Often, the study of social policies and social citizenship has been limited to analysis of the design and consequences of income maintenance systems and social services. To the extent that we do find systematic examinations of the design and consequences of regulatory measures, they tend to be unrelated to the broader discussions about the welfare state and social protection policies. The consequences have been multiple: social policy analysis has missed out on a focus on mechanisms that may enhance the implementation and take up of social rights. The relatively larger powers of the EU in social regulation policies than in redistributive policies has been ignored or underestimated in the overall assessment of the shifting balance in powers between the EU and national governments in providing social rights. To overcome these shortcomings, we examine *the 'system-ness' of the social protection policies*.

By social protection policy, we have in mind the totality of policy measures with the aims to foster quality of life and opportunities for social participation of the citizens. We distinguish between three subsystems of social protection policy (Halvorsen and Hvinden 2018).

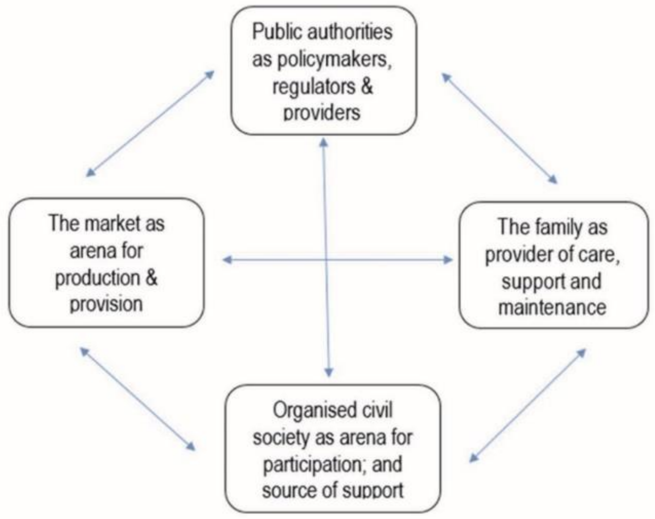
- One, the income maintenance subsystem aims to provide income security where there is insufficient income from paid work, at redistributing monetary resources, and compensating for the higher expenses people may have due to care obligations, care needs, disability or other special circumstances (e.g. diet, heating, medical treatment, transportation needs). The subsystem aims to ensure that the person is equipped with the necessary resources to achieve or return to paid work, provide care for others and is able to live a life according to prevailing standards in the country. By guaranteeing a safety net, such policy measures also contribute to preventing that the citizens become socially isolated and exposed to deteriorating health conditions and thus larger difficulties in (re)entering the labour market and otherwise participate in society as active citizens.
- Two, the social services subsystem aims at providing benefits in kind to citizens in need, to compensate for various disadvantages and enable them to participate in the labour market and other sectors of society (e.g. public child care, elder care, education, training, personal assistance, assistive technology, health services).
- Three, the social regulation subsystem involves government efforts at influencing the functioning of markets and the behaviour of employers with the aim of promoting labour market participation and enable people to combine care work and employment. Examples of the instruments for such regulation include employment protection, working time regulations, health and safety regulations, minimum wage regulations, legal protection against discrimination, maternity leave, legal duties and financial incentives for employers to provide reasonable accommodation at the workplace for workers with care obligations or disabilities, affirmative action measures, wage subsidies for trainees and employees with reduced work capacity, and voluntary agreements between employers, trade unions and public authorities to foster an inclusive labour market.

Research has yet to examine and take fully into account the relationship between redistributive and regulatory policy instruments in fostering social resilience in the member states and in the EU as a whole. Broadly speaking, both the income maintenance and services subsystems aim at redistributing resources among differing population groups and equalizing their life chances. Usually, general taxes or contributions from the protected person and employers are financing such provision. By contrast, social regulation policies aim at remedying market failures. Governments seek to influence the labour market and their functioning as well as the behaviour of employers, e.g. by setting legal standards for health and safety, and employment protection in the work place (Levi-Faur 2014). While policy measures for social regulation take different forms, many of them follow the distinction between legislative means, financial incentives and persuasion through information (Vedung 1998).

(2) Horizontal relations between stakeholders – the welfare mix

Institutional factors affecting the distribution and take up of social rights and the opportunities to exercise social citizenship include the ‘welfare mix’, i.e. the division of responsibilities for the social protection and well-being of the citizens among public authorities, the market, the family and organised civil society.

Figure 4.1 Multi-stakeholder governance of social protection


Public authorities as policymakers, regulators & providers
The market as arena for production & provision
The family as provider of care, support and maintenance
Organised civil society as arena for participation; and source of support

People’s opportunities for exercising social citizenship will be affected by *gendered norms and conventions* affecting the social and economic practices of women and men in different countries. Women typically carry larger informal care responsibilities and do more unpaid work than men do. However, European countries differ in how and to what extent they foster a work-life balance and actively facilitate women’s participation in the labour market, by providing entitlement to paid parental leave and access to affordable nurseries (Lewis 1992, Orloff 1993; Pfau-Effinger 2005, Leon et al 2014; O’Reilly et al 2015; Pfau-Effinger et al 2018). Recently the importance of the local, informal social networks has been given more attention as conversion factors that may foster work-life balance (Yerkes, Hoogenboom and Javornik 2020). Others have examined the changing role of charities and self-advocacy organisations in the provision of welfare that may compensate for the lack of public social service or provide social services outsourced by the govenment (Aien and Bode 2009; Hogg and Baines 2011; Karlsson and Vamstad 2018).

Yet others have argued that we find systematic differences in state-market relations between liberal market economies such as the UK and coordinated market economies such as Germany (Hall and Soskice 2001). According to Hall and Soskice (ibid) the two main types of capitalist economy solve coordination of the market actors (firms, employers, employees, customers) in different ways. The authors argue that the ‘liberal market economies’ primarily coordinate through market mechanisms while ‘coordinated market economies’ govern to a larger extent through formal regulations. Hall and Soskice (p. 8) hypothesize that liberal market economies specialize in radical innovation, while coordinated market economies focus more on incremental innovation. The concept of varieties of capitalism has been influential in research on industrial relations but also criticized for not capturing significant differences within the ideal typical types of capitalist economy (Hay 2005, Akkermans, Castaldi and Los

2009). In the context of EUROSHIP, this strand of the literature is particularly relevant in our examination of country differences in the digitalization of welfare services in Europe.

(iii) Conversion factors in a multilevel governance context

The Capability Approach framework can be extended to analysis of multilevel governance contexts to highlight how the individual capability space is shaped by mechanisms and processes at the micro, meso and macro level.

Several scholars have observed how environmental, social and institutional conversion factors shape human flourishing (Evans 2002; Stewart and Deneulin 2002; Robeyns 2005; Stewart 2005; Ibrahim 2006; Deneulin 2008). Yet, within the capability approach little analysis has been so far devoted to the fact that "individuals, families and communities are inexorably embedded in institutional, cultural, social, geographical and economic terms within their territorial society" (Biggeri and Ferrannini 2014a, 14).

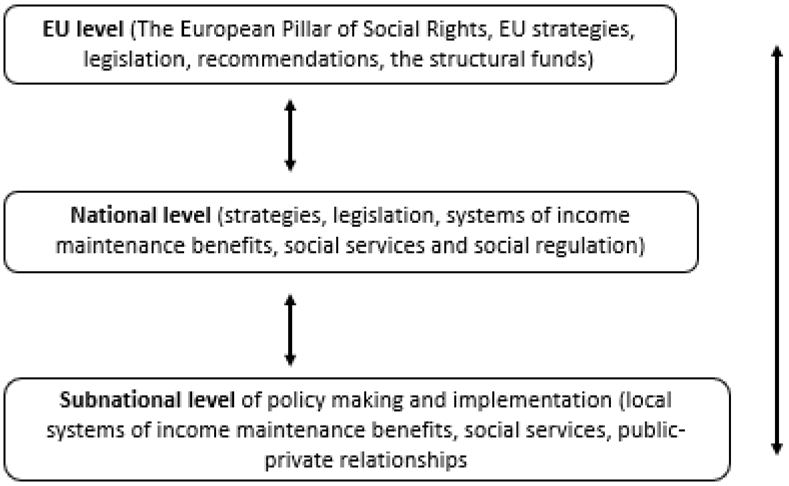
Biggeri and Ferrannini (2014) contribute to close this gap in the literature by theorising the links between the individual, collective and local community dynamics affecting human capabilities depicted as complex feedback loops fostering reproduction and change in people's capability sets (also Biggeri, Ciani and Ferrannini 2016; Biggeri, Ferrannini and Arciprete 2018). Biggeri and Ferrannini (2014) discuss the relevance of the horizontal and vertical dimensions of multilevel governance for the 'Sustainable Human Development' processes. The authors stress that

> "(t)he combination and coordination of resources, institutions and capacities deriving from different levels [of governance] and sectors crucially affects those enabling factors and processes that are essential for expanding agents' capabilities and increasing community well-being, both in economic and social terms" (Biggeri and Ferrannini 2014: 70).

The authors discuss the significance of a multilevel and ecological perspective in human development research. Their observations are relevant also if we want to achieve a better understanding of the mechanisms and processes that shape the de facto content of social citizenship.

The concept of multilevel governance can sensitise us to a focus on the conditions under which policy efforts to prevent or reduce poverty and social exclusion are likely to be successful. The underlying idea behind the concept of multilevel governance is that in complex systems of decision-making in contemporary Europe, no particular level of government, for instance the nation state, is sovereign and fully able to oversee and control what happens in its territory. Great complexity of issues and institutional patterns means that decision-making becomes dispersed (Halvorsen and Hvinden 2016, Jessola and Madama 2018).

Figure 4.3 Multi-level governance of social protection policies


EU level (The European Pillar of Social Rights, EU strategies, legislation, recommendations, the structural funds)
National level (strategies, legislation, systems of income maintenance benefits, social services and social regulation)
Subnational level of policy making and implementation (local systems of income maintenance benefits, social services, public-private relationships

At each territorial level, public authorities need to engage in discussion to establish various forms of networks, agreements, alliances or collaboration with non-public actors at the same level. While a public authority may be a dominant partner in such networks, it still needs the participation, resources and legitimacy of others to ensure or improve its capacity to achieve significant goals. Public authorities are not only dependent on other actors at the same territorial level but are also influenced and constrained by authorities and actors at other levels (e.g. supranational, national, regional, local or individual, as the case may be). Conversely, public authorities at a given territorial level are likely to seek to influence and constrain the actions of authorities and actors at the other levels. These interdependencies and the actors' responses will probably generate more or less open tensions (Halvorsen and Hvinden 2016).

Such efforts are, under some conditions, likely to create a web of dynamic relationships among the stakeholders – public authorities, political parties, labour organisations, social movement organisations – characterised by negotiation, manoeuvring, conflicts, coalition or alliance building. In general, we expect important dimensions of these stakeholder relations to include (Halvorsen and Hvinden 2016, 15):

- relations of power (expressed in dominance and authority but also in conflicting strategies of coping, avoidance, evasion or resistance);
- flows of resources (authority, material and symbolic resources, associated with emergent dependencies and networks of exchange);
- symbolic struggles (for recognition, respect, loyalty, trust and worthiness);
- actors' ways of coping with potential strain and tension (related to asymmetries in power, control over resources, status, social constructions of welfare claimants and beneficiaries as 'deserving' or 'undeserving')

While the national and subnational governments' pursuit of policies for preventing or reducing risks of poverty and social exclusion are not new, the importance of the EU in policy development and governance has grown markedly since the adoption of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. It is currently a lively discussion about how the social dimension of EU citizenship fares in the European Semester cycle (Copeland & Daly 2018; Dawson 2018; Vesan, Corti, & Sabato 2021, Carella & Graziano 2022).

In this context, it is of particular interest to examine *the political dynamics* between stakeholders at the EU, national and local level in the implementation of the European Pillar of Social Rights, including the alliances and conflicts between political parties, civil society organisations and labour organisations in political negotiations about minimum income schemes at the local, national and EU level (Natili 2019).

Conversion factors and intersectionality

The extent to which a person can transform commodities (goods and services) into real opportunities vary widely (Sen, 1980) according to their conversion factors and how they intersect (so called, intersectionality). To take a simple example, to get the freedom to move, a disabled and a non-disabled person need different commodities:

> “Since the conversion of primary goods and resources into freedom to select a particular life and to achieve may vary from person to person, equality in holdings of primary goods or resources can go hand in hand with serious inequalities in actual freedoms enjoyed by different persons" (Sen, 1992:81).

A focus on conversion factors may increase our attention to the differential effects and outcomes of existing social protection policies and gaps for different population groups. A focus on conversion factors can provide an analytic lens to assess how human diversity in needs and conditions for participating in society affect citizens’ risk of poverty and social exclusion.

For some time, feminist scholars have addressed how diversity challenges the idea of universal social policies on a multidimensional level going beyond simple comparisons purely based on gender or ethnicity (e.g. Williams 1989, Fraser 2008, 2013, Anttonen, Häikiö and Stefánsson 2012, Banting and Kymlicka 2017).

Since the end of the 1980s intersectionality theory has gradually become a basic approach in various academic disciplines. Crenshaw (1991) identifies three aspects of intersectionality: structural, political, and representational intersectionality. *Structural* intersectionality deals with how oppressed social groups experience discrimination, oppression, and violence in qualitatively different ways than white, middle-class, abled women and men experience them. *Political* intersectionality investigates how laws and policies have contributed to the matrixes of oppression and how they are used to make complex discrimination invisible. Finally, *representational* intersectionality asks how culture offers stereotypical portrayals of marginalised groups thus obscuring the actual experiences of these groups. These reflect differentiated locations of power, domination and discrimination. An intersectional perspective presents a more complex approach to the study of lived experiences of persons belonging to socially marginalised groups. The perspective implies not only conceptualizing gender and/or race and/or disability additively as factors of ‘double’ discrimination, but to consider them as interdependent constructs of human difference and social categorization. Intersectionality methodology and methods are, however, still underdeveloped (McCall 2005 Hancock 2007;

Nash 2008, Kabeer 2010, Dhamoon 2011, Yuval-Davis 2011; Walby, Armstrong & Strid 2012; Collins 2015; Davis 2020, Salem, 2018).

An emerging group of researchers are using the concept intersectionality as an analytical strategy (Zuccotti and O'Reilly 2019, Vinck and Van Lancker 2020, Vogt 2020), comparing differences between categories, such as between ethnic groups, as well as within categories of class, gender and ethnicity. These studies do not yet necessarily explicitly address the sources of power and discrimination; rather, they use intersectionality to acknowledge the compounded effects or interplay of different dimensions of inequality (age, ethnicity, class, gender, disability).

Recently, scholars informed by the Capability Approach has started to explore how a focus on conversion factors can contribute to better operationalizations and empirical assessments of intersectionality in the social sciences (Balsera 2014, Mkwananzi 2018). By combining the concepts of conversion factors at the micro, meso and macro level and intersectionality we may theorize how cultural hegemonies and hierarchies and structural inequalities shape social protection polices and the opportunities for exercising social citizenship (Table 4.1):

Table 4.1 Intersectionality in the context of social citizenship

At the macro and meso level	At the micro (individual and household) level
○ Whether European countries give priority to generic and standard social services (ALMP, education) regardless of intersectional differences or have in place bespoke policies and services accommodating special needs and interests ○ Whether European countries have in place non-discrimination law and policies (regarding gender, age, ethnicity/religion, and disability) ○ Whether European countries have in place mechanisms to support and consult with self-advocacy groups of marginalised population groups (claimants and beneficiaries of income maintenance benefits and social services) at the national and/or local level	○ Whether we find inequalities in the opportunities for exercising security, autonomy and influence between and within disadvantaged population groups (gender, age, class, ethnicity/religion, and disability, sexual orientation) that cause marginalization, misrecognition and invisibility ○ Whether we find inequalities in risk of poverty and social exclusion between and within disadvantaged population groups (gender, age, class, ethnicity/religion, and disability, sexual orientation) ○ Whether we find differences in take-up of social services between and within disadvantaged population groups (gender, age, class, ethnicity/religion, and disability, sexual orientation) due to structural inequalities (discursive, economic, social)

Summary: citizenship, social resilience and capabilities – a process perspective

The central role played by conversion factors in the Capability Approach emphasizes the complexity of capability building processes (Trani et al. 2011). This suggests that, while moving from pure theory to the ambition of supporting policy-oriented research, the conceptualization of the capability building process must, among others, take into consideration a time dimension. Conversion factors change over time at the micro level (Ballet et al. 2011), for instance due to changing care obligations, the aging process or acquirements of impairments during the life-course, at the meso level with organisational reforms and changes in the public-private partnership in local service provision, and at the macro level with reforms in social protection policies (Biggeri, Ferrannini and Arciprete, 2018).

From a capability approach, forward-looking strategies aiming at social resilience need to create conditions for citizens in which they are able to take individual and free decisions based on different options for their life course (Sen 1995, 2009). Sen (1995) has insisted that overcoming the passive receipt of social benefits in cash or in-kind, and other situations of social exclusion depends on the possibility of converting income into capabilities and achieving social 'roles' on an equal basis with others for example through participation in the labour market, unpaid care work, and civic and political participation. These forms of economic, social and political participation cannot be achieved only by providing more resources and better services ('top down' governance), they also require that the specific circumstances of individual citizens and citizens' groups and their freedom of choice be taken into account ('bottom up' mobilisation and involvement): "Without the substantive freedom and capability to do something, a person cannot be responsible for doing it" (Sen 1995; 88). Thus, transforming redistributive resources into the exercise of the three dimensions of social citizenship (security, autonomy and influence) - and thus promoting social resilience - requires the strong participation of citizens' in the choices concerning the benefits and services provided to them (Sen, 1993).

Once we acknowledge the need to have a time-sensitive and history-sensitive approach to the capability building process, it is worth exploring whether resilience thinking can help us to build a sounder theoretical framework to structure a capability theory of social citizenship. This points to the need to combine an assessment of the current individual capability space (and of underlying processes) and an analysis of its sustainability and/or predictable evolutions. In other words, we should not only be focused on the capability a person is enjoying *today* but also on what we can say about the *future* level of opportunities under different and alternative scenarios (e.g. in case of shocks, adverse events etc.). The evolving capability dynamics and in particular the concept of *potential capabilities* (Des, 2002, 2007; Ballet et al, 2011) is quite central in this process.

The capability evolving process incorporates a component of risk and trade-offs. For instance, if we look at a capability such as having the opportunity to enjoy high quality tertiary education. To achieve this kind of functioning in a society where tertiary education is recognized as a right and totally state-funded or by arranging a student loan to cover university fees has a clear and direct impact on the risk involved. The different ways of organising higher education open up at least two different life trajectories. The funding opportunities may influence the future range of achievable opportunities by modifying future resource availability (e.g. having less economic resources because of the student loan repayment), by changing the viability of certain options (e.g. reduced access to credit due to the already existing debt) and by preventing future opportunities (e.g. being compelled to accept a job to start repaying the student loan). In other words, capability building processes embodying a stronger risk component can led to more fragile capability spaces in the future that may erode the future level of individual social resilience. More precisely, by analyzing capability building processes, we can infer not only about the size and the shape of the capability space but also about one's ability to maintain (or expand) it in the future under alternative scenarios. *Ceteris paribus*, the more risk is generated and absorbed by the capability building process, the more challenging and expensive it will be to adopt appropriate resilience strategies.

Focusing more closely on the relation between social resilience and the capability approach, we should draw our attention to at least three main points:

First, according to the capability approach the achieved functioning space is a subset of the capability space: what I actually am and what I actually do is the results of a choice among everything I could have actually done or actually been. The wider the difference between the capability space and the achieved functioning space, the wider is the number of available beings and doings not yet experienced and practiced. The space for manoeuvring is directly linked to social resilience: the wider unexplored and unrealized share of the capability space, the wider is the potential to find adaptive and/or transformative strategies to react to the negative impact of economic shocks and stressors.

Second, transformative resilience arises from the actor's ability to foster change in unexpected ways and not only along pre-determined trajectories. The sources of transformation can find not only in entitlements and conversion factors but also in the feedback mechanisms allowing people to change the "rules of the game" (i.e. to reshape the resilience building mechanisms) through collective action and participation in self-advocacy groups, civil society organisations and trade unions (Biggeri and Ferrannini 2014). Political participation and involvement in the deliberation of social policies are examples of how these feedback loops can work in practice.

Third, a capability space characterized by abnormal unbalances among different capabilities (or achieved functionings) might be an indicator of low and/or declining resilience. Although, in principle, different shapes of individual capability spaces might be linked to the exercise of individual agency and freedom (i.e. the freedom to achieve more in one dimension and less in an others coherently with one's values), strong unbalances might be due to the impossibility to conciliate achievements on different dimensions. For instance, health and material wellbeing can be incompatible because the local economy is based on polluting productive activities. If people are forced to choose between being unemployed today and being sick tomorrow it is a signal that the existing capability building mechanisms are not resilient: In other words, the capability building process in place tends to expose people to risk burden with a very high probability of observing a sudden compression of the capability space in the future.

5. Towards a process perspective on social citizenship

In Section 4 we argued in favour of a process-perspective on the capability set and achieved functionings. The idea of conversion factors sensitises our analysis to mechanisms and processes that can make it understandable why outcomes of relevance for achieving social citizenship do *not* take place in circumstances that seem promising for achieving change, as well as the opposite case – why change happens in circumstances that do *not* seem promising for achieving full and effective citizenship. In this sense, we are not merely interested in identifying isolated conversion factors but also the conversion *processes*; i.e. the interaction between factors over time. The notion of conversion processes can be a tool for understanding the diversity among persons at risk of poverty (due to gender, age, ethnicity, disability) and the conditions that need to be in place to enable these sections of the population to exercise citizenship (Hvinden and Halvorsen, 2017). In these processes, we are interested in:

1) the conditions for exercising full and effective citizenship
2) the practices of persons at risk of poverty
3) the achieved outcomes

In the social sciences, it has for many years been a lively discussion about how to conceptualise the relationship between human action (agency) and the structures that partly are the results of human action, and partly serve as conditions for human action (constraints and opportunities or even enabling factors). The following proposal is inspired by recent developments in this discussion within ‘structuration theory’ (Stones 2005, O’Reilly 2012). These developments may help us to address:

- ***What dynamic relationships do we find between the practices of persons at risk of poverty and the various structures that may facilitate or hamper these practices?***
- ***What potential does the practices of persons at risk of poverty have to reproduce and transform such structures over time?***

Combining threads in the structuration theory, we identify a set of concepts that can be applied in empirical analysis of the processes affecting the opportunities for exercising social citizenship. In earlier sections on this paper we have identified a number of mechanisms that may affect people’s opportunities for exercising social citizenship. In this section we demonstrate how the structuration theory can sensitise us to the internal relations between the conditions for exercising full and effective citizenship and the practices of persons at risk of poverty, and to bring together the many mechanisms we have identified in earlier sections in an overall theoretical framework,

Social protection policies as rules and resources

A system perspective may provide a view of the relations between the policies and practices which by design or default influence the prevalence of poverty. However, we need a focus on the interaction between the practices of persons at risk of poverty, their significant others, staff in social services (teachers, social workers, health personnel) and actors in the labour market (employers) to understand the outcome of the policy measures. From the actors’ point of view the social protection policies are social structures that enable or constrain their opportunities to realize the values and objectives they cherish.

Giddens' work in the 1970s and 1980s is closely associated with the development of Structuration Theory. He rejects the idea that structures exist independently of social actors. Instead, he argues in favour of regarding *structures as rules (norms and interpretive schemes) and resources* (Giddens, 1984, p. 17), which actors produce and reproduce through their semi-reflexive and habitual practices. Giddens highlights the role of social practices in linking agency and structures, seeing practices as producing structures but also as produced by structures. Giddens captures this idea in his conception of the 'duality of structure'; structure is conceptualised as both the medium and the outcome of social practices (ibid., pp. 25–28).

Following Giddens, we may view social protection policies as rules (norms and interpretive schemes) and resources that structures citizens' opportunities to realize their life goals. In social protection systems, informal expectations and formal requirements ('rules') are reflected in legislation and administrative regulations, as well as in the discretionary conditions for receipt of social benefits in cash and kind defined by the frontline services. Together with other major social institutions such as family, organised civil society and the market, public social protection systems communicate informal expectations and formal rights and duties to claimants and beneficiaries of social services in cash or in kind.

How to link conditions for social citizenship, practices (agency) and outcomes

Stones (2005) has codified a theoretical framework informed by Giddens' theory but has also *de facto* reinterpreted the conceptualisation of social structures and the intersection between agents and structures to make the framework useful for designing empirical investigations and analysing empirical materials. According to Stones, the conceptualisation of the "duality of structure" is the key to understanding how the structuration theory models social processes, practices and relations:

> Giddens argued that structures enter into the constitution of the agent, and from here into the practices that this agent produces. Structure is thus a significant *medium* of the practices of agents. There is a complex and mediated connection between what is out-there in the social world and what is in-here in the phenomenology of the mind and body of the agent. Structure is also, however, the outcome of these practices of agents (2005, p. 5).

Building on the criticism of Giddens' early version of the structuration theory, Stones (2005, p. 9) introduces a model of a "quadripartite cycle of structuration […] in order to elaborate upon and clarify the variety and nature of the elements involved in the 'duality of structure'." This cycle of structuration has the following four elements (Stones, 2005, pp. 84–94):

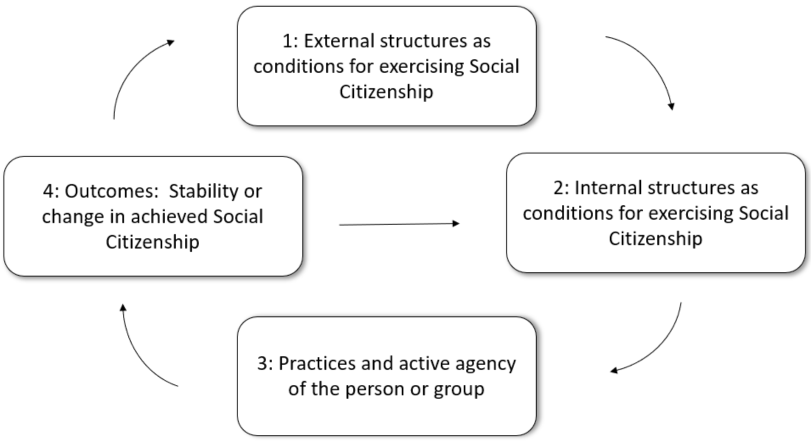
1. *External structures* as the conditions for actions include both constraints on and opportunities for action. The agent experiences external structures directly in his or her local context or indirectly and mediated even if the agent does not acknowledge them as conditions for action.
2. *Internal structures* within the agent include his or her more lasting dispositions, world views, as well as his or her more situated and time-dependent interpretation, learning,

ways of thinking and responding. Internal structures comprise both general-dispositional media used by the same agent across different situations (reminiscent of Bourdieu's [1977] conceptualisation of habitus) and an agent's conjuncturally specific knowledge of particular settings and contexts.

3. *Active agency* encompasses a range of aspects involved when an agent draws on internal structures to produce practical action. Active agency has three elements – habitual or routine action, practical considerations and responses vis-à-vis events in the broader or immediate contexts, and projective action by imagining alternatives to the current situation, as well as creating and pursuing goals.
4. *Outcomes* can be the specific events taking place in a person's life. At the same time, such events can be conceptualised as being part and parcel of the new or elaborated external and internal structures. In other words, the effects or consequences can be both external and internal, affecting the objective social conditions, as well as the subjectivity of the agent. Outcomes can take the form of the reproduction or the transformation of social life. Social change may manifest itself in reshaping or shaping (new) external and internal structures, that is, conditions for action. "The impact on internal structure can be thought of as part of the overall effect of external structure on agents" (Stones, 2005, p. 85). For example, this can come about through processes of primary and secondary socialisation, learning processes, adjustments and changes in what the agents believe is possible and their opportunities for participation.

O'Reilly (2012, p. 149) summarises Stones' conceptualisation of structuration in a visual representation that brings out the dynamic linkages between the structures, on the one hand, and the practices and active agency, on the other hand. Here, we have adjusted O'Reilly's visual representation to our research objective (Figure 5.1):

Figure 5.1. A simplified model of the dynamic relationships among structural conditions for achieving social citizenship, the practices of persons at risk of poverty and achieved outcomes, framed in terms of Strong Structuration Theory. **(Adapted from O'Reilly, 2012, p. 149; see also Stones, 2005, p. 85).**


1: External structures as conditions for exercising Social Citizenship
2: Internal structures as conditions for exercising Social Citizenship
3: Practices and active agency of the person or group
4: Outcomes: Stability or change in achieved Social Citizenship

The institutional policy analyses and political process analyses we conduct in the EUROSHIP project will provide insights into factors related to differences in institution configurations, care culture and policy design at the EU level and in selected European countries. O'Reilly (2012, p. 24) refers to such macro-level factors as 'upper structural layers', while organisational arrangements and local policies represent 'proximate structural layers' at the meso level. The policy analyses will provide new insights in the gaps in the social protection systems in Europe. The individual life-course interviews we conduct in EUROSHIP will provide additional data at the micro level. Together the data sets will provide new insights about external structures at the macro, meso and micro level.

In an earlier research project, Bussi, Schoyen, Vedeler et al (2019) used data from life-course interviews to analyse how employment transitions for young adults in Norway and the UK were structured by the social protection policies in the two countries. In our earlier research on disability policy, we have experienced that life-course interviews with individual citizens more easily can provide data about the immediate environments of the interviewees (Halvorsen et al 2018). O'Reilly (2012, p. 31) refers to such micro-level factors as 'conjuncturally specific external structures'.

How are the conditions for exercising social citizenship, practices and achieved outcomes linked to each other?

Taking as our point of departure the framework presented by Stones (2005) and adapting it to the study of social citizenship, we suggest the following will be important elements:

1) External structures enabling or constraining the achievement of social citizenship for persons at risk of poverty

a) EU law and policies (e.g. the European Pillar of Social Rights Action Plan, the Directive (EU) 2019/1158 on work-life balance for parents and carers, Commission proposal for a Council Recommendation on adequate minimum income schemes in the EU; Proposal for a directive on adequate minimum wages in the European Union 2020; Commission proposal for a Council Recommendation on Long-term care 2022)

b) Nation-specific legacies: redistributive provisions, legal and other regulatory policy measures, institutional, organizational and local arrangements (e.g. more or less available social services in cash or in kind, opportunities for choice and individual responsibilities in income maintenance schemes and social services, different employment protection and work-life balance, prevalence of discrimination, stereotypes, stigmatisation versus social recognition, and collective representation in decision-making processes)

2) Internal structures enabling or constraining enabling or constraining the achievement of social citizenship for persons at risk of poverty

a) Enduring internal structures (e.g. general dispositions, “habitus”, length of experience and ways of coping with economic hardship/ poverty, habits, established ways of seeing and doing, take-for-granted assumptions, perceptions and judgements of self and others)
b) Temporal internal structures (e.g. context dependent knowledge, competence and reactions to existing power relations, norms and practices, critical awareness about existing social policies, local opportunities, the impact of external and internal structures, and the possibility of change)

3) Social practices (active agency) of relevance for the achievement of social citizenship for persons at risk of poverty

a) Routine (habitual) everyday action or social engagement (e.g. by exercising rights and duties, autonomy, choice and self-determination; and/or influence through participation in decisions in proximate contexts)
b) Reflexive purposive action or social engagement (e.g. by exercising rights and duties, autonomy, choice and self-determination; and/or influence through participation in decisions in local, national and/or EU social policy making processes)

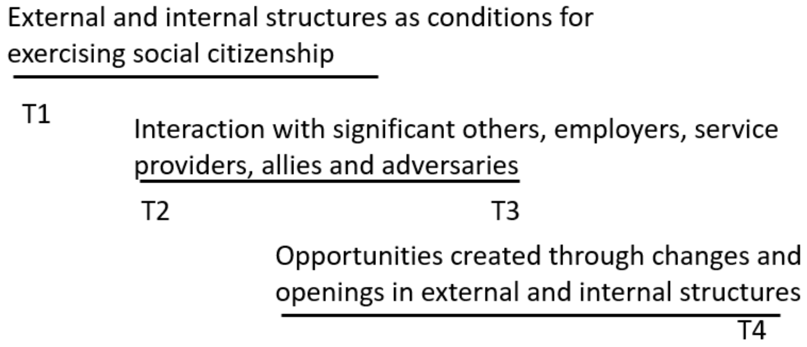
4) Outcomes of relevance for the achievement of social citizenship of persons at risk of poverty

a) Individual level outcomes (e.g. larger agency freedoms, improved well-being and quality of life, increased self-respect and respect from others, less shame and blaming of self)
b) Group-level or collective outcomes (e.g. more equal social positions, lower levels of poverty and material deprivation, recognition and representation of persons at risk of poverty in social policy design and decision-making processes)

While a phenomenological approach to social citizenship can provide new insights, it should only be a starting point for our analyses. How the actors subjectively express agency, interpret their own opportunities and position themselves depend on their objective opportunity structures; the social and cultural contexts that shape people’s scope for agency (Bourdieu 1990, Stones 2005, O’Reilly 2012).

We are interested in what consequences the developments in external and internal structures at Time 1 have for the social practice of persons at risk of poverty, the ability of persons at risk of poverty to use the opportunities created through changes and openings in external and internal structures (Time 2-3), and how new social practices – in particular the active agency of persons at risk of poverty – may stimulate new change in external and internal structures (Time 4) (Figure 5.2):

Figure 5.2 A process-oriented approach to the study of social citizenship (adopted from Archer 1995:76)


External and internal structures as conditions for exercising social citizenship
T1
Interaction with significant others, employers, service providers, allies and adversaries
T2
T3
Opportunities created through changes and openings in external and internal structures
T4

In EUROSHIP our ambition could be to identify a number of cases of such dynamic relationships between structural conditions and the active agency of persons at risk of poverty and their organisations (civil society organisations and trade unions), both nationally and at supranational levels (e.g at the EU level).

6 Concluding comments: towards a theory of social change

In this paper we have argued that ongoing changes in European welfare states call for a new, dynamic and multifaceted understanding of social citizenship. For most people this situation means that they face new demands, as well as new opportunities, to exercise social citizenship. Following our previous theorisation of social citizenship, we distinguish between three dimensions of social citizenship as experienced by the citizens (while acknowledging that there may also be others): *security, autonomy and influence*. One novel notion in our work is that the three aspects should be studied together, in one framework.

Adopting a multilevel and institutional perspective, EUROSHIP examines how different types of policies (income maintenance benefits, social services and social regulation instruments) can be made mutually supportive in enhancing the opportunities for exercising social citizenship among women and men at risk of poverty and social exclusion. In order to address this conundrum, we have outlined an analytic framework to examine the mechanisms and processes that foster or hamper the capacities of the EU and national governments to deliver opportunities for people to enjoy social citizenship. Figure 6.1 summarises the key features of our analytic framework:

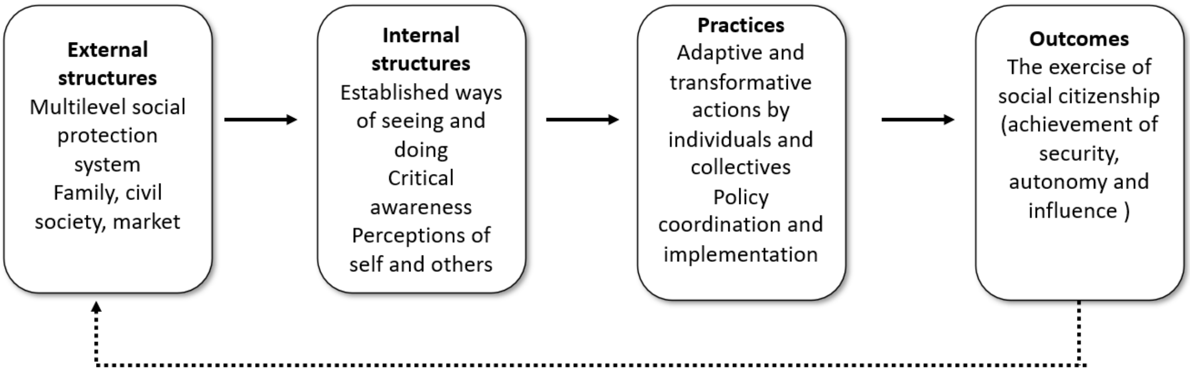

External structures
Multilevel social protection system
Family, civil society, market
Internal structures
Established ways of seeing and doing
Critical awareness
Perceptions of self and others
Practices
Adaptive and transformative actions by individuals and collectives
Policy coordination and implementation
Outcomes
The exercise of social citizenship (achievement of security, autonomy and influence)

Figure 6.1: A simplified model of the links between the external and internal structures, practices and achieved social citizenship

The analytical framework integrates the concepts of capability, active agency, and social resilience. In this paper we have assessed how these concepts may contribute to better understanding of gaps in the scope for exercising social citizenship and how improved social rights may enhance the social resilience of individuals, households, nation states and the European Union. We have argued that the active agency of citizens is a constitutive element of social resilience. From a capability approach, forward-looking strategies aiming at social resilience need to create conditions for citizens in which they are able to take individual and free decisions based on different options for their life course.

Combining insights from the capability approach and strong structuration theory, we have outlined a framework that allows analysis of how citizens perceive and use their scope for action through networks and active agency, even in seemingly adverse circumstances, and in what ways individuals and households address risks of poverty and social exclusion over the life-course. A key concern has been how to conceptualise the interactions between citizens' agency and structurally given constraints and opportunities in a multi-scalar and territorially diverse social protection system in Europe.

Following Hvinden and Halvorsen (2017) a stepwise approach to the study of structure/agency dynamics in the exercise of social citizenship should include the following elements:

- To analyse how social protection policies, institutional relations, culture and personal characteristics (as sources of capability inputs or conversion factors) are enabling or hindering persons from achieving full and effective social citizenship.
- To map how persons at risk of poverty target their active agency and go about exercising it.
- To collect and analyse data about the extent to which the practices (use of active agency) leads to improvements in the achievement of social citizenship (security, autonomy, influence) for persons at risk of poverty.
- To collect and analyse data about the extent to which these improvements next contribute to observable changes initial structures (social protection policies, institutional relations,

culture and personal characteristics), whether seen as sources of Capability Inputs or Conversion Factors, that is, a full cycle of agency / structure dynamics.

To what extent we succeed in mapping and analysing all these dimensions will to a large extent depend on the data we manage to collect and to what extent we manage to combine policy analysis, available statistics and qualitative interview data at the individual level. Even if demanding to apply in practice, this kind of model of structure/ agency dynamics helps us to focus the attention and more systematically investigate such dynamics.

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