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THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH (TRADITION) ON EU POLICIES: THE RELATION BETWEEN RESEARCH AND MIGRATION IN ITALY

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ONAY SAYFASI

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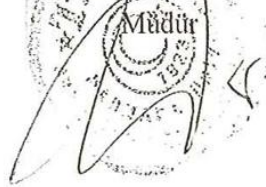
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Starting this PhD coincided with my coming to Istanbul, therefore, completing it closes an important chapter in both my academic and personal life. The topic of this thesis, nevertheless, has its roots in England at the University of East London and the work carried with the 'Group for the Study of international Social Science', under the guidance of Prof. Derek Robbins, which assumed that the social sciences have a distinct character either related to their national tradition or to their Western conception.

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Abstract

The thesis attempts to assess the impact of EU funded research on both, social science policy research and the policy making process at national level. Attempts, in the past, include the social sciences in the decision making process, have raised questions about the validity of scientific knowledge, in terms of its objectivity, and in terms of its legitimizing element. The starting point of this investigation, therefore, is the relationship between research and policy making. Subsequently, the thesis considers the development of social science research in the field of immigration. At EU level it analyses the changes in the dynamics of migration and how research EU Framework Programmes has responded. At national level it seeks to place the concept of citizenship and nationality law within the tradition of the social sciences in Italy and to understand how social science research has contributed to the development of policies. The thesis also analyses the research policy approach at institutional level in Italy and the involvement of Italian universities and organizations in the FP6 and FP7 to determine if takes place an internationalization/Europeanization of social science research on immigration and/or the construction of a 'non-national discourse'. The thesis concludes that there is a formation of a discourse in the field of immigration research which follows the Commission directives but due to the Italian policy making process closed to academic and experts influence this discourse does not permeate the process of immigration policies making.

Özet

Bu tez Avrupa Birliği fonlarının Avrupa ülkelerinin sosyal bilimler politikasını ve ulusal düzeyde politikalar üzerindeki etkilerini araştırır. Bu konuda yapılmış olan önceki çabalar, sosyal bilimleri bilimsel bilginin geçerliliği konusunda sorunları ortaya çıkaran bir karar mevki olarak görmekteydi. Bu çalışma bu nedenle, öncelikle, araştırma ve siyaset yapma arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırmaktadır. Daha sonrasında, göç alanında yapılmış sosyal bilimler çalışmaları iredelenmektedir. Bu bölümde, Avrupa Birliği düzeyinde göç dinamiklerindeki değişiklikler ve bu duruma Avrupa Birliği çerçevesindeki araştırmaların nasıl yanıt verdiği analiz edilmektedir. Çalışmanın Dördüncü Bölümünde, vatandaşlık kavramı ve milliyetçilik kanunları İtalya'daki sosyal bilimler geleneği ve sosyal bilimler açısından araştırılmaktadır. Son Bölümde ise FP6 ve FP7 programları bağlamında, İtalyan üniversiteleri ve organizasyonlarında, sosyal bilimler alanında yapılan göç araştırmalarının uluslararasılaşma/Avrupalılaşma kavramına mı yoksa ulusal olmayan bir söylemin inşasına mı yol açtığı analiz edilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, yapılan göç araştırmalarının Avrupa Birliği Komisyonu'nun direktifleri doğrultusunda bir söylem içerdiğini, ama İtalyan siyaset yapma sürecinin akademik olduğundan ve uzmanların etkisine açık olduğundan Avrupa Birliği Komisyonunun söyleminin, İtalya'daki göç politikalarının oluşturulma sürecine nüfuz edemediği ortaya konmuştur.

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Abbreviations

ACLI	Associazioni Cristiane Lavoratori Italiani
AN	Alleanza Nazionale-National Alliance
BERD	Business Enterprise Expenditure on Research and Development
CENSIS	Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali
CeSPI	Centro Studi Politica Internazionale
CIPE	Comitato Internazionale Programmazione Economica
CNR	Consiglio Nazionle delle Ricerche
EC	European Community
ERA	European Research Area
ESRI	Economic and Social Research Institute
EU	European Union
FIERI	Forum Internazionale ed Europeo di Ricerche sull'immigrazione
FIRB	Fondo degli Investimenti per la Ricerca di Base
FP	Framework Programme
FRA	Fondo Ricerca Applicata
GBAORD	Government budget appropriations for R&D
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GERD	Gross domestic expenditure on R&D
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IMISCOE	International Migration Integration Social Cohesion
INAIL	Istituto National Assicurazione sul Lavoro
INPS	Istituto Nazional Pevidenza Sociale
ISTAT	Istituto Nazionale di Statistica
JHA	Justice Home Affair
MIUR	Ministero Istruzione Universita Ricerca
NoE	Network of Excellence
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
PICO	Programma Innovazione Crescita Occupazione

PRIN	Programma di Ricerca Nazionale
PRO	Peer Review Organization
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
SIS	Schengen Information System
SME	Small and Mediun Size Enterprise
TCN	Third Country Nationals
TSER	Targeted Socio-Economic Research (EU)
UNESCO	United Nation Education Scientific Cultural Organization

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Introduction

Introduction and Background

The broad topic of this thesis is the relation between *knowledge* and *politics* (research and policy making), and the development of *social science research* at EU level. More specifically, it seeks to determine to what extent the investment in the social sciences at EU level has an impact on social science research at national level. Furthermore, it explores the implication that a latent *European social science* may have, within the scope of *policy research*,[1] at national level.

The thesis acknowledges that there are different positions about the relevance of policy research, which is generally considered a conservative approach. Some of these positions criticize the belief that *research evidence* can provide objective answers to policy questions since evidence is not objective but related to the social context.[2] Moreover, politics and the art of *muddling through*[3] undermine the attempt to introduce research evidence. On the other hand, social science researchers are aware of the limitation of *descriptive* and *prescriptive* knowledge and its impact, and research rarely provide definitive answers in solving social problems (Nutley 2003:3,4). This means that research has to be considered for *what it is* and that it can contribute in some ways to understand social behaviour.

Issues, within this realm, are not only about the research enquiry, but also about the mode of research funding, research organization and its utilization. Nutley et al et al (2007:15) argue that the use of research is not considered only directly to make decisions, but also

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[1] Policy research refers to scientific research which has non-university groups as its main intended audience (although the results may in practice also interest academic audiences). For the most part such research attempts to apply social scientific findings to the solution of problems identified by a client (Gordon Marshal 1998).

[2] As it will be later discussed in chapter 2, this study considers this approach a continuation of what characterised the policy science developed by Harold Lasswell in the 1950s in the Yale School of Law.

[3] Charles Lindblom 'The Science of Muddling Through' (1959), he made a distinction between a rational approach and the struggle of policy makers to get through bureaucracy.

in the form of discourse (ideas, theories and concepts) to influence 'thinking around policy problems' or where research is used to support political arguments. One reason to assess social science research is that of evaluating if policy making is using social science research to *support* or *challenge* decision making. Therefore, research can affect not only decisional choices, but also the formation of discourses, the formulation of new understandings and possibilities, and the level of public and professional discourse and debate. Understanding these narrow and different impacts poses important conceptual, methodological and practical challenges.

Given the scope and the theoretical issues of policy research, the thesis explores the twofold implications of this approach, at academic and non-academic level, pointing out at least two main issues. The first is that science and the social sciences, in their period of crisis in terms of their organization and institutionalisation (Wallerstein, Wagner) and of their objective validity (Kuhn, Popper) are employed to aid the policy making process at EU and at national level. The second issue is that investment at EU level implies that social science traditions[4] exist at national level and that they may differ from the approach of the Commission thus disagreeing with the idea of a European social science.[5]

It can be argued that, in line with the integrating character of the EU and its institutions, the inclusion of the social sciences and the humanities in the ERA (European Research Area) is an attempt to achieve a greater degree of integration in the economic, social and political spheres. Moreover, it is envisaged that the disciplines of the social sciences and the humanities should also generate *knowledge* that can be applied in a non-commercial, societal setting. The EU is therefore proposing the revival of the social sciences, in the process of policy making with the scope of coordinating over the space of the EU and in the immediate vicinity the promotion of cross collaboration.

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[4] According to Peter Wagner (2004:10-15), the idea of national social sciences originates in the romantic reaction to the Enlightenment. One can argue that knowledge rests in language and the latter defines the nation. Also for this topic see Donald Levine (1995).

[5] In this regard, Martin and Frost (1996)[5] argue that there are numerous perspectives which disagree on epistemology, methodology, political ideology and theory, adding that the severity of these intellectual differences makes it difficult to review the result of research impeding advances in knowledge.

To investigate these issues, the thesis considers the field of migration where there has been an increase for the role of the social sciences. Changes in the dynamics of migration have called for more involvement of transnational research with the intent to go beyond the traditional studies based on the nationalist approach. The case of Italy will be investigated to determine if EU research policy has contributed or is likely to contribute to the formulation of immigration policies thus conflicting with the national settings. Moreover, if EU funded research contributes to the formulation of a discourse in the sphere of immigration.

The case study of Italy is also considered to ascertain to which extent research in the field of migration is *Europeanized*, therefore, eroding the *sovereignty* of the nation state[6]. This also based on the assumption that scientific knowledge contributes to legitimise political decisions. If this is the case, then the empowering of the social sciences through funding is an attempt towards the creation of an *intellectual matter*[7] to complement a political space which results, given the novelty of the endeavour, will manifest later in the future.

It can be argued that this can have different consequences on the way the nation state usually approach main questions such as immigration, security and environmental issues and that the attempt to *transdisciplinary dialogues* may affect the sovereignty of the nation state and its relation with scientific knowledge. The delineation of the field of science from that of politics, if protected by a supranational organization, challenges the nation in favour of the supra-national level with a consequence on national sovereignty (Mallard, Paradeise and Peerbaye 2009:3)[8] and scientists and social scientists will set up a kind of scientific knowledge, skills and capital to secure professional autonomy within

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[6] The issue of sovereignty here is important in two related contexts. First sovereignty is related to knowledge according to the assumption that there may be a problem with the relationship between science and the state. Secondly it is related to the concept of migration and where non-citizens entering and staying in the member states of the Union.

[7] Etienne Balibar speaks of a "new citizenship in Europe, in the sense of an intellectual matter that needs to be worked in order to give body to a true 'European public space'". (2004:101) *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship?*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[8] Mallard et al do not specifically mention the EU but hypothesize on the results of supra-national organizations funding scientific research including the social sciences.

or outside the nation. In addition, the attempt to produce a body science policy at European level can be seen as a move towards the *internationalization/Europeanization*[9] of the social sciences.

Research Questions and Empirical Focus

The aim of this thesis is to place research policy at EU level within the discourse involving the relation between social sciences research and policy making. Thus, the intention is not only to investigate the relation between knowledge and politics. The thesis also considers the European dimension of funded research and tries to understand its possible consequences on research and policy making at national level. With these presuppositions two research questions can be formulated:

1) *Given the problematic of the relationship between knowledge and politics, to what extent do social science policy oriented research aid the policy making process?*

2) *What is the relation of immigration research between EU level and the national level in Italy? Given the nature of policy oriented research, what is the possible impact on national discourse and on the policy making process?*

As stated in these questions, this study will focus on the development of the relation between the social sciences and the state. This focus raises further questions about issues related to the philosophy of the social sciences and the broad question about the validity of scientific knowledge. If scientific knowledge has a legitimising element what can be the consequences at national level, particularly if knowledge is produced in the field of migration? Is the EU approach in the sphere of migration reflecting a particular tradition?

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[9] Understood as the impact of EU on its member states, consisting of 'processes of construction, diffusion and institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles and shared beliefs and norms…. Consolidated in the EU policy and then incorporated in domestic policies' (Bulmer and Radaelli 2004).

In the specific Italian case study, will a body of scientific knowledge conceived at EU level affect the tradition at national level?

Methodology

Overall, the thesis seeks to determine the impact of EU funded social science by determining the possible effect on immigration policies as well as on the national discourse on immigration. The thesis, therefore, firstly proceeds by analysing the relation between research and politics in its historical and theoretical context. In the first instance this relation is analysed to determine how it developed by looking at the relation between the state and the institutionalisation of the social sciences. Secondly, the thesis considers the theoretical implications when confronted within the discussion of the validity of scientific knowledge. The main aim is to explore the broad implications of the use of social science based knowledge in the policy making process. Thereafter, the thesis investigates how the relationship between research and politics has been interpreted at EU level by the Commission and the establishment of the Framework Programmes, with the intent to understand the relationship between science and society, and between knowledge and politics.

In order to assess the impact of EU funded research policy at national level, developments in policies and migration research will be investigated at EU level and at national level in Italy. At EU level the thesis examines the approach adopted by the Commission to study the phenomenon of migration and its relation to EU level immigration policies. Moreover, given the intended role of policy research in policy making process, the implication of immigration on sovereignty is exposed by analysing issues related to citizenship and voting rights. At national level, the concepts of citizenship and nationality law within the tradition of the social sciences in Italy is analysed to understand how social science research in the field has contributed to the development of policies as the model indicated by the European Commission. This involves delineating, within the social sciences, the specificity of the Italian tradition as reflected in the concept of citizenship and nationality regimes. Thereafter, it implies the scrutiny of the relatively recent nationality and immigration policies which has had an effect on the very concept of citizenship and the role of research within this process.

For the evaluation of the impact of EU policy research at national level, the focus is on the institutionalisation of policy research in Italy and the involvement of Italian universities and organizations in the FP6 and FP7 projects. The intention is to understand the approach for the use of policy research in the policy making process. Also to deduce, from Italy's participation in the FP programs of the EU Commission, if there is a convergence of policies and an internationalization/Europeanization of social science research on immigration and the construction towards a supra-national discourse. The funding of projects of FP6 and FP7 explicitly related to immigration issues, in which Italy participated, will be analysed to determine if there is correlation between their outcomes, and if they influence the discourse on migration at EU and national level. The intention is to deduce how the nation state is responding; on the one hand, to the creation of a body of scientific knowledge which may threaten the national tradition, and on the other hand how past and future policies at EU level on the matter of immigration may erode national sovereignty.

Outline of Chapters

In relation to the interface between scientific knowledge and politics, Chapter 2 identifies two main areas. The first concern is the organization and development of the social sciences particularly in their role to understand social problems including the way they have been organized through the various disciplines (Wallerstein 1999, 2001) and their formation and institutionalization (Wagner 1991, 1999). The second concern is about theoretical problems which arose from the policy sciences of Harold Lasswell, here regarded as the modern expression of the institutionalised link between the social sciences and the policy making process. This rational approach has been criticised for its reliance on neopositivist methods, and the problems of prediction, objectivity and politicization (DeHaven-Smith 1990; Brunner 1991; Fisher 1998, 2004; Pielke 2005). Karl Popper and Thomas Kuhn in the discussion about the nature of science and the way scientific knowledge operates in the field of the social sciences, both agree on the limits

of pure empirical approaches of positivism; however, the former is regarded as a forerunner of rational choice theory and the latter influenced social constructivism. Different approaches of policy analysis offer a way for critically understand the link between knowledge and politics and more specifically for evaluating the approach adopted by the EU Commission, where, it can be argued, knowledge is legitimised by politics.

The interface between social sciences and policy at EU level is analysed in Chapter 3. First it considers the theoretical developments which characterised the different interpretation of the role of knowledge and information (Bell 1976, Giddens 1994, Castels 2001, Lush 2002, Lundvall 1996) as well as the shift in the understanding of the production of knowledge (Gibbons 1994, Ziman 1994, Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1998). It is within this sphere that different understanding of society and research systems have emerged influencing the theoretical approaches behind the European Research Area and the Framework Programmes. As previously mentioned, '*Society, The Endless Frontier*' laid the basis for the role of science and technology in the improvement of society and it marked a change from the previous *linear mode* approach.

The field of migration is chosen to tangibly analyse this approach. The increasing importance of the role of research in the sphere of migration is related to the changes of the phenomenon itself. In this respect, chapter 4 first describes the changes in the dynamics of migration and how research has responded, particularly in the context of the FPs. Within the EU, with the FP6 and continuing with FP7, funding of projects has sought to support new approaches, methodologies and conceptual tools to better understand how migration is developing. Secondly, it looks at EU migration policy and how it has developed in the context of these changes. Migration and citizenship has become an issue since the 1980 and before there was little connection between migration research and literature of nationality law, political theories and sociological analysis of citizenship (Bauböck 2006:9). The concepts of nationalism and transnationalism are approaches to understand migration, the latter being the approach of FP funded research. Subsequently, it investigates the relationship between migration and citizenship and

considers the effects of migration policies on existing conceptions of citizenship in the context of the EU.

With the intention to give a national dimension to this approach, Chapter 5 seeks to place the concept of citizenship and nationality law within the *tradition* of the social sciences in Italy and to understand how social science research in the field has contributed to the development of policies as the model indicated by the European Commission. This involves delineating, within the social sciences, the specificity of the Italian tradition as reflected in the concept of citizenship and nationality regime. Thereafter, it implies the scrutiny of the various nationality and immigration policies and the role of research within this process. At the outset, the social sciences are conceived as a universal set of systems to understand human behaviour. However, the way different societies understand themselves, are characterized by their contexts which includes language and the way knowledge is institutionalised (Genov 1989; Levine 1995; Wagner 2004). Therefore, in Europe different nations have developed, at least in their formation ages, their tradition based on the way they perceived themselves as nations and also what it means to be part of a specific community.

Chapter 6 briefly looks at research policy approach ,at institutional level, in Italy and the involvement of Italian universities and organizations in the FP6 and FP7 in the sphere of immigration. The intention is to understand what is the approach for the use of social science knowledge in the policy making process and to deduce from Italy's participation in the FP programs of the EU Commission, if there is a convergence with policies and an internationalization/Europeanization of social science research on immigration and the construction towards a 'non-national discourse'. Against the immigration policies and policy proposals it is understood that in Italy there is continuity with a policy approach which has a national tradition and a discontinuity of research discourse in the sphere of immigration promoted by the EU Commission. The immigration issues which emerged from the projects covers different aspects of integration including civic and political participation, education, and the problematic of undocumented immigrants. The policy recommendations which sometimes are directed at a national case or formulated more in generic way point out the national trends of Italian immigration policies suggesting that

EU migration research in Italy falls under the 'paradigm challenging approach'.

The main arguments and findings of the thesis are discussed in the concluding chapter 7. This amount in the summary of the main findings but also to a broader discussion of the nature of the relationship between knowledge and politics and the method of knowledge production, and the relation to the policy mechanism employed by the EU Commission more than a decade ago. The conclusions are that in the explicit policy oriented research, knowledge is legitimised by the political choice to fund it in order to subsequently support political decision. At EU level, where produced knowledge is not necessarily and directly informing the policy process it will be argued that such production of knowledge is a way to give legitimacy to the Commission itself in the field of immigration. This chapter also looks at the finding of the EU funded projects and reflect on research approaches and policy recommendations in the context of immigration policies and research in Italy. Here a conclusions is that there is a formation of a discourse in the field of immigration research which follows the Commission preference but due to the Italian policy making process closed to academic and expert influence and more politically patronage dominated it remained to be seen if there will be any influence.

Chapter 1. A Brief Account and Assessment of the Relationship Between the Social Sciences and the State

1.1. Introduction

Following the intent of the EU Commission, through the European Research Area (ERA) and the Framework Programmes, to generate knowledge for the policy making process, this first chapter attempts to provide a short historical and theoretical background of the study of the interface between the social sciences and political institutions. The main aim is to explore the broad implications of the use of social science based knowledge in the policy making process. The use of such knowledge to improve and aid the policy making process is not a new practice and historical accounts of such relation point out that the *modern social sciences* and *modern political institutions* developed simultaneously as Western societies developed from traditional organizations to modern ones. If we look at the historical development of this relationship and how the social sciences were used to provide knowledge to solve social problems, it is after the Second World War, in the USA, with the emergence in the 1950s of the *policy sciences* of Yale Law School, the *town* and *gown*, that this approach became explicit and oriented. The policy sciences, nevertheless, have been criticised for their failure to become what the American political scientist and communication theorist Harold Lasswell (1902-1978) and his followers envisaged. Criticisms have been mainly related to the epistemological basis of the policy sciences namely the empirical methodology. These epistemological related problems fall within the *philosophy of the social sciences* debates and the critique of positive science which evaluates the empirical method. It is within the *rational*, *pluralism and opportunism*, and *politics and legitimation* models that the link between knowledge and politics is revealed.

This chapter identifies four main areas to be considered. The first is the organization and development of the social sciences, their formation and institutionalization (Wagner 1991, 1999). The second is the theoretical problems which arose from the policy sciences

of Harold Lasswell, regarded as the modern expression of the institutionalised link between the social sciences and the policy making process, 'knowledge in and for the policy process' (Wagner 1991, Fisher 2003, Fisher, Miller and Sydney 2007). The rational approach has been criticised for its reliance on neopositivist methods, and the problems of prediction, objectivity and politicization (De-Haven-Smith 1990; Brunner 1991; Fisher 1998, 2004; Pielke 2005). The third area is the nature of science and the way scientific knowledge operates, in the contribution of Karl Popper and Thomas Kuhn. In the field of the social sciences they both agree on the limits of pure empirical approaches of positivism; the former is regarded as a forerunner of rational choice theory and the latter influenced social constructivism. Fourthly, the different approaches of policy analysis which offer a way to understand the link between knowledge and politics. This is particularly evident in the *rational model* and with a different understanding of the notion of knowledge with the *constructivist approach* which gives more importance to the role of ideas, representations and general ideas.

1.2. The condition of the social sciences and their development in relation to the state

The nature of the relation between knowledge and politics can be traced back to antiquity, if we consider the role that political philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle or later Machiavelli had in relation to their rulers, however, it is with the formation of the modern state that the social sciences gained a position of authority. This is particularly visible in some West European countries in the late19th century and early 20th (Wagner 1991;2). The social sciences were constructed intellectually in the 19th century. All the construction was done by scholars located in France, Germany Great Britain, Germany, USA and Italy, and it divided the social world into two arenas: the modern, civilised rational, urban and the other less modern, rural, 'primitive' or civilized but not in a modern way. This reflected the geo-political reality of European domination. The promotion of EU coordinated social sciences is in a period when this geo-political reality

has changed and the patterns that had been institutionalised in the university system are under attack and revised from within.

1.2.1. The Social Sciences and the State

The social sciences, as an academic activity, developed from the area of philosophy and history and generated their own foundations giving rise to sociology, new economics, anthropology, psychology and psychoanalysis (Wagner 1991:2). Giving the time of their emergence, the social sciences became part of the modernizing process in Western societies and their focus was on the transformation of traditional societies to modern ones. Their priorities were the so called *social question*, the rationalization of the world, the development of the national economy and the democratic development through representative institutions. Within their understanding as well as their scope the social sciences contributed to this social transformation because they were meant to improve social conditions and provide a rationalization of social affairs (Wagner et al 1991:2). Daniel Learner (1950) explained that the basis of the social sciences, in their modern version, was the concern for the social problems of workers and their families of that time and for the 'empirical, qualitative, policy relevant information about modern society'. Edward Shils (1949) argued that the relationship between knowledge and 'will and action' is a long one and what have changed is the terminology to describe it and 'the types of knowledge most pursued and esteemed'. He described this relationship pointing out its problematic and showing how the advent of the social sciences in the 19th century brought in new features (Shils 1980:259).

The modern European state of the 16th and 17th centuries developed more autonomous reflecting a new approach to information and knowledge as well as a new conception of government. Precisely, as argued by James C. Scott, social affairs are the concern of the state in opposition to the previous state models; this time control over society becomes 'active management' (Scott 1998:92). With the formation of the nation state issues related to society became of national concern and the state was the place of political struggle to advance solutions. At that point, with academic institutions and political institutions at national level dealing with the problems of society, arose the problem of

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legitimacy which affected also the social sciences and the epistemological debate about *rationalism* and *empiricism* gave the social sciences their character.

The structure and function of the social sciences, as we know them at present, are in fact the result of their development until the end of the 19th century. For instance, the subdivision into the disciplines, considered by Wallerstein one of the reasons of their crisis, formed during that period[10]. Similarly, the empirical method, characteristic of their positive approach and severely criticised in the 20th century, was also the legacy of the scientific method developed in the 17th and 18th century. This includes their orientation to solve social problems which are related to the expansion of industrial development and its effect on societal relations. These characteristics, which broadly speaking form the nature of the social sciences and are closely related to the institutional transformation of Western society, established themselves within the institutional organization of the nation state[11].

Wagner (1999) points out the main elements which transformed the social sciences were associated with institutional change, particularly the German university reform, known as the Humboltian reform, which gave universities the new role of research. This reform also affected academic institutions across Europe and across the world (Ricken 2007:485). Universities became sites for scientific research with the use of systematic enquiry within different disciplines and the university became a place for the production of such knowledge.

In Europe after the First World War and with the crisis of 1929, state intervention overtook liberal market regulations enhancing the role of the social sciences. Some

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[10]In the 'The Three Meaning of Discipline' (2004) Immanuel Wallerstein argues that the term of 'discipline' used in the academic world has three meanings. One is the "intellectual circumscription of knowledge" a set of topics and methods to explain phenomena in the real world. Since the 19th century is considered "pure knowledge" in the arts and sciences and there has been the subdivision of this "totality" into super-disciplines. The two most common are the natural sciences and the humanities. A third super-discipline different from these two is the social sciences. The second meaning is that the discipline is not only an intellectual construct but an 'organizational container'. Disciplines are also cultural communities because training tends to favour certain kind of research, methods and readings.
[11] It must be added that prior to the 19th century the social sciences were not part of the university structure in their own right, but they were under the control of philosophy, history and law.

examples are the 'organized capitalism' of the Marxist Austrian economist Rudolf Hilferding[12] (1877-1941), the influence of the German Kiel Institute of the World Economy on the 1930s New Deal in North America and on the economic planning of the Soviet Union, the Plan du Travail developed by the Belgian Marxist Social Democrat Hendrik de Man[13] (1885-1953), the economic theories of Maynard Keynes[14] (1883-1945), and the work of the philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwach (1877-1945). The works of these scholars had an influence on the government policies of national governments. In the 1930s and 1940s Karl Gunnar Myrdal[15] (1898-1987) drafted a programme for the social sciences to have a key role in policy making but at the same time maintaining the autonomy of the disciplines. The idea was to separate ideology and value in theories of society and in this way form the basis for rational choice of values.

Here can be added Horkheimer's *critical theory* and the attempt to *interdisciplinarity* in the social sciences, although socially and politically contextualised would maintain its autonomy and avoid exercising universalistic claims as the tradition of the Enlightenment. As a matter of fact, Paul Felix Lazarsfeld mediated between these two positions and believed for a combination of social interests and private occupation. In Europe this approach came about in the 1960s when funding for the social sciences were expanded and strengthened the links with the policy process, and in Germany, France and, arguably later Italy, disciplines such as sociology and political sciences became affirmed (Wagner 1991:62-3).

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[12] Rudolf Hilferding in the *Financial Capital* (1910) developed a theoretical stance, positivist and empirical, which was reflected in their political practice.

[13] With the publication in 1926 of *Psychology of Socialism* Hendrik de Man became a figure of international fame in socialist circles. The work was a challenge to the ideological monopoly that Marxism had long maintained on the dominant forms of the Continental labor and socialist movements. The appearance of the book in German, the author explained, was particularly appropriate in view of the role of that language in the historical development of Marxist theory, as well as because of the critical importance of Germany to the socialist movement.

[14] Keynes' best-known work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, was published in 1936, and became a benchmark for future economic thought.

[15] Karl Gunnar Myrdal helped shape social and economic planning in Sweden, focused attention on the problems of the African American, and worked on the problems of the underdeveloped nations.

The use of scientific social knowledge together with state activity developed after the Second World War and in Europe has its origins in 'humanist reformism and social democracy'. Particularly during the Cold War the state intervention model of totalitarianism was criticized, however, in the UK, US and eventually in the rest of Europe, state planning was reintroduced and in democratic planning the modern social sciences were the key elements. During this time UNESCO and American private foundations encouraged a social science oriented and empirical study of political problems the application of knowledge. Talcott Parson (1902-1979) in his 'structural functionalism' included the ideas of Durkheim, Pareto and Weber (Wagner 1999:20). The 1960s were characterised by the expansion of policy oriented social knowledge in Europe and US and the acceptance of state intervention as indicated with the Keynesian model. Between the 1950s and the 1970s American and European social sciences became oriented to policy and planning.

1.2.2. The Yale Law School and the Policy Science

In the second post-war period, the relationship between the social sciences and politics in terms of improving the political decisional process is predominantly ascribed to the approach developed by Harold Lasswell (1902-1978) and his colleagues at the Yale Law School. Daniel Lerner, co-editor with Lasswell of *The Policy Science* (1951), argued that it was the emergence of science in the 19th century and the different way of social enquiry, at the same time with the expansion of state institutions that generated the modern social sciences. Wagner argues that the term *policy science* itself, described the task of the social sciences to contribute to the improvement of policy (Wagner et al 1991:2). In fact, in the *Policy Sciences* Lasswell pointed out that the policy making process could be singled out and be an area of study with the intent of improving its rational character of decision making in industrialised modern societies (Lasswell 1951:3). This new approach intended to improve the decision making process and implied the crucial role of knowledge to improve the process based on a multidisciplinary approach across the disciplines of the social sciences. Lasswell divided the policy into the *process* and the *knowledge* requisite for the policy. The *policy orientation*, as he called it, would create a science for the formation and execution of policy based on social and psychological methods and the improvement of that area of policy making which is

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outside the social sciences and is concerned with the concrete aspect of the implementation.

The ambitions of the policy orientation were high and set out for the creation of a social science discipline to deal with the democratic practices of modern techno-industrial societies, particularly with the rise of *big government* and corporate capitalism that characterised the second post war period. The aim was the creation of a science, as a negotiator between academics, government decision makers and citizens, which would create objective solutions thus eliminating political disputes on policy issues (Fisher 2004:2-3). Lasswell stressed in the *Policy Sciences* that policy is characterised by a focus on 'the fundamental problems of man in society' instead of the arguments of the day (Lasswell and Lerner 1951:8).

Peter deLeon and Danielle M. Vogenbeck (2007) summarise the development of the policy sciences in three points. First, the policy sciences distinguished themselves from previous approaches as being *problem oriented* and therefore focussed on the policy issue for then providing useful guidelines. They take into consideration the social and political implications and more concerned is attached to the context of the problem. Second, the multidisciplinary character took into consideration the manifold characteristics of political problems in order to have a better idea of the problem. Thirdly, the normative character particularly inclined towards democracy and human dignity. This was seen as a criticism of 'behavioralism' and the impossibility of value free social problem and methodological approach. To summarize, this model of policy analysis resembles a rational model of decision making which closely relates to the method of scientific research. This means the identification through empirical method of the existence of a problem and then the formulation of the goals and objectives that would lead to an optimal solution.

1.2.3. The Critique of the Neo-positivist Element in the Policy Science
Based on these elements which formed the innovative character of the policy sciences, there has been criticism on the grounds that such objectives were not met. Roger A. Pielke (2005) argues that the policy science have been questioned for their *positivist* and

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predictive character. For instance, Fisher (1998), who argues for a *post-positivist* approach, compares the *epistemological problem* of the relationship between knowledge and politics with the policy science empirical method and the separation of *facts* and *values*. Fisher maintains that the separation of facts and values is the basic principle of positivism of empirical research which is free from the context. In the policy sciences this separation of facts and values has promoted technocratic policy analysis with efficiency and effectiveness to achieve politically established goals. Moreover, in contrast to the multidisciplinary approach pointed out by Lasswell, the subject area has been characterised by a limiting methodological framework which came from the neo-positivist empiricist methods and dominated the social sciences of the time.

Fisher (1998) points out that neo-positivism, as a theory of knowledge in the natural sciences, has influenced the social sciences methodological approach consisting of empirical research, data gathering, assessment of results and predictive models. The aim was to crate a body of explanatory knowledge to understand behaviour across historical contexts and social and cultural groups. For most policy analysts, positivism is a science which claims the existence of repetitive behaviour under universal laws, as in the laws of motion discovered by Isaac Newton. A valid law includes all the previous conditions that caused the behaviour to be explained or predicted.[16] A generalization, therefore, is inaccurate because it condenses from many contexts what is repetitive. As a consequence and in contrast with the original policy science objective, policy analysis that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s became more technocratic rather than committed to improve democratic government.

The objective aspect of the policy science is also criticised since it should always be an 'aspiration and never an achievement' of science since the mistake lies in the attempt to reduce a 'technical definition' to an 'analytical act' even though a technical definition is also a political act (Brunner 1991:71). By looking at three examples of policy outcomes

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[16] The most influential form of positivism in the policy movement is positive economics. Milton Friedman maintained that 'positive economics is in principle independent from any ethical position or normative judgments…' whose mission is to formulate generalizations which are employed to predict the results of changes in circumstances.

Brunner points out that errors come from the reduction of knowledge employed to solve complicated problems where the problem is reduced to a programme, the theories and methods to one discipline, to a rational assumption and to a technical definition. Also it was found out that there was a difference between the analyst's perspective map of the problem and the problem as it exists in the real world. This becomes relevant when the result of an act are different the expected consequences. This reflect the ancient problem of the world outside and how we imagine the problem, within this context the task for the policy analyst is to recognise the difference between the two.

The intent of the policy sciences to improve internal cohesion in the field also failed because the shared interest of improving the policy making is open to interpretation from different perspectives (Brunner 1991:77). For instance, philosophy, economics, public and business administration and political sciences contributed to promote different parts within the movement. Moreover, this fragmentation made difficult to assess the policy sciences because the different perspectives differ in the judgment of the relevant standards, data and conclusion to be drawn. This is shown in the fields of welfare, energy, security and economics and the unintended consequences of decisions despite the availability of policy analysis. Guidance of policy comes from the perspective of special interests 'the strong incentive exists to shade or characterise information, which fosters the politicization of science'.

Pielke (2005) maintains that these criticisms have different targets. Precisely some considerations such as those of Fisher argue for a post-positivist approach to criticise neo-positivism in social science research. On the other hand, Brunner's are a self-critique of those operating within the field. In fact, Brunner sees this evaluation as positive for the future of the policy sciences because it encourages reconsideration of topics such as problem definition, interpretation and value critical enquiry, although there is still the problem objectivity.

From this brief account it was outlined the long relation of the social sciences to the state apparatuses to illustrate what has been proposed at EU level is not a novel approach but has always been pursued by those involved in solving social problems both at theoretical

and practical level. In the pos-war period the most significant expression of this approach was represented by the policy science which was, nevertheless, criticised for the elements which characterises positive science. The criticism considered in this section represented two positions. One that radically criticised the policy science, particularly for the positivist element which cannot be reconciled and another regarded as a self-critique of that approach. It useful to remember, also for introducing the topic of the next section, that Karl Popper argued that the goal of the social sciences was the search for general laws, like the natural sciences, but he introduced *situational analysis* offering a new link between politics and epistemology. This meant a strong relationship of the state and the social sciences and particular attention to the social context in which they were formed.

1.3. The Validity of Scientific Knowledge in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences: Popper and Kuhn

The notion that social science base knowledge can aid society and the policy making process implies questions about the nature of scientific knowledge and its validity. In the criticism of the social sciences and their empirical character, their inadequacy is often related to the epistemological assumption and methodological practices (Fisher 2004:117,118). In the philosophy of the social sciences Thomas Kuhn and Karl Popper[17] question the validity of scientific knowledge and its implications for the social sciences. Namely, Popper was concerned with the positivism of Marx, Freud and Hegel. On the other hand, Kuhn's target was the view of progressive scientific discovery, stating that scientific change does not have a logical dialectic. Both views have had great implications on the critique of positivism and particularly in the predictive character of scientific knowledge. However, Popper neo-positivism was nevertheless considered as a mild criticism of positivism and a defender of the scientific establishment. Kuhn on the other hand was seen as an help to revitalise America pragmatism obscured by logical positivism brought from Germany by intellectuals who escaped Nazism (Fuller 2002:35).

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[17]Kuhn and Popper are considered by Lakatos, Popper's follower, respectively the 'authoritarian and libertarian poles' of science policy (Fuller 2003:11).

Moreover, these two criticisms of positivism are at the basis of recent debates about knowledge and politics. Neo-positivism and elements of rational choice theory can be related to Popper's theory of falsification and social constructivism reflects some of the elements of Kuhn's view of scientific progress. In fact, Popper, in the *Poverty of Historicism* (1945), argues that the purpose of the social sciences together with the natural sciences is the testing of hypothesis and the search for general laws, but argued the approach of the social sciences should be different than that of the natural sciences (Gorton 2006:5).

1.3.1. *Popper's Critique of Positivism*

From this end, Hollis (1994) argues that Popper's approach to scientific theory is a critique of logical positivism developed from David Hume's *theory of knowledge*. Hume states that laws are general which means that they can be applied to many cases so limited observations do not increase probability. Only observation and experiment determine the acceptance or rejection of a scientific statement. Popper is against the belief that we learn knowledge only based on experience. *Induction*, understanding based on successive observation, is not possible and scientific process is only possible with *conjectures* and not generalization from the experience. The reason for observation is not to confirm established laws but to falsify them and therefore test them. Scientific general laws are generated after a single observation. For Popper the acceptance of a law as scientific is only tentative, laws are conjecture and not generalizations. Hollis argues that for Popper sciences do not provide certainties and the scientist should always enquire. Testing a scientific theory means to eliminate true hypothesis and validation establishes that theories are false. Consequently, theories that pass the test are not 'dogma' but they need to be improved because science does not have solid foundations.

It is in his essay 'Science: Conjectures and Refutations' (1953 lecture), nevertheless, that Popper formulates his understanding of scientific knowledge and how to distinguish between science and pseudo science, and the problem of positivism. Popper argues that the empirical method is not sufficient since it advances by observations and experiments. If this is a scientific method than many pseudo sciences such as astrology produces evidence to confirm a theory. What troubled him was Marx's theory of history, Freud's

theory of psychoanalysis and Adler's psychology. The problem for Popper was that they were all 'irrefutable', meaning that they would always be applicable to whatever happens and for Popper this was not a virtue. On these grounds, Popper then argued that a test for determining that a theory is scientific is its 'falsifiability'. For Popper the fact that these theories can explain everything is a weakness and for a theory to be falsifiable there must be conditions in which it would be false. Every genuine test to a theory is an attempt to falsify it and confirming evidence should not count except of the result of a genuine test of a theory.

Following Friedrich Hayek, Popper says that social sciences generally must set for explaining in principle rather than in details, explanation of 'typical events' rather than 'actual events' (Popper 1994:166). The best way to produce explanations is to construct models of typical social situations that are a central task of the social science: "The fundamental problem of the social sciences is 'to explain and understand events in terms of human actions and social situations. The key term here is 'social situation'" (Popper 1994:166). Models consist of people and social relations such as social institutions as well as traditions and social norms. A model will also include features of the natural environment such as natural laws and physical barriers that constrain people behaviour. At the centre of the situational model is the human actor's aims and knowledge which are also part of the model.[18] The social scientist must strive to reconstruct an objective reconstruction of the situation faced by the actor and a reconstruction of the actor's assessment of the situation. Disparities between the two accounts will prove a key in explaining the agent behaviour.

The *situation model* is animated by the 'rationality principle' which according to Popper means that a person will act 'adequately' given the goals and the situation. Popper says that the rationality principle should not be viewed as "the empirical or psychological

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[18] To describe this idea Popper illustrates the situation of a person, Richard the pedestrian, crossing the street. In this situation there are physical barriers such as cars and other pedestrians, and institutional and social elements which are represented by rules of the road, road signs and traffic lights. The situation includes Richard's goal to cross the road and the knowledge of the situation which include the physical obstacle that he can see and hear, and also the rules of the road and the meaning of traffic signs (Popper 1963:166-168).

assertion that man always, or in the main, or in most cases acts rationally". Instead, it should be viewed as "the methodological postulate that we should pack or cram our whole theoretical effort, our whole explanatory theory, into an analysis of the situation—into the model" (Popper 1994:169).

Popper says that the rationality principle is almost an 'empty principle' (Popper 1994:169) but it plays a central role in situational analysis. The first role is the same as that played by natural laws in models of the natural world. The situational model is supposed to be an abstraction, an ideal type, capable of explaining the behaviour of abstract, typical persons acting in numerous structurally similar situations. The second role of rationality principle may be describe as its 'searchlight power' that is the role that intuitions and expectations provide in scientific investigations always precede observations and all human knowledge (Popper 1972:346). It is what we propose and expect to find that illuminate parts of the situation that we would not otherwise see. Popper understanding of science are characterised by the limit of the empirical method and his application of 'falsifiability'. The formulation of social situation and the rationality principle which help us to reconstruct the situation and trying to understand actions of individuals based on the situation they happen to be, are Popper's contributions to rational choice sociology (Hedström, Swedberg and Udéhn 1998) and are in contrast to Kuhn's concept of paradigm and the progression of history.

1.3.2. Kuhn's Critique of the Scientific Method

In introducing his critique to science Kuhn looks at the history of science discrediting the previous Enlightenment view of the positive progress of reason (Hollis 1994:85). He makes the distinction between *normal science* which is represented by everyday science with the gathering of information and the *formulation of hypothesis* which, according to him, is protected by intellectual assumption and established practices. Revolutionary sciences are the result of a new way of thinking which makes sense of results which are not expected replacing the old theory (Hollis 1994:85). This means that modes of knowledge are generated in social intellectual and historical contexts which involve authority and institutional power. With this understanding of the context of scientific knowledge, the neopositivist approach in the theory of falsification looses its basis since

the empirical object of research is conditioned by the researcher assumption, experiences and expectations (Fisher 2004:126).

To support his argument, Kuhn, in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, gives an historical account of the growth of scientific knowledge and, as previously mentioned, offers a different approach to the neo-positivist conception of science as an 'enterprise' which seeks to uncover the 'goal set by nature in advance'. For Kuhn science does not have an even history where progression in different stages can be observed. These stages for Kuhn are 'scientific revolutions' where a problem which should be solved by the existing order and 'by known rules and procedure', defeats the ability of the scientists to overcome it (Kuhn 1970:5). This situation changes dramatically the 'existing tradition' and brings new basis and commitments which Kuhn calls scientific revolutions. Kuhn points out that these shifts are normally resisted because new theories mean that all the existing research has to be revised and recalculated (Kuhn 1970:6-7).

To show this, Kuhn points out evident examples in history mentioning Copernicus, Newton, Lavoisier and Einstein but he maintains that this pattern can be seen in other events and when an existing order is threatened the revolution is equal (Kuhn 1970:7). In the vision of Kuhn, the history of science is not progressive in a way that a new theory is better than the previous. According to Kuhn contrasting theories disagree on conceptions of what is problematic and on what is taken for granted it is practically impossible to show that one theory is over another. The motive for the replacement of a theory is not by 'proof' but by 'persuasion' and Kuhn proposes two points. First, that a new theory addresses problems that cannot be solved in the previous theory and second, that there is the fact of 'conversion' (Kuhn 1970:18) meaning that something that was conceived before as truth radically changes afterwards. To justify this dimension, Kuhn suggests the 'gesalt switch' (Kuhn 1970:122-123) where in psychological experiments things not previously seen because not sufficiently in the foreground, in another instance are clearly perceivable and radically change the previous position.

The word 'paradigm' is used by Kuhn to describe the difference between stages and the dimension of conflict. Moreover, he uses this term to refer to the psychological elements of believing that a theory is correct and the sociological elements consisting of university

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education, related knowledge and problem solving, according to what Kuhn called 'normal science'. Paradigms cannot be compared to worldview because they do not operate outside the scientific theories to which they are attached. Paradigms generate conviction in specific scientific explanations and acceptance of the agenda of normal science.

In scientific discourse there are 'agreed-on' criteria to judge when a scientific theory can be replaced by another. These are accepted standards which scientists refer to when comparing the adequacy competing theories (Kuhn 1970:133-34). These criteria are self-applying but there are growing agreements within the scientific communities about when scientific revolution can take place based on the application of these criteria. Some cases seem to record instances in which scientific communities received and assimilated scientific advances by adhering to agreed-on standards for choosing between rival theories, standard explicitly formulated commonly accepted among scientists. Kuhn describes the application of these standards as persuasions and not proof. Revolutions are signs of immaturity of a scientific discipline.

The account of Kuhn scientific revolutions is useful in the social sciences and it is possible to look at intellectual shifts with Marx, Freud, and Keynes. Many social science theories can provide similarities to Kuhn explanation of the foundations of scientific discrepancies. The influence on Kuhn on the social science has had an enormous effect and put them into crisis, at least in the work of many social scientists social science was in the old paradigm and that the new paradigm had just appeared.

The account of Kuhn is a radical attack to the idea of scientific knowledge since the Enlightenment. According to Hollis there are two views of Kuhn's work. The first is the placing of 'reason' as the subject of a *sociology of knowledge*. For examples, in some areas it was recognised the interference of external powers which prevented change within a paradigm in a Kuhnian sense. Hollis gives the example of medical theories and the presence of the church. However, the existence of paradigms means that beliefs are related to their social contexts. This leads to relativism where beliefs are related to the contexts and therefore open to change depending on the context (Hollis 1994:87). The

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second is that, following Popper, the idea of falsification is an 'objective process to advance knowledge despite theory dependence of observation and invulnerability of paradigms'. Lakatos argued that a theory should be considered as a core of key propositions crucial for that theory and protected by hypotheses which could be rejected without damaging the theory. In this way if a theory prediction does not fulfil experience, the wider part of the theory survive the problem.

To intimate that Popper and Kuhn explicitly influenced the, rational choice model, and social constructivism is rather bold. This point is particularly well illustrated by Fuller in his *Kuhn Vs. Popper* (2003) where he points out that it may be misleading to regard Popper as the 'objectivist, realist and positivist' and Kuhn the 'subjectivist, relativist and historicist'.[19] Nevertheless, the elements in their positions have led many scholars to see their ideas to reflect respectively the rational model and the social constructivism. Moreover, the relevance of their contribution in the understanding of the nature of social knowledge is relevant to comprehend the policy making process and, in our case the role of social science knowledge. This can be seen in the rational element of Popper's limited objectivity and Kuhn understanding of science within a paradigm which in turns partly accounts for some elements of the rational and constructivist analysis.

1.4.   Models of Analysis of the Relation Between Knowledge and Policy

In this section the focus is on the link between knowledge and policy making. Traditionally the understanding of the knowledge/policy interface is characterised by the search into the link between knowledge on the one side and politics on the other such as in the rational choice approach. Popper and Kuhn provide different interpretations of the validity of scientific knowledge and consequently different understanding of the relationship between knowledge and politics. Within policy analysis different approaches

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[19] Fuller gives examples of how philosophers are often depicted contra posed in a more than they actually are. This is also the case for Popper and Kuhn particularly in the context of the debate between the two thinkers that took place in London in 1965.

have been formulated to determine where knowledge meets politics. For instance, the *linear model* [20] or *rational model* where knowledge is considered neutral and useful to improve the policy process can be seen in the developments of Popper. On the other hand, Kuhn's conception reflects the *pluralism and opportunism* model (Autes 2007:96), which view the policy process as characterised by pragmatism. Kuhn's ideas, however, are more explicit in and *the politics legitimation model* where the policy process is dominated by power and knowledge which support existing structures (Autes 2007; Jones 2009). Although, the choice of *cognitive* and *normative frame* [21] is preferred, in the study of the policy process,[22] the rational paradigm is considered the starting point for understanding efforts to strengthen the link between knowledge and policy. More importance is given, however, to the role of ideas, representations and general principles over changes in society and state action, and it is argued, particularly by post-structuralists, that there is not a clear distinction between producers and users of knowledge.

1.2.1   The Relationship between Knowledge and Politics

In the *rational* or *linear model* knowledge is considered to provide *neutral* contribution to the policy process as in a 'solving mode' (Anderson: 1975; May and Wildavsky: 1978; Jenkins: 1978; Brewer and deLeon: 1983). Knowledge is considered 'good' in the sense that it provides useful and objective information to improve the policy making process

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[20] The concept of the 'linear mode' is assigned to Vannevar Bush in the 'Science-The Endless Frontier'. However, it i argued that it is not the idea of one individual but it developed over the time. 'In Defense of the Linear Model' (Balconi, Brusoni and Orsenigo 2008)

[21] Cognitive and normative elements play an important role in how implementers understand and explain the world. In short, the dynamics of the social construction of reality is shaping specific and socially legitimate frames and practices (Surel 2000: 496). In the policy literature more emphasis is currently being placed on values and ideas in the study of public policy (Spillance, J.P., Reiser, B.J. and Reiner, T. 2002).

[22] The *networks approach*[22], also associated with rational choice theory argues that at the base of policy is the political economy because interests groups struggle over the allocation of resources and the formulation of rules and regulations (Marin and Mayntz: 1991; Schneider and Werle 1991; Jansen 1991; Kenis 1991). Some of these policy network models are '*issue networks*', '*epistemic communities*' (Thomas, 2003:35), *policy communities*' (Dowding, K. 1994) and '*advocacy coalition*' (Sabatier 1999). The *institutions* approach focuses on the power of formal and informal institutions which form the formal and informal rules of the game such as constitutional rules and cultural norms. Here the importance of structure is emphasised as opposed to actors-oriented theories. These institutions affect ideas and knowledge in the policy process and the degree of openness of actors to ideas (Radaelli and Schmidt 2004). The *discourse* approach which conceives knowledge and power as connected. Foucault argues that *to govern* is interdependent with institutionalised analysis, reflections and knowledge (de Leon 1998).

such as the *problem solving* approach related to reason and logic. The guidance of knowledge to politics is based on Plato and the Enlightenment and also essentially positivist as envisaged by Comte. It means that a political decision is based on reason supported by science and other forms of knowledge, what Habermas called 'technical logic'. This can be seen also in *techno science* where the role of science has a key role in the relationship between knowledge and politics. This is particularly true in modern democracies and the belief in progress of the 20th century characterised by technical and social progress (Hobsbaw 1994).

The *pluralism and opportunism* or *non-liner model'* questions the rational element of the policy process because it involves pragmatic decisions which are made in a condition of 'uncertainty' (Jones 2009:5). Knowledge can be opportunistic and dependent on the efforts of various actors. In this view the use of knowledge is generally 'good'. This model is based on the belief that the relationship between knowledge and politics is 'erratic, risky and opportunistic' and politics behave according to its logic. The spheres of political institutions, education and knowledge are not separate but a sole sphere. Politics may choose the knowledge to develop policies. The policy process is formed of interests, alliances, dealings and negotiations are dominated by science and politics but knowledge takes the role of challenging the games of actors. In the non-linear model, politics negotiates and forms alliances as a response to unstable interests. Decisions are formed on an individual case, guided by the social forces that govern them and their compromises. Politics is seen as a continuous construction of social relations.

In the *politics and legitimisation* model, power is embedded in the knowledge process and it supports the existing power structure. The policy process is regarded as the place of political processes and knowledge production is employed to add legitimacy after a political decision. This approach in sociology looks beyond the relationship between knowledge and politics, it considers the combination of 'meaning' and power relationship which constitute the social world. The legitimation model assumes that power controls knowledge and dictates what is legitimate knowledge (the model of normal science and scientific revolutions as explained by Kuhn). Here politics employs knowledge not to 'enlighten', to improve the policy making process by finding solutions but to legitimatise

a decision made outside 'any reference to external learning'. Power creates its own learning to satisfy its strategy (Autes 2007:98). Politics imposes its vision of the 'true', but decides what legitimate knowledge is.

1.5.   Conclusion

Given the Commission increasingly funding of the social sciences with the aim of improving the policy making process, it is particularly important to assess the condition of the social sciences and their methods of understanding social problems. From this account it is possible to acknowledge some considerations relevant for the understanding of the relationship between social sciences and policy making. The question of the epistemological divide which characterises the scientific method of the natural sciences, the humanities and the social sciences put into question the very existence of the social sciences. The classical divide between empiricism and rationalism has been challenged in the 1960s and 1970s by post-modernist and post-structuralists pointing out the limitation of reason. This has also implied a rejection of universalism given that the modern sciences and the social sciences are largely the product of a Western-European way of understanding social actions after the rejection of religious dogmatism. The epistemological divide is here intimated by the debate between Popper and Kuhn who respectively represent the progressive scientific development, as envisaged in the Enlightenment, and its limitations. Also Wallerstein's account of the meaning of the 'discipline' points out the fragmentation between these different ways of explaining phenomena. Although it was a response to a particular situation, that is the transformation of traditional society to a modern one, it has not changed its fundamental structure. This also means that a particular way of responding to social, economic and political questions has not essentially changed.

If we now considered the relation of the social sciences with the political institutions, as explained by Peter Wagner, it is also possible to understand that it is with the development of the modern state that the social sciences also evolved as the authoritative knowledge of understanding and guiding the passage from traditional to modern

societies. To the various disciplines of the social sciences it was given the task to empirically and qualitatively give relevant information about social organizations. The task of the social sciences to improve the policy making process with the policy sciences, as the expression of American pragmatism, found criticism from the debate in epistemology as reflected in the critique of positivism as well as with the division of the disciplines blamed for fragmenting the problems according to the nature of the discipline.

The analysis of the policy process has moved from the rational choice model to different approaches which consider the policy making a complex process where knowledge does not have a direct impact. Different interpretations of this relation point out that knowledge can have a neutral role. One of the problems with this approach is that there may be competition of different interpretation coming from different areas of knowledge and political choice is influenced by outside knowledge. Moreover, political decisions may influence the development of a particular form of knowledge used to develop policies. This is the case of the funding of programmes where it determined which kind of research will be funded. At supranational level this can be seen in the FPs launched by the EU and with the inclusion of the social sciences in FP6 and FP7.

Chapter 2. The 'European Paradox' as the Basis for the 'Knowledge Society' and the Expanded Role of the Social Sciences at EU Level

2.1. Introduction

At EU level, the idea of enclosure of the social sciences in the policy making mechanism became concrete with the creation of the *European Research Area* and the issuing of the *White Paper on Governance* in 2001. These were measures to tackle low economic growth and unemployment and to boost European innovation with the aid of science and technology. The intent was to lift the EU, as an economic area, to the level of US and Japan in terms of competitiveness and innovation matching scientific performance with technological and industrial results, known as the *European paradox.* [23] The *Community Method* was introduced to improve research framework and the *Framework Programme* was employed to promote greater science and technology collaboration and coordination. New understandings of society, as the result of the growing importance of *information* and the production and usage of *knowledge* in the 1990s, influenced the Commission approach. Relevant, within this context, are the theories which attempt to understand the transformations within contemporary societies which begun in the 1960s and 1970s. Some argued for the emergence of new ways to understand contemporary societies with the central role of *information* and *knowledge* in society at least for the past forty years (Castells 2010; Sörlin and Vessuri 2007; Webster 2007; Fuller 2002; Lash 2002). The seminal work of Müldür and Caracostas, *Society the Endless Frontier* (1998), often considered as the blueprint for the FP6, pick up these theoretical changes and set the basis for the role of science and technology for the improvement of society. Many social scientists have recognised US, Japan, Britain and Germany as *information societies* and thus the EU urging for adjustment to the global information society.

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[23] The inability of European Countries to translate scientific innovation into economic progress.

The passage from industrial societies to other forms of societies has been strongly influenced by knowledge/information and technology. These transformations have been encapsulated in the term *knowledge society* [24] which is related to social processes, actors, learning processes and elements such as values, languages or social representation involved with the production, storage, manipulation and diffusion of knowledge. Knowledge is growing in importance and it affects society and the economy and the two have different values and understanding of the role of knowledge (Sörlin and Vessuri 2007:2). The concept of *post-industrial society* exposed by Daniel Bell (1973) emphasises the role of information and knowledge. Lundvall (1996) with the *learning economy* also argues for a crucial role of knowledge and learning, but above all a new theoretical approach to better understand the role of 'technology, skills, preference and institutions' considered outside the explanation of economic development.

The non-academic relevance of research is a challenge for policy-makers consequently the relationship between science and society has changed. This is reflected in concepts such as those developed by Michael Gibbons et al (1994) to differentiate between the traditional system of knowledge production Mode 1 and a new way of knowledge production Mode 2, and the transformation of research priorities, the commercialization of research and the accountability of science. Also John Ziman (1994) research's system in 'a steady state' explains the changes of the relationship between universities, the government and industries and the changes in scientific norms. And Etzkowitz, H., Leydesdorff (1998) 'triple Helix' science related to the transformation of the relationship between the academic sphere, industry and innovation policies where borders are blurred. These approaches suggests that there is a focus on the production of 'relevant' knowledge which reflects a tendency of academic research to be more involved in the solution of societal problems and in the aid of innovation and economic growth (Hessels, van Lente and Smiths 2009). This changing role of science reflects relations between science, the state, the market and civil society.

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[24] Frank Webster (2006) argues that the term 'knowledge society' is often preferred for its more inclusive meaning of different kinds of information (p.28). Sörlin and Vessuri (2007) in some occasions also reefers to information society and knowledge society (p.21). Lundvall (1996) maintains that can be codified and transferred and knowledge is related to 'tacit' knowledge.

In the light of these transformations this chapter looks at the theoretical developments which characterised the different interpretation of the role of knowledge and information as well as the shift in the understanding of the production of knowledge. Thereafter, it considers the interface between social sciences and policy at EU level. It is within this sphere that different understanding of society and research systems have emerged influencing the theoretical approaches behind the European Research Area and the Framework Programmes. As previously mentioned, *'Society, The Endless Frontier* laid the basis for the role of science and technology in the improvement of society and it marked a change from the previous linear mode approach in an earlier report *Science: The Endless Frontier* in 1948 by Vannevar Bush which influenced the relationship of science and politics in post-war US.

2.2.   The role of knowledge in society

The move towards the creation of a *knowledge society* set out by the EU Commission implies a certain understanding of the role of knowledge in contemporary societies. This section will briefly give an account of different interpretations of the influence of knowledge in different spheres of society. These interpretations are particularly important to understand the Commission shift towards the creation of the knowledge society and the consequent emphasis on the role of social science research. Above all, Daniel Bell describes a change in the role of knowledge in society particularly in the occupational sphere as in the *post-industrial society* (Bell 1973).[25] Lundvall who directly influenced some of the theoretical justification of the EU approach, looks at the economy necessity, in a highly competitive market, to apprehend and also replace knowledge as it is described in the *learning economy* (Lundvall 1996).

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[25] Castells (2000a) calls this passage 'information age' but rather than an occupational factor he gives importance to the 'logic of the network' which according to him is more important than the 'the powers of the network' thus giving a global character to this phenomenon. Castells, in formulating his analysis, acknowledges that those who do not have a place in the network are excluded thus representing a new underclass. Castells looks at the transition from the industrial age to the information age caused by the advent of new information for communication and biological technologies (Castells 2000a:5).

2.2.1. Different Interpretations of the Role of Knowledge in Explaining Societal Transformation

One of the first to recognise the role of knowledge and is correlation with the transformation of society is Daniel Bell with *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1973). In his work he offers a rather positive interpretation of this phenomenon. His assumption is based on the recognition of a movement from *pre-industrial society*, to *industrial society* and to *post-industrial society*. To define this change, he argues that post-industrial societies are characterised by the importance of the professional and the technical class which eventually, within the information society, expand improving the occupational status for everyone. Bell argues that the US are leading the way towards a new type of system, that is the 'post-industrial society' and that this would be a main element in 21st century USA, Japan and Western Europe (Bell 1973:X).[26] In pre-industrial societies the dominant activity was agricultural labour, in industrial societies factory work was prevalent and in post-industrial societies service employment is dominant. These changes are due to the principle of 'rationalization' or 'efficiency'.[27] In a post-industrial society based on services it 'is a game between persons' and what is important is not muscle power or energy but information (Bell 1973:127). In the post-industrial society research plays a major role in innovation showing a new relationship between science and technology because of the importance of theoretical knowledge (Bell 1973:212). These almost prophetic considerations of societal change and knowledge as a major role suggest that these transformations follow the project of modernization and that advanced democracies such as USA and Japan undertook them as part of making their national economies more competitive.

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[26] Bell places in the list also the Soviet Union since his work precedes its fragmentation.
[27] Anthony Giddens (1987), addresses the increased role of knowledge in society with the term 'radicalized modernity', maintaining that since the beginning, referring to the rise of modern societies, societies were 'information societies' now characterised by the development of the features of modernity he argues that modern societies have always been information societies and for this reason we are not entering a new information society era (Giddens 1987:27).

Another more recent account of these transformations is offered by Lundvall (1996) whose theories of the *learning economy* developed in a national setting[28] employed to move towards the creation at EU level of the knowledge society. Similarly to Bell, the concept of the *learning economy* accounts for the changes in technology, skills, preferences and institutions, as well as the increasing role of knowledge in all aspects of the economy giving the role of knowledge and learning features for a new phase in the economy (Lundvall 1996:1). For Lundvall, however, the learning economy is not synonym of the information society because knowledge is not the same notion as information[29]. He argues that the latter is part of knowledge and can be divided into smaller parts, on the other hand, knowledge is more general and it comprises skills and 'the process of building competences'. Moreover, he points out the theoretical inadequacy of previous interpretations where technology skills, preferences and institution were regarded as outsiders in explaining economic development. Crucial for Lundvall is the ability of the economy to 'learn' and also to 'forget' since it is a feature of learning new skills. In the economy it is also reflected the success of individuals, companies, regions and national economies. Changes are characterised by the rapidity of economic change where the demand for new skills is greater.

According to Lundvall there are different kinds of knowledge: *know-what*, *know-why*, *know-how*, *know-who*. Know-what is about facts similar to information; know-why is about knowledge principle and laws of motion in nature, in the human mind and society; Know-how refers to skills such as those of production, marketing and human resources; know-who involves information about who knows what and the social capabilities to establish relationships to specialised groups to use their expertise (Lundvall 1996.5-6). The separation of knowledge economy and learning economy is to shows that the former

[28] Lundvall articulated his theories based on the economic performance of Danemark, also arguing for the importance of national settings in achieving the learning economy; 'The Danish Model and the Globalizing Learning Economy – Lessons for developing countries' (2008).

[29] Scott Lash (2002) recognises the role of information in the transformation of society. According to him, there is a radical change in the nature of knowledge which cannot be assessed and criticised with critical theories based on the dualism which characterises Kant and Hegel, therefore is concerned with the critique of the information society at the end of ideology. Lash develops a philosophical argument as the basis for his 'informationcritique' based on the critique of dualistic approach which is present in Kant and Hegel and subsequently influenced recent critical theories such as Frankfort School and French post-structuralism.

is linked to the flow of objects from the 'stock of knowledge' and the generation of new knowledge through innovation which allows expanding the area of study beyond the universities (Lundvall 1998:35). Lundvall argues that with more internationalization and the formation of networks, universities [30] have become more involved in market driven processes and exposed to competition from other producers of knowledge. Traditional modes of organizations based of disciplinary divisions and detached from society, are replaced with alliances and networking.

These different debates and interpretations account for the effects and influences of knowledge and information on the political, social, economic and cultural aspects of society. They demonstrate that knowledge has had an effect on the organization of society and that knowledge should be managed and not left to grow uncontrolled. However, if knowledge is considered to be *a good* it is also argued that knowledge can be influenced by interests of how knowledge interact with society, become political (Sörlin and Vessuri 2007:1) and have implication for the production, diffusion and consumption. Furthermore, issues about the role of knowledge permeate the sphere of science policy and academia, and globalization and competitiveness. The way knowledge and information may affect and transform societies is also reflected in the relationship between science and technology and consequently science and society. This has resulted in what Fuller calls 'management of knowledge' where private corporations are involved in the business of production of knowledge. If knowledge is influencing the various spheres of society, questions may rise about the nature and provenience of such knowledge. In the Western tradition, knowledge and its pursuit is conceived for 'its own sake' (Fuller 2002:2) and knowledge thus is considered as a 'public good'. In the context of innovation and 'knowledge management such a conception of knowledge production is not welcomed since innovation would be welcomed only in terms of profit putting to an end to research. In this way 'capturing' knowledge takes over its cultivation.

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[30] He argues that although universities are open to market forces is not totally acceptable and they must consolidate their autonomous position in relation to knowledge production. In these reflections he is aware of the delicate relation between knowledge and politics.

2.3. The Production of 'Relevant' Knowledge

Another element determinant for the role of knowledge in the knowledge based society envisaged by the Commission is a shift in the production of knowledge. Within this context, universities become producers of knowledge that is different than the traditional sort which first began with the Enlightenment. This section, in the context of the ERA, examines three approaches which point out how these transformations have occurred. Ziman (1994) accounts for a change in the generation of knowledge and argues for a change within the university particularly in its relation with government and industries. In *The New Product of Knowledge* (1994) Michael Gibbons et al investigates the 'mode of knowledge production' and particularly the relationship between science and technology developed in the 1990s. Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1998) argue that this change have altered the relationship between science and society particularly in relation to application of scientific knowledge, the creation of networks at supranational level and a revaluation of assessment methods, criteria for success and a 'restructuring of the nature of the activity itself'.

2.3.1. Mode 2, Post-academic Research and Triple Helix: Recent Understanding of Knowledge Generation

The way knowledge is produced has changed the role of universities and their relation with the state and the industry sector. With this view were formed the settings for the conception and creation of FP6 with the enhanced role of the social sciences and humanities. In *The New Product of Knowledge* (1994) Michael Gibbons investigates the 'mode of knowledge production' and particularly the relationship between science and technology developed in the 1990s. This new production of knowledge, Mode 2, which is produced in 'trans-disciplinary social and economic context', emerges together with the

traditional modes of production or Mode 1, which is generated within a 'disciplinary, primarily cognitive context' and made of academic research (Gibbons 1994:1).[31]

The nature of research has changed in at leas two ways: *the steering of research priorities* and *the commercialization of research* (Gibbons 2003:181). In the steering of research there are three levels. One is the supranational level such as the Framework Programmes of the European Commission because they try to direct research priorities and to make research capacity to meet social and economic needs. Secondly, at national level research and development programmes which focus on short term political goals but develop long term research capacities. Thirdly, the research councils adopt a top down approach and put emphasis on thematic programmes a compromise of political goals, promising science and research capacity.

Mode 2 is broader in context, it has clear goals to aid industry, government or society and its objective is set from the beginning. Gibbons et al argue that in Mode 2 knowledge is at the exchange of the demand and supply process but the source of supply is diverse and that of demand comes from a broad context under negotiation. They go to the point to argue that Mode 2 is 'beyond the market', knowledge is produced and diffused through society 'what can be said socially distributed knowledge'.

Another important contribution to the interpretation of the generation of knowledge is that of Ziman in *Prometheus Bound* (1994), argues for a change within the university and also in its relation with government and industries. Ziman sees this as a process in which there is not turning back and its effects are not only at national level. Ziman concentrates on the UK, but it implies the organization and performance of science at global level

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[31] In *Mode 2Revisited* Gibbons *et al* argue the idea of Mode 2 knowledge was developed in different contexts such as the 'commercialization of research', the increase of higher education, the role of social sciences and humanities in the production of knowledge, globalization, the re-consideration of institutions and the management of Mode 2 Management. The Mode 2 approach to knowledge saw the humanities not as estranged from the application and contextualization but through their notions of 'reflexivity' are the most engaged of the disciplines. In this respect, *The New Production of Knowledge* was intended to address changes of production in the social sciences but as stated by Gibbons *et al* more space was given to the natural sciences. Scott argues that in both the Triple Helix and Mode 2 the social sciences were neglected and more space was devoted to the natural sciences (Scott 2000).

(Ziman 1994:7). He argues that there is a struggler between the traditional scientific norms for science described by Paul Merton and the influence of industry in academic science. The norms for science of Merton are synthesised by Ziman in CUDOS, *communalism, universalism, disinterestedness, originality* and *scepticism* and PLACE meaning the *proprietary*, *local*, *authoritarian*, *commissioned* and *expert* to describe the features of industrial science. As a result of these changes, science entered a 'steady state' which means that these two sets of values compete over budget restriction and the impossibility of science to expand. He recognises the need for 'collectivisation' meaning the need to share equipment and facilities for scientific research and interdisciplinary work but above all the need for a different version of science policy with new criteria of 'scrutiny' and 'accountability' (Ziman 1994:199).

Related to the concept of post industrial societies and the relationship between knowledge economies and society, it is argued that recent societies have developed innovation policies based on the relationship between academic and industry 'through reflexive science, technology and innovation policies'. Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1998) argue that this change have altered the relationship between science and society particularly in relation to application of scientific knowledge, the creation of networks at supranational level and a revaluation of assessment methods, criteria for success and a 'restructuring of the nature of the activity itself' (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1998). Moreover, this change has altered the distinction between universities and firms, private and public, and science and technology. Particularly the new relation between university and industry makes new methods for research, teaching and economic development (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1998:204).

These three positions maintain that there is a radical change in the way knowledge is produced and a shift from the traditional way with the role of universities and their independence and the role of industries and government. For Ziman this change is the consequence of the lack of resources and also because the distinction between pure and applied science disappear. As policy methods application seem more practical, research agenda are set externally by social needs and desire rather than internally in the research's interest and judgment of what should be pursued.

For Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff this change has taken place because of internal changes in the academia promoted by government policy. They continue that 'capitalization of knowledge' has taken the place of communalism as a norm for science. This has occurred not only within the practices of industrial sciences and as reflected in the entrepreneurial character of university but also in the influence outside the university such as government policies which have the settings of intellectual property as a result of transnational funded research and targeted industrial policies (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1998:206). They argue that to explain the interaction at different stages of the capitalization of knowledge we need a 'spiral model' and for the development of the triple helix model there are four dimensions The first is the international transformation in each helix; second, the influence of each helix on one another; third, the creation of institutional settings for their interaction; and fourth the effects on the spirals and society (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1998:208).

One important indication emerged here is the way the disinterested role of the university disappears due to the interaction of academic and industrial collaboration. There is also the different role which is assigned to technology and the change of relationship between science and government. The second is characterised by the emergence of 'knowledge based society' is also a description of the change in contract between science and society. This relationship described by Bush in 1945 as a techno linear model where research is autonomous represented by research councils and on the other side funding mandated from different ministers. In the new context, however, there is 'targeted research' (Elzinga: 1997), the intensification of the relationship between science and industry, the importance of science policy and the orientation of funds.

2.4. The New Contract Between Science and Society

Vannevar Bush's *Science, the Endless Frontier* (1945) is regarded as the basis of policy science since it puts forward a model for the organization and social production of science and technology (Müldür and Caracostas 1997; Scott 2000; Pereira 2004; Patricio

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2004;). This approach, based on the linear model and on the assumption of boundaries between science and its application, was actuated in the US and it was well received in the rest of the world to promote the development of policies for sciences. The positive reception of the seminal work was due to the economic and technological success of the US and its emphasis on scientific research for the social, economic and political objectives of American society delineating the borders between science and society. It was an attempt to give importance to scientific research for economic, political and social objectives of American society separating the borders between science and society.

In this *social contract*, as it is often used to describe the relationship between science and society (Guston and Kenniston 1994: 5), it was outlined the division between the roles of government and that of the scientists. Moreover, the scientific sphere was supposed to provide the required knowledge, invention and contribution for a welfare society. Important was the autonomy of social scientists in return of solution for the challenges of the nations. Bush made explicit reference to the role of scientific progress to aid the progress of America in the post-war context (Bush 1945:10). In this way science and government shared a common goal for the wealth of American society. The approach proposed by Bush was in line with the Mertian's understanding of scientific norms with the distinction of *communalism, universalism, disinterestedness, organized scepticism*.[32]

Some fifty years later Uğur Müldür and Paraskevas Caracostas, on behalf of the EU Commission, published *Society, the Endless Frontier* (1998) with a title which evoked similar aspirations of Vannevar Bush. They nevertheless, emphasised the change in their approach pointing out that research, innovation and skills were no longer ends in themselves but there to reach social needs and work together with socio economic institutions. They added that these interactions were dynamic and research on them was part of the process of innovation activities. The main idea was to bring together the various actors which contributed to societal change within shared objective of common interests. The context of this change was a change in innovation and the creation of a

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[32] This implied the separation of the differentiation of spheres with distinct social and intellectual attributes and value system (Widmalm 2007).

learning society (Müldür and Caracostas 1998:137) with the assumption that growth is related to technological change and development driven by perceived needs. Edith Cresson, member of the Prodi Commission responsible for *Research Innovation and Education*, pointed out the need for governments to invest more in technology research and development in order to have a major impact on the *society of knowledge*. She also pointed out that the Union should direct the 'European scientific and technological area' to the improvement of the economy and society and suggested the work of Müldür and Caracostas as the guidelines to achieve this goal.

Part of their work looked at public research and innovation policies in OECD countries since the WWII and divided it into three phases. The first phase looked at policies build upon defence and science and concluded that during the WWII research was carried out for military purposes and this was also the case for the period of the Cold War. They argued that this approach was shaped in the USA by Vannevar Bush who proposed a policy based on the use of public funds into basic research and higher education for the American economy and military strategies.

The second phase was characterised by the combination of industry and technology. The end of the economic boom which ended with the oil crisis of the early 1970s, the industrial rise of Japan and the rise of communication and technology, which changed industrial norms and the approach towards innovation, characterised this change in public research. This period also marked the beginning of designed research and development programmes and in the 1980s with economic liberalism it was adopted the approach of strategic industries to be funded by the commercial sector and direct and indirect state aid (Müldür and Caracostas 1998:18-19). In this period, the government is also more a partner to industry than a client of research and development as in the first phase goal.

The third phase is characterised by the relationship between society and innovation and emphasises the quality of life and sustainable development. It begun in the mid 1990s and it is characterised by five fundamental factors. Firstly is the disappearance of the communist bloc and the political pressure to invest in the military sector; second, the emergence of a trend to invest in research and development; third, the globalization of the

economy; fourth, the rising of structural unemployment and concerns for the environment, the quality of life, health and retirement programmes; and fifth, the impoverishment of states, public mistrust towards science and its consequence (Müldür and Caracostas 1998:21). In the 1990s the European Commission started major policy initiatives such as the *Green Paper on Innovation*, the *White Paper on Education and Training* and proposals for the 5th Framework Programme for Community action in research and technology development. This approach, also called the *systematic approach*, rests on the role of research and innovation to serve the needs of society.

It is in the this phase that there has been a change in the relationship between research, on the one hand, and the government on the other (between science and society). At the basis of the discussion is the *European paradox* that is, scientific performance has not been matched with technological and industrial results. They envisage the inclusion of social demands and the promotion of interdisciplinary approaches with particular attention to socio economic impact of science and engineering research and societal demands coupled with the discourse of economic competitiveness. This is because, according to Müldür and Caracostas, more investment in research and innovation helps productivity and jobs in the light of what is outlined as the European problems of ageing society, less investment than USA and Japan in research and development, and the difficulties of Europe to take advantage of scientific knowledge to improve economic and social spheres. Behind the approach to utilise science and technology at policy level are the challenges identified by the various reports of the EU Commission on the state of the Union. The main areas identified are *slow economic growth*, *market competition*, *unemployment*, *regional inequalities and poverty*, *slow demographic growth*, *the danger of contagious diseases* and *questionable* lifestyle and environmental problems (Müldür et al 2006:10).

What characterises the third phase also are two factors. One is what is implied as that of significant changes in society where science and technology have social and economic importance more than before. Here important is also the role of ideas, knowledge and information and the *knowledge based economy* (Müldür and Caracostas 1998:137). The transformation in contemporary society since the 1960s have been interpreted in different

domains and more or less depict a shift from industrial to a new type where it is more difficult to define and to predict further developments . Taking on the analysis of Lundvall they argue that in the four types of knowledge categorised *know what*, *know why*, *know how* and *know who* the first two types are easily managed in terms of codification and comodification. This requires training and learning to teach people to manage information.

Müldür and Caracostas, citing Michael Gibbons' Mode 2 of knowledge production, acknowledged that a new model of science and technology in society was emerging favouring problem oriented research, aimed at resolving social and market problems. This favoured models involving different players, an interdisciplinary approach, questioning of the objectives and result of partnership which comes and goes. This interactive and systematic approach to innovation is gaining more grounds in academic and political circles because research is in crisis and the decision makers are seeking new justifications and avenues of government action in a context of budget cuts.

The reason for better investment in research was the need to better coordinate the European fragmentation of science and technology. As illustrated by Müldür and Caracostas there was a system of research and innovation but it required more coordination between European, national and regional policies, between science and technology policies and other policies. Innovation policies initiatives were carried out together at regional, national and transnational level with poor integration and coordination (Kuhlmann and Elder 2003:620). The response to this gap was the creation of the European Research Area consisting of mobility of researchers and knowledge, scientific cooperation and better policy coordination.

2.5. The Making of the Knowledge Society at EU level

Although the concept of the knowledge society type is conceived at national level, in Europe Scandinavian and Northern European countries, it was adopted by the commission for achieving it by the first decade of the 2000s. At EU level, the *Lisbon*

Strategy 2000 set the objective for innovation and competitiveness within the borders of the union and launched through the FPs 6 and 7 a grater role for the social sciences.

2.5.1. *The European National Context*

The idea to make the transition to a knowledge society was firs felt at national level. In Finland the Science and Technology Policy Council published reports on the *innovative society* in 1993 [33] and on the *knowledge-based society* in 1996.[34] In the UK a report was published on how to benefit from the processes of privatisation and marked based reforms but was lacking in competitiveness was published in 2003. In France arguments were proposed about the *new economy* [35] and looked at the USA Information and Communication Technologies developments with the help of research and development, financing mechanism and deregulation of old monopolies. In the Netherlands an *innovation platform* [36] was launched in 2003, the mission of which was to strengthen the innovation potential to secure a leading role for the country in the *European knowledge economy* of 2010.

The lagging behind of European countries was partly related to foreign investment in Brazil, Russia, India ad China which favoured the production of technological products challenging the competition of the European market. Also the liberalization of markets provoking a threat to traditional European industries such as textile, required high investment in research. For Europe, the realization of the knowledge society was another step to complement the already achieved results such as the Single market, single currency and further enlargement. Moreover, the knowledge society seemed as the next step and the only approach to deal with low economic growth and high unemployment.

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[33] 1993 Report: Towards an Innovative Society: A Development Strategy for Finland called for urgent investment in research in a time were cuts were programmed by the Finish government.

[34] 1996 Finland: A Knowledge-based Society, put emphasis on the role of education and research and development for the development of the welfare system and competitiveness.

[35] The French government has also been deeply concerned about a growing technology gap. Internet penetration in France trails the rest of Europe. And France contributed only 2.5 percent of the total cost of research in the Human Genome project, compared to 33 percent from Britain and 55 percent from the US.

[36] The Innovation Platform had been established in 2003 as a temporary organisation, and was re-established in 2007 by Cabinet Balkenende IV (2007-2010). Its mission was to "strengthen the Netherlands' capacity for innovation so that the Netherlands can become a trailblazer in the international knowledge economy". The Platform had set itself the goal of ensuring that the Netherlands becomes one of the world's top five knowledge economies.

2.5.2. The Knowledge Society at EU Level

At both EU and national level it was acknowledge that to achieve the knowledge society would mean to put research, education and innovation on the top of the list and the creation of programmes and action to channel resources into research, education and innovation. Thus the *Lisbon Strategy* (2010) included major headings such as "establishing a European area of research and innovation", "education and training for living and working in the knowledge society" and "creating a friendly environment for starting up and developing innovative businesses, especially SMEs".

The call for investing more and better in knowledge triangle issues was repeated in the aforementioned high-profile policy documents. The "Sapir Report" recommended, first, to make the Single Market more dynamic and, second, to boost investment in knowledge. The "Strauss-Kahn Report" put "investing in knowledge by emphasizing research and higher education" as a priority before the revitalisation of the internal market. The report contained 50 proposals for "Constructing Tomorrow's Europe", which impressively underlined the importance attached to research, innovation and education. The "Kok Report" recommended increasing Europe's attractiveness for researchers and scientists, making research and development a top priority, and promoting the use of ICTs (Information Communication Technology). The "Aho Report" recommended a paradigm shift going well beyond the narrow domain of research and development and innovation policy. A "Pact for Research and Innovation" would be needed entailing a combination of a market for innovative goods and services, focussed resources, new financial structures and mobility of people, money and organisations. The report concluded that "Europe and its citizens should realise that their way of life is under threat but also that the path to prosperity through research and innovation is open if large scale action is taken now by their leaders before it is too late".

The social sciences were included in FP5 but without a separate research programme like in the following FP6 and FP7. In this early inclusion of the societal sciences, social scientists were encouraged to work side by side with the natural scientists and engineering scientists within a multidisciplinary approach and problem solving

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orientation as envisaged by the innovation policy approach initiated in the late 1990s. This also meant a different approach than with FP4 the Targeted Socio-Economic Research programme (TSER) introduced in the 1990s (Patricio 2004:52). The Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' was the result under the FP5 including structural changes, technology society and employment, governance and citizenship, and new development models fostering growth and employment. This was a chance to continue what had been initiated with the TSER encouraging multidisciplinary work between the hard and the social sciences (Patricio 2004:52). These were the conditions for getting the social sciences involved in the policy making process and the main issues that emerged were economic, political and social related to the EU enlargement, the role of democratic institutions and the effects of the euro. Other themes were related to large scale migration, changing family structure, socialization and religion, labour and employment, defining scientific and technological priorities; promoting a closer understanding of the public to science and technology; and the contribution to science policy. Not all these potential research areas of social sciences were to see the light of day in the FP5 (Patricio 2004:52).

At EU level, in the light of the societal challenges of the end of the 1990s policy makers, at The Lisbon Council of March 2000, assessed the strengths and weaknesses of the EU. Strengths were macro-economic prospects, growth and job creation, but the weaknesses were the development of key sectors and human capital formation. There was low employment rate, low participation in the labour market of women and older workers, and market regional unemployment disparity across the Union.[37] A report on the socio-economic research activities 1998-2002 exposed the challenges of assessing the 'social and economic' aspects of the European Research Programmes because of 'lack of commonly agreed definitions, consistent dataset and robust assessment methods.'[38] This was an assessment of the socio-economic importance of FP5. The report analyses the Key Action role to improve the socio-economic knowledge based with the main themes as sated above. This part of the programme focused mainly on social sciences and one of the

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[37] Presidency Conclusions Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000
[38] *The overall socio-economic dimension of community research in the fifth European Framework Programme* European Commission 2003

concerns was to prepare the research community to work effectively within the ERA and help the transition to the FP6. Amongst the objective was that of strengthen the contribution and the structuration of the social sciences and the humanities in the ERA. Due to the state of the state of social science research, largely performed at national level and by individual researchers one of the challenges of FP6 was the ability to collaborate within a large community of researchers.

The creation of the European Research Area was proposed in the year 2000 by the Commission Communication which stated that the 21st century would be a century of science and technology and investing in research and technological development was a must for the future. The communication also pointed out the necessary conditions to increase the impact of research though the coordination of research and policies in Europe.[39] The March 2000 Lisbon Council set the objective and implementation timetable and the resolution for the European Council called on the Commission in cooperation with the member states to present objectives and methodologies to articulate excellence in all member states and coordinate science policy (Patricio 2004:53).

Also the issuing of the EU White Paper on Governance among other reasons, such as further enlargement east and south and common foreign security policy, sought to deal with the question of social measures which emphasised new problems for cooperation. This was because the policy areas included in those areas were difficult to deal within the free trade economic settings of the Union because they alter the basis for cooperation (Eriksen 2001). For this reason, given the scarce consideration for EU policies, different proposal were advanced for improving the decision making system. These approaches implied more involvement of citizens and groups and actors of 'civil society'. The European Research Area communication and the EU White Paper on Governance were an attempt to provide the necessary ground for closer relationship also between social scientists and policymakers. In the context of these new approaches there were the political transformation of the EU due to the enlargement and the efforts to make the EU more democratic.

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[39] *Towards a European ResearchArea* Commission Communication 2000

The FP6 2002-2006 had a thematic priority area on the social sciences and a programme called 'Science and Society' addressing the gap between science and society and tools for policy contribution. The funding programmes of the EU helped to coordinate social scientists contributing to the formation of a European public policy. The process of EU integration posed new questions for policy makers and social scientists could make a contribution.

The reasons for the creation of the knowledge society at EU level were first felt at national level in Europe particularly in Northern European countries which saw in technology and innovation a way to economic growth. At EU level is crucial the Lisbon Strategy and the subsequent creation of the ERA and the inclusion of the social sciences. It was acknowledged that knowledge was plying an important role for research, innovation and education. As an instrument for the generation of knowledge the social sciences were included in the FPs to deal with the challenges including economic and political integration, economic growth and large scale migration faced by the EU and member states. The creation of the ERA and the various attempts at EU level to coordinate research also in the field of the social sciences and the relation with the policy making process with the techno-science approach can be seen as an approach to give more legitimacy to the EU policy process through the generation of scientific knowledge.

2.6. Conclusion

The involvement of the social sciences in the policy making of the EU is related to the development of the knowledge based economy, which developed at national level in the 1990s and subsequently, at EU level at the beginning of the years 2000s. This, in turns, gave way to the increasing role of science in society, more involvement of actors, such as universities, organizations and companies, in the societal processes. In this context, the role of the social sciences, apart from the tradition of investigating and interpreting social phenomenon, is that of problem solving and that of being part of the scientific field of the natural sciences.

Theories about the influence of knowledge and information in the different spheres of society indicate that there is a change from an industrial society to a type of society where it is more difficult to predict developments. These interpretations provide sociological, economic and philosophical explanations for the different relationships between social agents and social structures. The different explanations briefly outlined in this chapter about the changes in societies point out different aspects. Namely, they look at changes in the occupational sector due to the pivotal role of information.

If discussions about the role of information points to changes in the way societies are organized, it is pertinent to look at how knowledge and information is generated. That is, in the debate about the role of knowledge in innovation policies and in approaches to use science and technology for the improvement of the policy making process. One of the characteristic of the knowledge society is the capitalization of research because of the inadequateness of public funding and the awareness of universities of intellectual property generated by research. Knowledge products derived from university research are assessed in terms of 'immediate market return'. The negotiation about who owns the property between individual researchers, the research team, the research community or the institution transforms the character of the university. For this reason knowledge is now regarded as intellectual property and not as public good, and it is produced, accumulated and traded like goods and services in the knowledge society.

For Ziman, Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff the relationship between the academia and industry has changed in the way that the traditional role of scientific knowledge cannot be understood in the scientific norms described by Paul Merton. Ziman points out that the universities do not have the resources to carry out research and research is conducted in relation to social needs rather than within the logic of the researchers' interests about the decision of what should be pursued. This happens in the context of the knowledge society where there is the need to increment innovation, access to scientific knowledge particularly *know how*, and an increase of funds for university researchers.

The new understandings in terms of societal organization and knowledge production are the results of change between science and society. Traditionally this relation was characterised by the clear division between government and therefore the policy making, and scientists. In the context of the policy science, scientists had a clear autonomous role based on Merton scientific norms, the incompatibility of the scientific spirit with technological property.

At EU level, such changes were outlined by Caracostas and Müldür thus placing the basis for innovation policies and pointing out that research, innovations and skills are not ends in themselves but directed to address social needs. The reason for adopting such an approach was to fill a structural gap between the US, Japan on one side and the countries of the EU on the other.

The work of Müldür and Caracostas, issued by the EU Commission, became the blueprint for the research programmes of the EU at the end of the 1990s. The Lisbon Strategy with the aim of establishing a knowledge based economy included the creation of the European Research Area. A series of reports emphasised the need for investing more and better in knowledge. The social sciences were included, with a definite role to work side by side with the hard sciences, in the FP6 and in the successive FP7. The ERA with the White Paper on governance were an attempt to bring closer social scientists and policy makers. The role of the social sciences in this context through FP6 and FP7 helped to coordinate the social scientists contributing to the formation of a European public policy. In both FPs research in the social sciences were divided into thematic fields which allocated funds for different purposes within the competence of the social sciences. In FP6 Priority 7, "Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society" and in FP7 area of Cooperation, Theme 8: Socio Economic Sciences and Humanities funds were allocated for immigration and citizenship related issues. Given the importance of this subject area in the light of recent developments in immigration flows particular importance was given to the role of research for better understanding this phenomenon. This is the topic of the next chapter which in the context of problem oriented research analyses the Commission approach both in research priorities as well as in immigration policies at EU level.

Chapter 3. New Understandings of Migration Mobility and EU Level Migration Policies

3.1. Introduction

Following the discussion of research policy at EU level this chapter turns to the field of migration, to analyse the EU research agenda and the development of migration policies. Mainly this is to determine the coherency between the Commission discourse on migration and EU actual policies. Within the EU, migration policies were put back on the agenda in the Council of the European Union in 2005 following the incidents in Ceuta and Melilla.[40] The Commission and the Council of Ministers agreed a series of measures based on control, such as visa and borders regulations. Previously, measures such as cooperation with countries of origin or preventive measures such as fight against poverty, human rights abuses and condemnation of authoritarian regimes were introduced in the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997 and the Tamperre Conclusions of 1999 but after September the 11th and a conservative change in the Council of Ministers these measures were not adopted (Bendel 2007:32,33). Instead, after the Hague Programme approved in 2004 until 2010, policies focused on security and control, under the label of *securitization*.

The focus on immigration research by the Commission is characterised by the establishment of the immigration policy at EU level and the increasing importance of the role of research in the sphere of migration. This is also related to the changes of the phenomenon itself, which can be partially associated to the process of globalization and the necessities of the knowledge economies for labour. Furthermore, traditional research, prevalently in the national framework, has been regarded inadequate to understand such dynamics. Therefore, within the EU, with the FP6 and continuing with FP7, funding of

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[40] In October 2005 people from sub-Saharan countries tried to enter Europe through the small Spanish soil in the African Continent, and Moroccan and Spanish police open fired making many injuries and victims. "Under fire at Europe's border" This article appeared on p22 of the Main section of the Observer on Sunday 2 October 2005.

projects has sought to support new approaches, methodologies and conceptual tools to better understand how migratory flows are developing. The aim has been that of bridging the gap between 'deductive prediction' and 'what is to happen', characteristic of the old methods of research in migration.[41] Meaning that research and policy making are not sufficiently interacting and that studies to understand migration rested on concepts which regarded migration as a natural consequence of economic and political inequalities (Faist 2004), and have concentrated on countries of destination rather than country of origins (Penninx 2006). To fill the previous shortcomings in migration research, it was pointed out that any approach to study and analyse the migration process should be multidisciplinary since migration research often involve different disciplines of the social sciences. In fact, the FP6 is one of the first attempts to address these issues and to deal with the fragmentation of national research.

Within this context, the migration debate can be divided between the concepts of nationalism and transnationalism (Earnest 2008; Faist 2004; Schiller 2009). These are two approaches to interpret how immigrants are politically integrated. Nationalism gives more importance to domestic influence of state policies and the importance of nationality for the incorporation of opportunities for migrants. On the other hand, transnationalism gives more importance to global factors and the various levels of governance, and helps to understand economic, social and political relations across borders. This approach is preferred within the EU research paradigm, given the place of the nation state within the context of EU governance and citizenship.

In order to understand the role of FPs research and EU immigration policies, this chapter first describes the changes in the dynamics of migration and how research has responded, particularly in the context of the FPs. Secondly, it considers the concepts of nationalism and transnationalism as approaches to understand migration as the latter being the approach of FP funded research. Thirdly, it looks at EU migration policy and how it has developed in the context of these changes. Fourthly, it investigates the relationship

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[41] 'Moving Europe: EU research on migration and policy needs' European Commission 2009

between migration and citizenship and considers the effects of migration policies on existing conceptions of citizenship in the context of the EU.

3.2.   Changes in Migration Dynamics and the Increased Role of Research

Changes in the dynamics of migration have been characterised by geopolitical events and by the effects of globalization. There have been periods in which migratory movements have been particularly high and are related to events such as the end of the Algerian war in 1962, the end of the Vietnam War and the fall of the Berlin Wall at the end of the 1980s.[42] Before the oil crisis of 1973, migration movements were concentrated within the OECD area. After that, migration flows also outside the OECD area began to rise up to a point that migration countries have become immigration countries with high rates of entry [43] (Bia 2004:5). The changing situation in international migration as well as in European migration can also be attributed to the process of globalization which affects different spheres across societies. For instance, the financial world, agricultural and industrial production and services supplies have developed a new order of labour across borders affecting trade, culture and knowledge.

3.2.1. Changes in Migration Movements and the Role of Research

Within this new global configuration also human flows have changed in their destination but also in the motives migrants move and settle. In recent studies migration movements have been classified into different concepts which define them in terms of movement of non-citizens within a country, in terms of labour demand, in terms of temporary or permanent residence and in terms of skilled labour needed for the economy (OECD 2009; Penninx 2006; Doomernik and Jandl 2008).[44]

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[42] These events are considered within studies on migration to have caused substantial migratory flows.

[43] Bia (2004) argues that this changed is related to political, historical and economic reasons, for instance labour shortage in post-war reconstruction.

[44] Some of these studies, apart from OECD research,are part of IMISCOE, a Network of Excellence funded by the FP6

With the recent development in EU citizenship, within the Union in members states there are movements of non-citizens which national governments have little control precisely because of supra-national treaties. [45] This is because having EU citizenship implies the free movement of member states' citizens within the borders of the EU thus bypassing the national dimension. This form of migration is internal and in some way can be compared to national internal migration. However, in the context of the EU this kind of migration has some implication since citizens of member states can reside in other member states without any form of control.

Another form of migration is that related to labour. In this situation governments have more control because they can decide flows that enter the country. Also, initiatives for migration movement come from the employer that has a specific need of a worker with specific skills and makes requests to the authorities for work permit. On the other hand, supply migration determined by labour request is the practice of inviting migrants without a specific job position.

Temporary and permanent migration refers to the receiving country prior view of the stay of the migrant. This condition was a characteristic of the first waves of migration in European countries such as UK, France and Germany considered migrants as a short term phenomenon. In fact in European countries, the right to long term or permanent residence and nationality is granted after a certain period, depending on a number of factors such as a certain number of years of residence in the receiving country. Temporary migrants are those who hold a permit which is not renewable or only on limited basis.

These interpretations of the different kinds of migration reflect an earlier interpretation of migration movements because regarded it as a short term phenomenon. Recently geopolitical changes and globalization have caused at least two outcomes which changed the way people migrate. The first is that the movements of people have changed from short to long stay. The advent of fast information, affordable communication and transport determine economically or politically more advantageous destination for

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[45] The Geneva Convention on refugees or human rights also produces similar effects.

migrants. A second related outcome is that migration was seen as moving from permanent settlement but recent migration helped by communication and transport facilities has changed to 'fluid practices' in an international context where migrants have multiple stays in different countries bringing new practices of residence integration and community formation (Penninx 2006:10).[46]

Since the beginning of the 1990s this situation drastically changed and immigrants from all parts of the world move for educational, purposes, as part of workers of multinational companies or international organizations, skilled workers, undocumented workers, refugees from many parts of the world are just some examples. These changes are strongly related to the process of globalization and also to the idea that the national state is somehow weakening its borders. On the other hand, it is also recognised that because of the increased human mobility national borders have become more rigid than before and the possibility to be mobile is often related to political rights and financial possibilities placing migration in the spheres of inequality and discriminations controlled by national states (Castles 2008).

The importance of migration research has taken some time to emerge in the academic sphere because there is not single conceptual framework for migration studies. Following the changes in migration movements in the 1960s and 1970s individual researchers focussed on specific flows of migration and guest workers funded and framed within the national context. As a consequence it reflected national concerns and perspectives[47]. Topics and priorities mainly related to destination countries and their policies. In fact, traditional understandings of migration interpret it as a natural function, as a consequence of economic and political inequalities (Hoffman 2000).

At EU level, research in general and more specifically migration research is characterised by multidisciplinary approaches. The scientific disciplines involved such as economics, sociology, geography, psychology and policy studies are from the social sciences. Policy

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[46] These new phenomena are studied under the transnationalist approach and policy makers ask what these practices mean for integration although, for these groups national borders represent an obstacle.
[47] This phenomenon, as later it will be discussed, is studied under the concept of *nationalism*.

makers need reliable research and in EU migration policy and research there is an uneasy relationship between research and policy which confuses the debate In this respect FP6 continuing with FP7 were formulated with the intent to introduce the possibility to overcome traditional research fragmented in nature and provided more coherent basis for policies and the public discourse on international migration and integration.

Migration movements have been characterised by internal movements, labour movements and by the settlement modes. Within the EU internal migration is characterised by EU citizenship which gives the right to move freely within the Union. Labour movements are characterised by demand from the governments or the employers. Settlements are characterised by the length of time immigrants stay in one place. These understanding of migration movements reflect the first flows of immigrants which came to Europe in the second post-war period. Recently with developments in communication and transportation some practices have changed and migrants come have multiple stays. This have also changed the way policy makers deal with the phenomenon of migration and the way research attempts to interpret it. Before more emphasis was placed on the national context more recently the focus is not only on the receiving countries but also on the countries of origin to try and understand the reason of immigration.

3.3. Traditional Migration Studies and Transnationalism: State and Supra-national levels

In formulating the research agenda for the FP6 and FP7, the Commission looked at new approaches to study the phenomenon of migration. As previously mentioned, traditional migration studies focussed more on the destination countries and on the economic factors which stimulate and accelerate migratory movements. Within the changes in the dynamics of migration, also research sought new concepts to understand the changing phenomena. In Europe the concept of class dominated research on colonial and guest workers migration of 1970s was replaced by *multiculturalism*, *minorities* and *cultural*

pluralism[48] in the 1980s with the increased importance of immigrant incorporation. In the 1990s the concept of transnationalism[49] offered a way to discuss international migration and incorporation.

3.3.1. Nationalism

Although there are differences in the various interpretations, traditional studies on migration share an understanding of a politics which identifies the political community as a product of the historical relationship between the nation and the state.[50] According to this view, immigration quotas and naturalization policies reflect national cultures, local interest groups politic and state formation histories. Also voting rights for migrants may explain differences amongst states.[51] *Collective action* theorists see changes in citizenship politics as a product of national political institutions and competing interests groups. For instance, Freemen and Money argue that groups if migrants residing together give rise to pro and anti immigration responses within the public opinion. Citizenship policies reflect the organizational challenges and the institutional constraint that migrant groups face. In this respect migrants are not different than any another interest group in terms of the claim to make on the state.

The nationalist thesis emphasises three sources of citizenship practices, cultural, institutional and geographic. T.H. Marshall saw in the social rights a "third generation" of subjective rights to complete the constitution of modern citizenship and new conditions of loyalty to a homeland challenged from liberal individualism. However there are questions about the social rights understood as something only for the poor or as universal and belonging to a new concept of human individuality. Roger Brubacker

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[48] Hirschman, et al. 1999; Portes 1997 did include work on migration motivations, but the main focus was on issues of incorporation of immigrants into society (assimilation, pluralism etc.)

[49] There are, nevertheless, two opposing views of transnationalism. David Held et al (1999) argue that on the one hand, transnationalism is a variant of ethnic community formation as a result of a failed attempt of incorporation in the immigration countries. This is not a new phenomenon and should not generate concern given the process of globalization with weakened national borders. On the other hand, there is the dramatic increasing border crossing exchanges since the 1970s when measured in quantitative ways.

[50] Traditional studies see the nation as a web of culture, values, traditions, language religion and the terrain.

[51] Marshall argues that states extended political rights to non-citizens only when these groups gain civil and legal protection to make claim for political participation. To give the right to vote is the result of claim making of citizens who enjoy civil rights but not economic or political rights. In this regard, Rokkan and Lipset argue that political rights depend upon individual state history of institutional development.

(1992) sees the different cultural definition of citizenship in competing traditions of *jus solis* and *jus sanguinis*.[52] Lowell Barrington (2000) also argues that variations in the immigration incorporation regimes are related to two understanding of the relationship between the nation and the state; whether the nation is ethnically defined or politically defined and whether the state is culturally defined as a nation state or a multinational one. Tomas Hammar (1990) emphasises the importance of culturally defined myths about the nation; whether or not the state views the institution of citizenship as membership in the nation or membership in the state. This relationship has consequences on the political incorporation of migrants. By contrast, Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer argue that because the principle of jus soli allows children of resident aliens to become citizens, voting rights for resident aliens are less imperative in jus soli states. These explanations give different interpretation of the relation between nation and state but they all emphasise that what characterises nationality laws are the result of national attributes which in turns influence such practices.

3.3.2. *Transnationalism*

Contrary to nationalist theories some political theorists argue that economic, social and political incorporation of migrants reflect *Kantian cosmopolitanism*[53] where state boundaries are transcended by the relationship between people and order between states is integrated with universal laws and institutions (Carter 2001:3). For instance Soysal (1994) argues that global norms of universal 'personhood' have put human rights in universal institutions changing the source of civil protection for citizens and migrants. Hammar and Zig Layton-Henry (1990) argue that state have put in place alternative

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[52] Roger Brubacker looks at French and German conception of nation and he explains the difference between them. French nationhood is based on the principle of unity, universalism and secularism of the state, the German nation on a pre-existed unified state. Brubacker argues that German state is more ethno cultural than state-centred. These different conceptions of state are put in practice by citizenship policies based on *jus soli* (right of the land) and *jus sanguinis* (right of the blood) principle in France and only *jus sanguinis* in Germany. This explains why it remains much more difficult for immigrants to obtain the citizenship in Germany than in France. At the end of the text, the author puts at stake European integration's consequences on the national identity. His point is that despite of construction of the European Union that tends to more cooperation between states, nationhood will last for a while yet since many states are still reluctant to leave part of their sovereignty to any supranational organisation.

[53] Immanuel Kant in his essay 'Perpetual Peace' (1795) argued for a cosmopolitan law based on the principle of universal hospitality which would prevent wars. On this assumption first the Leag of Nations and then the United Nations were established.

models of citizenship to deal with large number of migrants that the global economy requires. These alternative models can be seen in situations where migrants and citizens enjoy almost same rights but the state maintains the symbolic distinction between citizens and foreigners. Bauböck (2006) argues that states have pursued innovative alternative to citizenship to address the democratic contradictions posed by growing migrants. One contradiction can be seen in the way non-citizens pay taxes but do not posses political rights also at local level.

In fact for transnationalists these innovations on citizenship are one of three consequences of these various transnational forces. They include voting rights and an emergent international norm supporting 'plural nationality', meaning the practice of individuals of having more than one citizenship. A second consequence is that resident migrants have changed strategies of making social, economic and political claims on the nation state. They make claim to their own home states for support or appeal international law and norms (Sassen 1996).

Although both nationalists and transnationalists attribute an important role to the state in the politics of citizenship, as a guardian of national myths of identity or as an enactor of global norms of inclusion, they differ in the emphasis of the sources of state policies and on the implication of state practices on the relationship between the state to the nation. Nationalists see citizenship practices as reinforcing this relationship while transnationalists see them as changing it. The nation state now faces multiple level of governance in the making and participation of citizenship and immigration policies. States combine nationalists and transnationalists policies. For example, voting rights for migrant residents and rights that discriminate based on nationality arguably reflect a nationalist logic and tradition. Likewise, international organizations may reinforce the power of nationalist logic through "supranational" citizenship policies, such as those of the European Union and the Commonwealth of Nations. Local governments may adopt policies which are in contrast with national citizenship policies.

3.4.   EU Immigration Policies

In the previous sections it was discussed respectively the role of immigration research at EU level within the FPs and the approach adopted orienting the funding of problem oriented research. In this section it will be discussed the EU immigration policies and their implementation. Immigration policies at EU level gained importance with the creation of the Union Treaty of 1992 and subsequently with other treaties which gave more competences in the sphere of justice and security. As at national level this reflected more attention of policy makers to issues related to increasing migration flows towards Europe and in particular the increasing pressure in Southern Europe where due to political instability people leave their countries in search of economic opportunities. Approaches for the formulation of policies reflect the transnationalist stance although the issue of *securitization* prevails also at EU level.

3.4.1. The Issue of Immigration in EU policies

The 1990s witnessed the expansion of EU policy action in migration fields. The Treaty of the European Union, Article 2, states that it is an EU priority to create an area of 'freedom, security and justice where people are free to move together with regulation for external borders, control asylum [and] immigration'. Immigration was previously an area of common interests amongst member states but it has become a policy objective for the EU. Further steps can be seen in the Treaty of Amsterdam of 1997 which incorporated immigration policies under the Treaty of the European Communities Title IV 'Visas, Asylum, Immigration and Other Policies related to the Free Movement of Persons'. The Article 63 (3) of the Amsterdam Treaty states that the Council "shall, within a period of five years after the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam, adopt…measures on immigration policy...'. Immigration and asylum have moved from the third pillar to the first pillar[54]. This granted the Union with more *regulative power* [55] in the sphere of

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[54] The Treaty of Amsterdam established for the first time a Community competence in the areas of immigration and asylum.

[55] Defined as any state mechanism through which third country nationals who are illegally residing or who are otherwise in breach of national immigration rules in their current country of residence are granted a legal status.

immigration. The article included conditions of entry and residence and standard on procedures for long-term visas and residence permits, and for family reunion.

Immigration and asylum are fundamental characters of state sovereignty and more recently with the Lisbon Treaty[56], have become an important part of *Community responsibility*. In fact, apart from the UK, Ireland and Denmark, European law on visas and asylum issues is superior. National veto power in the EU institutions was reduced and extended the competences of the parliament. Article 67 (2) of the Nice Treaty and the Hague Programme, the Council decided to change the decision making rule in 2005 introducing QMV. Bendel (2005) argues that with this measure there has been a challenge to the 'two level game' of the Justice and Home Affair Ministers in the Council (Bendel 2005:34).

It should be stressed, however, that even against the background of a more institutionalised and focused supranational action in immigration-related matters few and watered down measures have been adopted so far to give substance to the formal *communitarisation* of immigration and asylum policies.[57] It is argued that these measures are more concerned to keep outsiders out rather than looking at the process and causes of immigration.[58] As previously argued, this is also due to the fact that mass movements of people have increased drastically in the past decades. The Amsterdam Treaty introduced a limit to the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice on migration policies to guarantee a balance between national and supranational power.[59] The Hague Programme approved by the European Council in 2004 as the EU agenda until 2010 continued with

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[56] Article 3, Title I of Common Provisions of Lisbon Treaty; Chapter 2 under Title V 'Area of Freedom, Security and Justice'.

[57] Council Regulation (EC) 343/2003 establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the member state responsible for examining an application procedure in one of the member states by a third-country national (Official Journal 2003 L050); Council Directive 2003/9/EC laying down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers (Officila Journal 2003 L 031); Council Decision 2002/463/EC adopting an action programme for administrative co-operation in the fields of external borders, visas, asylum and immigration (Official Journa 2002 L 161); Council Directive 2001/55/EC on temporary protection of displaced persons (Official Journal 2001 L121/12); and Decision 2000/596/EC establishing the ERF(Official Journal 2000 L 252).

[58] Bendel (2005) argues that immigration policy can have four different aims: restriction and control of immigration, protection of refugees, prevention of refugees' movements, and integration of migrants and attraction of special groups of immigrants. Here, EU immigration policies seem to fulfil the first aim.

[59] Article 68 TEC

this position. Terrorism was the central theme for common policy in JHA. Security and control aspects are in the form of borders check with the 'fight against illegal immigration'. For instance, important element of the Hague Programme are exchange of law enforcement information, also the setting up of a specialized border assistance provided by the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders and the possibility of the establishment of a European Border Guard.

Although, The Directorate General for Freedom, Security and Justice issued a series of Communication and Council Directive proposal [60] in the early decade of the 2000s, it can be said that there has been a progress in building a common EU migration policy but the progress is slow and directive proposals are watered down by negotiations between Member states which try to protect national approaches and national immigration policies. This is also true for the definition of what is an immigrant, how and for how long they come to stay in a member state is attached to national government decision making and national policy traditions and discourses.

Thereafter, the Council of the European Union of 2005 put immigration policies back on the agenda following incidents in Ceuta and Melilla.[61] From the Commission and the Council of Ministers were agreed a series of measures based on control such as impeding entry through visa regulation and borders checks. Some were old ideas such as cooperation with countries of origins or preventive measures, fight against poverty, human rights abuses, against authoritarian regimes. This approach to immigration was already mentioned in the Amsterdam Treaty and the Tampere conclusions but closed after 9/11 a conservative change in the Council of Ministers in 2001 (Bendel 2005:32-33). The aspects of security and control are not the result of the immigration policy but were present in the birth of intergovernmental cooperation like the Trevi Group and

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[60] The Council Directive on family reunification and on the status of long term residents (Council Directive, 2003/109/EC; Official Journal 2004 L 016; Council Directive 2003/86/EC; Official Journal 2003 L 251);, on common asylum procedures (Council Regulation (EC) No 343/2003 and on the multilateral effort of fighting illegal immigration)

[61] Thousands of people tried to jump over the divide that separates Europe and Africa, in Ceuta and Melilla, causing the death of some by shooting and injuries.

Schengen II.[62] These policies were more reactive than proactive to understand the problems of migration because the result of intergovernmental decisions and directives were characterised by the decision of national governments.

The shift of immigration and asylum issues into EU competences coincides with the increased concerns for immigration issues in Europe and at the same time the increase of immigration research to try to understand these new dynamics. The signs of this equivalence are the inclusion of immigration and asylum into EU competences and at the same time the inclusion in FP6 of social science research also to cover immigration issues. The orientations of immigration research at EU level follow the transnational approach which tries to overcome the national based approach. However, by looking at EU legislation in the sphere of migration it is possible to determine that policies are largely dominated by security issues and measures directed to margin flows rather than dealing with the causes of migration as encouraged by the transnationalist approach. This shows that issues related to immigration remain closely secured by national governments since are related to matters closely concerned with sovereignty.

3.5. Immigration and the Implications on Citizenship and Sovereignty: the National and EU Level

A concern for national sovereignty is also the phenomenon of migration. This is because the nation state is based on ethnic and cultural based principles that shaped the concept of nation itself and citizenship. Within the context of problem oriented research at EU level, immigration research which proposes new models of citizenships and political rights may also have some consequences in the policy process and equally important in the formation of a discourse also at national level. Accordingly, this section considers the

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[62]The Trevi group was set up in 1976 by the 12 EC states to counter terrorism and to coordinate policing in the EC. The group's work is based on intergovernmental cooperation between the 12 states, a process which excludes the main EC institutions: the European Commission and the European Parliament. The Schengen Information System, abbreviated SIS, is a governmental database used by several European countries to maintain and distribute information on individuals and pieces of property of interest. The intended uses of this system is for national security, border control and law enforcement purposes.

relationship between immigration and sovereignty in the light of political rights and voting rights for migrants, nationality law, multiple citizenships, and political integration. In the context of the EU an additional issue is the concept of EU citizenship which alters national citizenship and granting citizenship in one member state affects nationality law in other member states.

3.5.1. *Immigration and Sovereignty: Political Right and Citizenship*

According to the transnationalist approach, flows of goods, capital and services with the movement of people can challenge these dimensions related to the sovereignty of the nation states. Particularly migration represents a challenge because the movement of people across the borders can violate, in fact, the principle of sovereignty undermines the sovereignty of the nation state. Unlike other actors which characterize the phenomenon of globalization such as trade in goods or international financial flows, migration can change the ethnic composition of society[63]. There is the fear that the citizenry may be transformed to the extent of violating the social contract, undermine the legitimacy of the government and the sovereignty of the state (Waltzer 1983). This is most certainly why, the national community feels threatened and there may be hostility against immigration. It is also argued that although within the process of globalization the nation state is loosing its independence, it is equally true that national sentiments are increasing also due to often unjustified fear of new groups into existing communities.

In recent studies it is recognized the importance of political rights for immigrants and the effects on state sovereignty (Brubaker 1989, Layton Henry 1990, Bauböck 1994, Soysal 1994). It is argued that voting rights for migrants raise questions about citizenship and sovereignty and state approaches for the incorporation of immigrants. In most liberal democracies civil and social rights are extended to all workers and legal residents although they may not be citizens and they do not have a political right,[64] which means

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[63] A. Smith (1992) recognises five areas in the 'cultural domain' related to politics and that are the main concern of political European integration: pre-modern ethnic communities, origins of collective cultural identities, cultural aspects of globalization, geopolitical and environmental changes, and the processes of regional and continental unification.

[64] McLaren (2001) states that third country nationals are protected by anti-discrimination laws but are restricted to free movement and vote.

that political rights are not a prerequisite for social rights. In some countries local and regional voting rights are pre-granted to non-citizens and in the current era of expanding rights and obligation to non-citizens are in the form and function of the nation state which means that the state is becoming more inclusive by creating institutional alternatives to citizenship. Policy makers then are concerned with four areas related to citizenship and immigration: the granting of jus soli or jus sanguinis; requirements of naturalization; the holding of dual citizenship; and the rate of naturalization (Howard 2003). More specifically, they include political behaviour and activities such as voting and representation in political organizations, lobbying, public claims and protest movements and the cohesion and inclusion in society of new individuals through the practice of naturalization.

3.5.2. *EU Citizenship and Migration*

EU citizenship[65] has different meanings and they are related to the economic and political aspect of the Union. Martinello (2000) argues that EU citizenship is only a mean to a more 'efficient completion and functioning of the internal market'.[66] De Groot (2004), on the other hand, argues that EU law can have impact on member state immigration and nationality laws.[67] In this regard, in the context of the EU there has been a parallel redesign of citizenship in the national states and the EU. Granting national citizenship to third country nationals affects receiving states and other EU countries because national citizenship means EU citizenship. Therefore, the concept of EU citizenship raises questions of political loyalty, identity and the level of political participation.

At EU level, citizenship and migration concern studies about the legal status of *third country nationals* (TCN) and the convergence of national law. In fact, these two have impact on TCNs for their freedom, well being and political agency essential to political

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[65] EU, citizenship has acquired political relevance after the Treaty of Maastricht conferring the right to vote and stand for election at local and European election for all citizens of a member state.
[66] This view tends to regard EU citizenship a weak form of citizenship and that the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties have not changed its national character. It also stressed the lack of shared membership and of a political community and identity. See Preuss 2003
[67] Granting nationality in one member state entails Union citizenship which affects all member states. See Davis and Rostek (2006)

justification of political power (Dobson 2006:5). National and EU citizenship are not separated and the issue of convergence is central to the issue on immigration control. Members that are high recipients put pressure on more liberal states to adjust their policies because of the fear of becoming destination countries and TCN would target "soft" countries to naturalize. Countries show similarities (liberal or restrictive) depending on their colonial past, early democratization and the influence of right wing parties. The main area of convergence is an additional integration requirements for naturalization renewed emphasis on assimilation and additional subjective citizenship requirements to separate those who are potential citizenship and not. EU citizenship comes with strict and exclusive modes of belonging.

The nature and the idea of nation and sovereignty are altered by the phenomenon of immigration. This is because the concept of the nation is based on ethnical and cultural principles and according to these assumptions immigrants can change this idealistic composition. This is also one of the elements which are sensitive to public opinion and show rejection of newcomers although transnationalists see it as an inevitable outcome of globalization. For this reason, the granting of citizenship is the act of the state to decide about the inclusion of new members who ideally do not share same ethnic, cultural and political values. Political participation under the form of voting rights is also an element of sovereignty concern although economic and fiscal participation could in theory legitimize political participation. The concept of EU citizenship places another issue on the idea of sovereignty within member states. This is because granting citizenship in one member state gives access to freedom of movement with social and some political rights to exercise in all other EU member states. Given the importance of these issues and the implication on national sovereignty, also immigration research can have its impact on the policy making process through the various forms of problem oriented research and the creation of a discourse on immigration. For example, research in the field of integration invite member states to converge on nationality by granting citizenship after five years of legal residence and voting rights at least in local elections.

3.6. Conclusion

New migration movements characterised by geopolitical changes, the process of globalisation with its influence on industry, finance, and services including communication and transportation, changed also the ways this phenomenon is understood and studied. Traditionally, migration was concentrated within the OECD area but the phenomenon has expanded globally to the extent that migration countries have become immigrantion countries. In these new settings, where migration movements are classified in terms of labour demand and in terms of temporary and permanent stay another dimension, that of multiple staying, suggests a re-interpretation of migration and integration policies.

Above all, the transnationalist approach emphasises the process of globalization and the erosion of the nation state and is also concerned with the causes of the phenomenon of migration looking from a perspective which is not from the national settings. Therefore, research is now more concerned to understand migratory movements outside the national settings, viewing migration as a consequence of global factors and thus concentrating on receiving countries as well as on countries of origins. This change, first developed in Northern European countries, which experienced immigration in the immediate post war period, has influenced also the Commission policy orientation and particularly the FP6 and FP7.

EU migration policy increased with the EU Treaty in 1992 and the creation of an area with the control of borders becoming a policy priority for the EU. Further measures such as the regulative power in the field of migration regarding the regulation of visas, resident permits and family reunion were adopted under the Amsterdam Treaty. Immigration has become an important part of Community responsibility and issues such as asylum and immigration moved from the third pillar to the first pillar increasing the priority at EU level. It was realized that the EU member states could enter into global competition only if they had enough human capital and also if they considered their demographic problems. These changes led to regard migration as a chance rather than a threat and to benefit multinational corporations that have to protect investment and the receiving

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countries that want to develop and maintain a knowledge-based society in order to compete in the global context.

However steps have been adopted to keep unwanted visitors out rather than analysing the causes of immigration, furthermore, policies have been the result of negotiation between member states and their defence of national approaches and policies. The fact that European countries introduced restrictive policy justified by negative economic performance and law and order issues thus criminalizing migration, points out the gap between research and policy. Although the competences defined by the treaties provide an additional rationale for the policy area of immigration, the EU has not directly dealt with regularization. Given that regularization is at the core of immigration policy, as defining the conditions and procedures for admission of third country nationals, this is not surprising. In fact, Member States have resisted the attempt for harmonising rules and procedures for admission outside family reunification and international protection.

Citizenship is central to migration because it determines who is a member of a polity and it determines the borders of the state, it recognizes the rights and duties, it defines the institutional framework and it defines nationality and identity. In the sphere of policy the granting of citizenship through jus soli or jus sanguinis, naturalization requirements, dual citizenship and naturalization are the areas of concern. Migration movements across borders can undermine the sovereignty of the state because they may transform the national concept of citizenship and undermine the legitimacy and sovereignty of the state. Recent studies in fact, acknowledge the effect on state sovereignty of political rights such as voting rights, particularly at local and regional level. Exploring political rights of migrants is an exploration of the meaning of state sovereignty in an era of transnational flows of people, ideas and values.

It can be argued that within the scope of problem oriented research and its invested function immigration research conceived and proposed at EU level encountered opposition by the will of member state to advance their protection of sovereignty particularly in the delicate sphere of migration issues. The next following chapters look at the case study of Italy to observe if EU funded immigration research contributes to the

formulation of national immigration policies but also to the formation of a discourse which is formulated at EU level.

Chapter 4. The Italian Case: the Making of Immigration and Nationality Law Policies and the Role of Social Science Research.

4.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to place the concepts of *citizenship* and *nationality law* within the *tradition* of the social sciences in Italy and to understand how social science research in the field has contributed to the development of policies as the model indicated by the European Commission. This involves delineating, within the social sciences, the specificity of the Italian tradition as reflected in the concept of citizenship and nationality regimes. Thereafter, it implies the scrutiny of the various nationality and immigration policies which has had an effect on the very concept of citizenship and the role of research within this process. At the outset, the social sciences are conceived as a universal set of systems to understand human behaviour. However, the way different societies understand themselves, are characterized by their contexts which includes language and the way knowledge is institutionalised (Genov 1989; Levine 1995; Wagner 2004). Therefore, in Europe different nations have developed, at least in their formation ages, their tradition based on the way they perceived themselves as nations and also what it means to be part of a specific community.

In Italy the social science tradition is associated with the writing of Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) and his advices to rulers on how to keep power (Levine 1995). Machiavelli is also regarded the promoter of republican citizenship in the balance between the power of the state and of the citizen and the example of imitating Rome.[68] Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) and Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) also looked at the necessary role of elites, which compete for the monopolization of power and for the structure of society. Even

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[68] Machiavelli conclusions in the *Prince* and *Discourses* are often based on historical observations of ancient Rome.

Carlo Cattaneo [69] (1801-1869) who introduced positivism in Italy gives an interpretation of Machiavelli which emphasises the fact that the people has also to protect their freedom from those who hold power. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), the first to give an account of the social and political transformation, urbanization and industrialization during fascism also interpreted Machiavelli's role of the *popolo*. The post-war period in the 1950s is characterised by the institutionalization of the social sciences. At local level also the development of the relation between social science and local authorities in the development of social policy.

To look at the concept of citizenship means to analyse the definition of the relationship between the citizens and the state, and the political, civil and social rights of individuals and also the mechanism of inclusion and exclusion of foreigners. The modern concept of citizenship, following Jean Jacques Rousseau [70] (1712-1778), struggles to accommodate the autonomy of the individual with the sovereignty of the state. This raises questions about the nature of the nationhood, community and individualism, and personal autonomy and political power. The discussion and resolution to these questions give way to different national understandings for example in France where the national political community is based on the citizen commitment to the Republic and the ideals of *equality*, *fraternity* and *liberty* of the 1789 Revolution. In Germany, the national view of citizenship is based on an ethnic view of pre-politically established community. The British social theorists from Hobbes to the libertarianism of Spencer and from Jeremy Bentham to Alfred Marshall exposed different political ideologies.

In Italy the national concept of citizenship for the new Italian state of 1861 was influenced by the French model based on civil and political rights, and on the state based on customs. The 1865 Civil Code included also elements of Roman law and the principle

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[69] In Italy positivism developed in the 19th century with Carlo Cattaneo (1801-1869) with works on statistics, culture and society, politics and psychology. Another important figure is Roberto Arigò (1828-1920) who translated *The Varieties of Religious Experience* in 1904 of William James exponent of American pragmatism and thus empirical sciences and positivism. He was in favour of empiricism in the physical and psychological world.

[70] In On the *Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau formulates the concept of the 'general will' which unifies individuals' wills to one objective obligation to the 'common good', linking the concept of liberty to the concept of law.

of *jus sanguinis*. The liberal jurist Pasquale Stanislao Mancini [71] (1817-1888) based the principle of the Italian nation on the concept of *national citizenship* which connects the individual to the state and the instrument to distinguish individuals as citizens of the state and the recognition of individual rights making citizenship and nationality one concept.

In the 1948 Italian Constitution legitimacy to political authority is based on the foundation of the democratic republic rather than on the nation in order to forget the nationalistic sentiments amplified by fascism. Patriotism to the nation was replaced by patriotism to the constitution. The co-ethnic principle was reinforced although Italy was becoming an immigration country. The 1992 Act reinforced the jus sanguinis and the continuity of the co-ethnic principle still to facilitate the return of expatriates, practice introduced during the Great Emigration of the late 19th century. This approach was also present in the reform proposals of 1992 and 2005.

Immigration policies in Italy consider the integration approach and therefore the issue of citizenship in the 1990s with the consolidation of Italy as an immigration country. In fact the first comprehensive policy can be traced in the late 1998 and it is close to a European approach combining regularization and integration although conceived in the context of emergency. In 2002 this act was reformed by the new centre-right government characterised by a 'repressive-legalist an functionalist position' making more difficult to enter the country, easier expulsion, tighter regulation of flows and limitation of entry to citizens of countries which do not cooperate to contrast illegal migration.

Also research on immigration is a new practice. In fact when in Italy immigrants began to arrive in substantial numbers other European countries such as France, Germany and UK were dealing with second generation integration of children. Early research was mainly characterized by the nationalist approach without taking into consideration the country of origin and regarding immigration as a short term phenomenon. It is towards the end of the 1990s that research is concerned with Italy as an immigration country in the same way as traditional immigration countries. European experts also participate to the

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[71] Mancini was an Italian jurist and also Minister of Education in 1862.

discussion and social scientists considered the policy-oriented research approach and the policy research nexus. In Italy also relevant at this moment two American method policy approaches: implementation studies looking at local bureaucracies and local policy making studies looking at the process from below.

The study of policy making and the role of research are relatively new in Italy [72] and coincide with the need to gather more information by the policy makers, about the phenomenon of immigration. In the 1998 Act the role of academic and experts in the Contri Commission established in 1992 and a new commission established by the law itself to deal with the integration of immigrants. A proposal from the centre-right government in 2009 to change the nationality law also took up these issues.

4.2. 'One' social science and different traditions

The existence of different traditions in the social sciences is related to the 'fragmentation of experience'[73] which stems from technologies, consumerism and the critique of history. This fragmentation of experience must be balanced against accounts of our experience conceived within a larger perspective than before. This opposition between fragmentation and coherence reflects the way the social sciences describe human behaviour (Levine 95:9). This means that what characterises the *tradition* is the way a national space experiences technologies, the way we consume and the way we understand our past is understood within a system of concepts which is universally recognized and accepted. Indeed, the social sciences in their universality are considered a political 'project' perhaps characterised by the 'global division of knowledge'; however, there is a

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[72] In the Netherlands there is substantial literature about the relation between research and policy making. Since the 1970s research has played an important role in the formulation of policies. In 1979 the *Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid* , agovernment scientific institute, published a report on the phenomenon of long-stay and possibility of the formation of marginalized minority groups and suggested greater integration also for the benefit of the Dutch society. The government adopted its measures in the 1980s (Pinnux (2005).

[73]Cited from Frederic Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," in New Left Review, vol. 146, 1984, 53-91.

perception of national social sciences which originated in the romantic period as a reaction to the universalism of the Enlightenment (Wagner 2004:14).

The social sciences, historically, developed in a national context and their differences can be recognised in the definition of their nation states, in theories and concepts, methodologies, scholars, language, the relation with other disciplines and the assumption governing the formation of the discipline. Wagner points out two ways of understanding the national tradition in the social sciences. One is the recognition and awareness that national continuities of intellectual academic work exist. A more radical position is that national 'discourse' reflects the 'practical social philosophy' of the societies and their 'socio-political self-understanding' (Wagner 2004:17). Genov also argue that the continuation of sociological traditions have geographical connotation and suggests that national sociological traditions are characterised by the different approaches of sociology such as knowledge, research and institutions and their social surroundings, and the internal social relation of sciences (Genonv 1989:1-9). In few words, important issues for the definition of sociological traditions are technological development of research orientation, economic organization of society and political factors.

4.2.1. Distinguishing Features of National Traditions

We can define different traditions which are characterised by a geographical space also delineated by language and by the way social scientists understand and analyse human behaviour. Durkheim French School of sociology, for instance, which sees society as a 'basic unit', reflects French society after the revolution and the ideals of equality, fraternity and liberty. Germany started the manipulation of subjects and systematic collection of ethnographical data and the German school of economics which emphasises the history of institutions, the rejection of economic individualism, the embrace of neoclassicism and the Enlightenment. Britain was strong with social surveys, investigations of living and working conditions mainly on working class individuals developing also *rational-choice theory* from the utilitarian tradition of Hobbes and Bentham. Early American sociologists avoided belonging to any particular tradition and Park and Burgess, Sorokin, Parson united in making a discipline which derived from many nations. After the WWII American sociology emerged as the leading sociology

(Levine 1995:276-279). In the US two other approaches formed after the WWII. It can be said that there is an American social philosophy of pragmatism which is *action* and *problem oriented* reflecting American society. Following John Dewey, Herbert Blumer formulated the concept of *symbolic interaction*. What was later called *pragmatic sociology* was formulated by Morris Janowitz.[74]

At the same time, the social sciences came into being through a confluence of traditions characterized by empirical, practical, philosophical and theoretical elements. The French tradition is related to the functionalist approach through British social anthropology and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown after Durkheim. Merton analyses function and dysfunctions of different types of social functions which he named structural analysis. Parson sought to combine Durkheimian functionalism with aspects of British individualism and German individualism which he called 'general theory of action' but known as functionalism. Claude Levi-Strauss revived Durkheimian interest in structural properties of collective representations and ideas from Ferdinand de Saussure and looked to the 'deep structures' of cultural systems to find human organisation. Also from the influence of Comte a minority of thinkers characterised the French tradition focusing on the creation of an integral humanity above all Sorokin. The Italian legacy specialised in elite theory which became relevant in political science and sociology during the 1950s through the work of scholars like Harold Lasswell and Karl Deutsh.

4.2.2. Towards the Homogeny of the Social Sciences

There is also the fact that weak traditions do not contribute to world sociology. In fact, under American hegemony and the process of globalization the idea of national traditions seems to fade away. In the US sociology was particularly well received particularly in new private non-conservative (like in Europe) universities like in Chicago and Stanford, but also in some land-grant state universities such as Kansas, Minnesota and Wisconsin which encouraged new disciplines and methods. In the 1960s this vision ended and the

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[74] New European variants on these positions can be seen in Anthony Giddens and the theory of *structuration* with the claim of linking the dynamics of human agency with the realities and reproduction of institutionalised structures.

traditions persisted under different lines set by the Hobbesian opposition to Aristotle. These oppositions were reactions to the Hobbesian program which developed contrasting solutions to common problems (Levine 1995). Postmodern and postcolonial theories have an increasing interest in the local. Moreover, the *linguistic turn*[75] in the human sciences and post-Kuhnian sociology put the roots of knowledge under scrutiny. In fact they see forms of knowledge rooted in particular social identity and history of knowledge used to uncover and identify plurality of problematic when attempting at making the social world intelligible. Habermas and Beck called for a new cosmopolitanism to embrace post-national social theory also arguing that we perceive the study of the social sciences through national perspectives which have a strong influence. Beck argues for a new methodology for theoretical and research perspectives opened to trans-national relations which cannot be understood by the national perspective.

Although the modern social sciences are based on a universal system of beliefs, there are elements related to language, methodology, theories and concept which make them belonging to a particularly national space. In fact, it is possible to recognize distinct national traditions in the continuation of an intellectual and academic discourse as well as in the self-understanding of a given society. European countries have developed their own understanding of society and visions to deal with social problem which became distinct national traditions. It is also true that concepts and methods have been employed cross-nationally and that in certain cases a national tradition is the result of the combination of others. This is perhaps the case of the USA which different scholars such as Parson and Merton combined elements of French and German traditions and were world wide received. More recently, post-national social theory calls for more inclusive social science to deal with the challenges of an increasing globalised world, therefore, highlighting the existence of context related social sciences.

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[75] Phiosophical approach on the relationship between philosophy and language.

4.3. Italian Social Sciences in the Tradition of Machiavelli

In Italy, the tradition in the social sciences is also related to Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) and his influence on modern Italian sociology. Machiavelli borrowed from Roman historical sources for examples of the 'good society' based on the Roman Republic. He was also the witness of the Italian city-states of the Italian Renaissance with their tradition of Roman administration. In observing different city governments and providing guidance for rulers and elites, Machiavelli produced a coherent system of social thought based on the security and well being of the community. Machiavelli, however, has a negative consideration of humans since, for him, individual instincts are not reliable. For this reason, institutions must be shaped by leaders and proper social arrangements which gives recognition and merits to its citizens.

The first modern Italian social theorist is Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) and he maintained to offer a scientific account of the tendencies in human society about various nations. Firstly, Mosca distinguished between the rules and who is ruled and the former is indispensable for the social structure. The ruling class secure their power by the effectiveness and by the propagation of beliefs either based on superstitions or on reason. The ruling elite can control 'social forces' (money, land, military powers, religion, education, scientific training, and labour). Elites tend to maintain themselves in power and to transmit their position to their generations. However, sometimes, societies feel that there is need for a change and this happens when a new source of wealth develops, a religion ends, different kind of knowledge become important. This cycle, according to Mosca characterises the history of mankind that is the monopolization of power by a dominant class and the competition for it.

Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) also believed that a 'good society' requires competent elites to maintain public order, independence and wealth. He added that those elites must use force to maintain their position if necessary and that they must be subjected to checks and balances to avoid the exploitation of those under them. Pareto resisted the idea of sociology as an independent science. He did not want to engage on the autonomy of sociology. Pareto wrote the *Treatise of General Sociology* in 1916 and was regarded as

the father of fascism. Apparently Mussolini attended some of his lectures in Losanna and Pareto later on before Mussolini's March on Rome saw the dictator as the Machiavelli's *Prince*. Although Mosca and Pareto derived their conclusion from different points of departure, they evolved from the assumptions stated by Machiavelli. They assumed the natural existence of hierarchies and the properties of the collectiveness such as Pareto utility of a community and Mosca evaluation of social services. But their positions rest on the importance of the ruling elites and their circulation. They also, like Machiavelli, do not judge the morality of particular actions. But their theories informed by the vision of a good society and a collective good. The good society was ruled by elite which exercised its power and when necessary disseminated unscientific myths to promote social cohesion. Mosca and Pareto were against the impediments, such as Marxism, to realistic political analysis.

Fascism in a way prevented the development of social science in Italy. What was missing was the empirical research on the changes that characterised Italy during that time, on the process of urbanization of the country side, industrialization that started in the first decade of the 20th century. In fact Antonio Gramsci in *Quaderni*[76] noted the transformation of industrial labour and the *Southern question* suggesting empirical research which could be continued after the fall of fascism. In this period two important factors influenced the study of society. One was the coming back of some social scientists such as Gaetano Salemini, Renato Treves and Gino Germani who left Italy because of fascism and that were aware of the developments of the social sciences in the USA between the two World Wars. Another factor is the effort of North American social scientists who conducted research in the South Italian social scientists formed themselves in the concrete empirical research and outside academic institutions and around two main issues. One is the rural situation of the South partly neglected by fascism and second, the study of industrial relations in the age of industrialization. Important to point out that in the university the presence of sociology is almost absent.

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[76] Gramsci wrote the *Quaderni* in prison during the fascist regime.

In the 1950s there is the institutionalization of the social sciences with the intent to promote sociological studies in Italy. To begin with, there is the publication of *I Quaderni di Sociologia* (Notebooks of Sociology) open to the modern trends of the social sciences and in the 1960s the R*assegna Italiana di Sociologia*, *Studi di Sociologia*, *Critica Sociologica* and *Sociologia*. Also at the end of the 1950s there is the formation of associations such as the *National Association of Social Sciences*, the *Luigi Sturzo Institution*, the *Centre for Social Prevention*. With these also the organization of conventions discussing the main themes amongst Italian social scientist such as the relation between sociology and philosophy, the integration of the social sciences, the relation between social scientists and political centres, the relation between the city and the countryside and migration, education and regional inequality. In the 1970s as the result of academic expansion and the student movements of the 1960s, the faculties of sociologies begin to mushroom. The profession of the social scientists has also developed in the research institutes, in the administration of the local government confirming the presence of a relation between the developments in the social sciences and the developments of social policy.[77]

One of the first elements of the social science tradition in Italy is the figure of Niccolò Machiavelli whose vision of society and its leaders shaped Italian social theory of the left and the right side of politics. The experience of fascism prevented the establishment of social sciences at institutional level and transformations such as industrialization and urbanization, characteristic of early 20th century Italy were not analysed with the exception of Gramsci who was imprisoned by the fascist regime. In the post-war period with the establishment and institutionalization of social science disciplines there is also the discussion of the role of social scientists and politics particularly at local level.

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[77] More recently the main social science trends are represented in Italy. Achille Ardigò has elaborated the concept of *Lebenswelt* of Schutz, Franco Crespi developed a phenomenology theory of social action, Pier Paolo Donati has developed a relational *theory of society*, Luciano Galliano developed a theory of the *social actor* and Alessandro Pizzorno has concentrated on the relation between *identity* and *conflict*. Italian social sciences dealt with substantive research in fields such as in social movements, local development, social policy and crisis of the welfare.

In Italy, because of the power relation related to the development of the universities, as mentioned above, and the socio and political context, the various motives of social science research, above all the role of the scientist and question of objectivity, were not contemplated. The presence of power relation within the university and the existence of external funding from which the university depended, and the passage from Marxism to Weberianism have made less problematic the nexus between knowledge and power. In this way the social sciences in the 2000s has become embedded in the funding of the various ministries and in the FPs which look at the utility of research as well as in some aspects of migration such as integration and security. Recent debates about the role of the social sciences in Italy point out that Italy did not maintain a strong national tradition. This is because the technical competence generated inside the tradition has not found applications. The social sciences were not able to connect the interpretative/deductive which provides the framework of understanding of social transformations to that of action on the real world.

4.4. The Tradition of Citizenship and nationality law in Italy

The Italian citizenship tradition is characterised by the *civic humanist* interpretation of *Roman republican citizenship*. As a matter of fact, the principle of *jus sanguinis* and the influence of Roman law in the 1865 Italian Civil Code characterises the idea of citizenship also based on the French model. The making of the new Italian state was also influenced by the nationalistic sentiments of Romantic Italy represented by Giuseppe Mazzini and Carlo Cattaneo[78] and the concept of nationality tied with the idea of 'humanity' and Stanislao Mancini's idea of citizenship on the 'conscience of nationality'. The new democratic constitution of 1948 replaces the word of *nation* with that of *constitution* as a result of fascism, however, the co-ethnic principle present since unification was further reinforced. In the making of the constitution all the groups that took part in the *Resistance* put their contribution and this included the communist party

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[78] Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) and Cattaneo (1801-1869) had different political vision about the unification of Italy but both believed in republicanism.

and Catholics for this reason there is not a distinct model of citizenship. The 1992 Nationality Law, passed when Italy was an immigration country reinforced the jus sanguinis and the co-ethnic principle.

4.4.1. *Italian Unification and the Development of Citizenship and Nationality Law*

It is often argued that the place of the republican tradition in modern thought is Italy.[79] At least from the pre-Renaissance period it is possible to find the link between the classical times and projecting towards the modern formation of political institutions. Not only in the political writings of Niccolò Machiavelli who explicitly provides republican inclinations, also in the writings of Dante and particularly Patriarch [80] who represent both the desire for a unified Italian peninsula and the turning to the ancient tradition, particularly republican Rome to justify their wishes. This also characterises Renaissance humanism. In fact, for the intellectual of the Renaissance characterised by the fragmentation of the Italian peninsula, it is during the Roman period that Italy is subjected to a single authority. Levine argues that Machiavelli's idea of the citizen is that of the *virtuous Roman citizen* which is needed to form the well being of the polity. This idea of citizen can be considered similar to that of the French tradition. In fact, in the French tradition from Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Durkheim it is believed that the 'human animal' should be turned into a 'moral creature'. They also trust on the autonomy of social actors to behave in a moral way. Machiavelli, on the other hand, stresses the tactics rulers must use and the way they must master force.

In a modern sense, then Italy has only been subjected to a single authority since1861. The Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia favoured unification and its legislation was transferred to the new state. Citizenship was influenced by the French model based on civil and political rights and belonging to the state based on custom. The 1865 Civil Code

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[79] R. Putnam (1993) *Making Democracy Work* looks at the legacies of Renaissance Italy and its proximity to ancient Rome to explain regional political performance. John Pockok "The Ideal of Citizenship since Classical Times" in *The Citizenship Debate* 1998 Gershon Shafir ed.

[80] In one of his political letters (V) to the 'Princes and People of Italy' Dante hoped, without success, to convince princes that Henry VII should be crowned by Pope Clement V Holy Roman Emperor and unify fragmented Northern Italy. Patriarch wrote several letters to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV also wishing for a unified Italy without the church.

was influenced by Roman law including the principle of *jus sanguinis* adopted by the Napoleonic Civil code of 1804 [81]. Also the authors of the 1865 civil code were influenced by Roman law and considered the beginning of jus sanguinis.

The process of unification was the result of competing elites, pressure from international forces, economic benefits, and weak foundations of the pre-unification states but also the increasing spread of nationalistic sentiments of Romanticism. However, Italy nationalism became important only in the 19th century and it was not a mass phenomenon. Chabod saw Italy more based on abstract factors than on material factors such as race, territory or language which existed much deeper and inner and this characterises one feature of Italian citizenship (Chabod 1961:76 cited in Koening-Archibugi). Moreover, in the building of the Italian state, the support of national sentiments and loyalty to the nation emphasised the need of loyalty to *humanity* and within this context, national sentiments as a stage to forge political bonds among people. This reflected the universalistic and Europeanist inclinations. For instance, Giuseppe Mazzini and Carlo Cattaneo spoke for the United Nations of Europe as part of the process of the political association of mankind. Mazzini put forward the affiliation between patriotism, republicanism and democratic constitutionalism with a positive evaluation of conflict (Bacelli 1996:5). Cattaneo instead put forward the idea of multiple belonging to the city and to the national community.

The citizen belongs to the new state because of sharing its ideals. Revolutionary French citizenship is general, extended to all and abstract, recognised beyond any belonging to classes or social groups. Citizenship is vertical and horizontal. This is a political notion with duties and rights. Moreover, citizenship is the collective identity of the political community and citizens are those with this spirit. In this way citizenship has a political content contrary to the former formalistic and positive. Mancini in his *Della nazionalità come fondamento del diritto delle genti* (1851), ("Of Nationality as foundation of the law of the peoples") the theory of the *principle of nationality* as the foundation of the right of

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[81] Napoleon occupied Northen Italy in 1796 and declared himself king of the Italian Kingdom until 1814 with the Congress of Vienna.

people to develop the concept of *national citizenship* to base the recognition of the Italian nation. Mancini points out that it is the nationality which connects the individual to the state representing also the instrument to distinguish individuals on the base of the state in which they are citizens and the criteria for the recognition of individual rights. In this way citizenship and nationality becomes one, one on the base of possession of the other and both with the integrating function of the individual to the state. The rights recognised on the base of nationality are *civics* of which political ones, such as the right to vote and political participation, are not essential for citizenship because not useful to identify the *popolo* and to distinguish it from the others.

The concept of Mancini has the merit of re-interpreting the concept of nationality with the intent of providing a juridical and ideological base for the struggle of the *Risorgimento* for the Italian unity. In fact the constituent element of the nation consists in the *conscience of nationality* without which the natural elements would be nothing. Therefore, Italians having conscience of their national identity in a same community, had the right to fight, to realize the nation which they felt the existence beyond the ethnic or linguistic communality. The principle of nationality becomes the tool for justifying the sovereignty of the state and the base for the recognition of other states. Also at the same time the base and the foundation of the relationship between citizenship and authority. The early period of the Kingdom of Italy (1861) is then characterised by a 'nation in search of a state'[82].The jus sanguinis was adopted to include the territories that were not included in the initial stage of unification. The Electoral Acts of 1859 and 1860 extended political rights to foreigners of Italian origins. This is regarded as a co-ethnic procedural as in the Electoral Act of 1895 and the Nationality Act reform 1906.

The 'Great Emigration' further consolidated the jus sanguinis as emigration increased at the end of the 19th century. The Civil Code of 1865 did not include dual citizenship but in practice nationality could be lost only by official renunciation but could be regained by special government authorization. This was to avoid alienation from the country of origin

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[82] The Unification of Italy was achieved after three wars of independence of 1848, 1861 and 1866 between Italian states and the Austrian Empire. Unification, however, was also a result of internationl dealings with France as a main actor.

and prevent repatriation. The 1912 Act encouraged emigrates to repatriate and thus eliminated the requirements for a government authorization and two years of residence were sufficient to regain citizenship.

In 1922 Fascism and its effects on colonialism changed the access to nationality. From the beginning of Italian colonialism to the 1920s the children of Italian fathers and African mothers had access to Italian citizenship if acknowledged by the Italian fathers. In 1938 the S*pecial Regulations towards Foreign Jews* deprived foreign Jews to reside in the Italian territory and also deprived of nationality those who acquired it after January 1919. Subsequently another decree prevented Jews to own property and hold positions in public education. Furthermore, it prevented intermarriages in the colonies and declared marriages void. Marriages with a foreign were subjected to authorization but forbidden to military, civil servants, union members, organization connected to the fascist party. Zincone (2010) argues that in this period and with other colonial legislation reinforced the co-ethnic principle also with racist elements.

4.4.2. Citizenship and Nationality Law in the New Republican Constitution and in the Post-War Period

The Italian Constitution of the 1st of January of 1948 is an attempt to counter fascism. With the fall of fascism a democratic constitution was introduced built to prevent the return of another fascist regime and thus forbade political, gender, religious and racial discrimination[83]. Legitimacy to political authority attempted to be based on the foundation of the democratic republic rather than the nation because there was the need to forget the nationalism of the fascist period and also there never was a strong idea of the nation in Italy. Another important factor is that in the period after the Second World War the attention was towards the creation of European state (Nobbio 1995:17). Nobbio also added that values such as patriotism of the nation were replaced by patriotism of the constitution. The word 'nation' which appears few times in the text of the constitution, in its context means state. The co-ethnic attitude was reinforced during the republican

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[83] The 1957 UN Convention stated that women should not loos their citizenship if they get married with a foreigner. In 1977 the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe stated that people should keep their citizenship and that spouses should keep their nationalities and transmit it to their partners and children.

period even when Italy was becoming an immigration country.[84] Also Bobbio pointed out that the constitution was based on a contractarian model of the social contract and in the Italian case the contractors were not individuals but groups. It is easy to deduce that these groups were the political parties Christian Democrats, the Communists, the Socialists and few liberal groups. National unity was about the rejection of fascism and the fear of illegality.

Rights and duties in the constitution steam from three different kinds of political thought. The first is modern natural law tradition which has its roots in early humanism and social contract theory. The main function is to protect the free will of individuals which are assumed to be entitled to form their relationships with individuals and the social and political order. The second is the classical natural law tradition which has its roots in Aristotle and Aquinas. According to this view there is an objective natural order in which each object goes towards its space in the physical universe, similarly there is an objective and moral order where every individual has a natural position independent from the person will. Rights are considered instruments for the restoration of a natural ethical order corrupted by modern subjectivity to decide its fate. The social model upheld by this tradition is generally a version of *organic* and *communitarian corporativism* (Koenig-Archibugi 2003:85). The third position is the social progress tradition which considers history as progressing towards human emancipation and the process is driven by objective forces. The collective will of the people has to be constrained and directed by a constitution to keep in track with historical progress. There is no opposition between people and progress.

These three traditions reflect in turns the liberals, the Catholic and the Socialist/Communists. Each part however recognizes features of the other positions and each tradition was reflected in the constitution in a modified form because of the introduction of democracy. The constitution does not embody a clear cut model of citizenship and it includes elements of *individualism*, *collectivism*, *libertarianism*,

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[84] When migration flows increase, the approach of creating adequate nationality laws often involve the incorporation of jus soli elements with the diminution of jus sanguinis (Patrick Weil 2001).

communitarianism, *market capitalism*, *welfare*, *majoritarianism*, *consociativism*, *secularism* and *clericalism*. In the constitution there is not a clear criterion for adjudicating between different rights and duties in case of conflict. This function is left to the political parties, interest groups and the communities of civil society under the supervision of the Constitutional Court.

4.4.3. A Return to Past Immigration Policies Approaches

The most important reform on nationality was passed in 1992 when Italy was already an immigration country, and this, two years after the parliament approved a law concerning rights for non EU immigrants. Such a delay can be justified by anti-immigration sentiments and not for the liberalisation of nationality laws but for irregular flows with criminal components. The Act reinforced jus sanguinis and was in continuity with the co-ethic principle of the unification period and for this reason it appeared to go backward if compared with the 1912 Law. With the 1912 Law foreigners had to wait five years to apply for naturalization and ten for non EU countries and four for EU with the 1992 Act. Foreigners of Italian origins could have a discount. The 1992 Law was a delayed reaction since the previous reform project was made in the 1960 (Senate Bill no. 991 24 February). The Bill passed only in 1992 and it was approved unanimously. The lapse of time between 1960 and 1992 was due to the changes of governments (32) and economic and political crises. Another feature of the lengthy policy making process was the fragmentation of the party system compensated by consensual type of decision-making.

The 1992 Law was also the consequence of a cultural framework concerning Italian expatriates with a political and cultural history which persist until the present day. Rayneri defines it as the 'myth of productive return' that is, the belief that emigrants and their descendants would come back with human and financial capital and contribute to the growth of the country, particularly from Germany, France and Argentina.

This kind of nationalism formed the basis for one of the two policy approaches present in the reform proposals between 1992 and 2005. One was to favour long term resident aliens and to eliminate the gap between foreigners of Italian descent and nationals of EU. The second design to make it easier for foreigners of Italian descent to reacquire Italian

nationality even if still residing abroad.

Between the 1996 and 2001 the centre left government slowed down on citizenship. Various proposals were made by the centre-left wing party to reduce the period of residence for non-EU immigrants. This can be explained by the informal actors in the decision making process and particularly advocacy coalition made up of associations prevalently Catholic. They focussed on the less advantaged groups, claiming basic rights for people, commitment to citizenship rights for long term residents. These were reinforced by the need for labour force because of Italy slow demography, aging population and reluctance for unattractive jobs by the Italians.

Following the delineation of the Italian tradition of the social sciences this section looked specifically at the concept of citizenship and the elements which determined the idea of nationality. As elements of continuation to the recent idea of citizenship and nationality law are the jus sanguinis and the co-ethnic principle which were introduced when Italy was and migration country but that continue to resist into the 21st century. Today in Italy citizenship is understood as the juridical status of the citizen recognised by the juridical order. Consequently, to the citizens are recognised a series of rights and duties established by the constitution. It is the state which identifies its citizens, establishes with the laws the rule for acquisition of citizenship, and the consequences of such status. However, citizenship becomes an attribution of positive right which divides on the territory citizens and foreigners. This means the impossibility of leaving out from the single legislations of the states, when we want to talk about citizenship, the historicization of the concept utilized. This results in the relativity of the content of citizenship, its positive discipline, its way to acquire it and the juridical consequences.

4.5. European Model Immigration Policies in Italy

Italy became an immigration country towards the end of the 1980s and its immigration policies reflect this change well into the 1990s. Although early legislations were

formulated in the light of emergency, they changed the figure of the *foreigner*, restricted entry and regularised large numbers of immigrants on the Italian territory. The introduction of the 1998 Immigration Law signed a significant change in the formulation of policies since it supported legal immigration, opposed illegal entry and introduced integration measures, also formalizing the process for obtaining citizenship. The subsequent 2002 Reform of the law was characterised by repressive measures and was formulated by party leaders who wanted to accommodate electoral promises.

4.5.1. First Signs of Policies Taking Immigration as a Long-term Phenomenon

Italy has only relatively recently become an immigration country and consequently its immigration policies until the 1990s are not comprehensive like those of other European countries. In fact, until the 1970s immigration policies dealt with internal immigration that is with Italian migrants moving from the South to the North or returning from countries abroad such as South America or Europe.

It is from the 1980s that immigrants initially from North Africa, especially Morocco, Asia and South America come to Italy. There are at least three factors which are responsible for the increase in immigration. Campani (1993) argues that the 1972 oil crisis European states closed their borders leaving Italy as the 'back door' of Europe. Secondly, another influential factor was the 'positive' image of Italy in Third World Countries due to the short experience as a colonial power. Thirdly, another determinant factor was the need in Italy of cheap labour.

Within this context probably the first immigration law close to be comprehensive is the *Legge Foschi* [85] (Statute n. 943/1986) which dealt with the conditions for admission and residence for foreigners and equal rights with Italian citizens, in addition with the definition of the conditions for regularization of irregular immigrants. It must be added that in this law the condition for regularization were difficult to meet. In fact only 105.000 immigrants managed to pass but the number of illegal immigrants was thought to

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[85] Name of the law Foschi after the Labour Minister Franco Foschi.

be much higher (Istat).[86] In this law it was not included the practice of expulsion and it means that regularization excludes persecution for illegalities in matters of immigration committed before regularization. This measure was introduced to expose illegal immigration. Another important feature was the change that it introduce in the perception of the immigrant represented since the 1930s. The *Testo Unico di Polizia* (The Single Text of the Police) of 1931 regarded the foreigner and not the immigrant. The foreigner was regarded in terms of public order and consequently to be closely monitored and not to reside permanently in the Italian state. This understanding of the foreigner dominated the sphere of security at least until 1986 and in the attitudes towards immigrants even after this date (Melica 1996:127).

At the end of the 1980s with the intensification of migration flows there was the need to formulate e more articulated legislation to manage immigration. The *Legge Martelli* [87] (Martelli Act) of 1989 (law n. 39/1990) made more difficult the conditions for entry but on the other end it enlarged the margins for regularization of immigrants already in Italy. As a consequence 216,037 immigrants were legalized and in the following years a series of measures dealing with the seasonal employment of immigrant workers, annual planning of migratory flows and the regulation of Albanian immigrants (Triandafyllidou, 2004:5).

4.5.2. The 1998 Immigration Law: A Shift Towards the European Model

At the end of the 1990s Italy was still dealing with emergency and the *Legge Turco-Napolitano* [88] (Turco-Napolitano Act) of 1998 (n.40/06.3.1998) implemented in October 1999 resembled more an European approach by combining regularization and integration policies into a policy framework. This law was conceived in the light of emergency but also with the intent of regulating immigration, support legal immigration and contrast irregular immigration. In this way, it established the process for obtaining citizenship, family reunion, health care and education. These last two measures were previously

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[86] National Institute of Statistics.

[87] Named after Claudio Martelli minister of justice and vice premier in the socialist government of the 1980s

[88] Named after Livia Turco at the time minister of Social Affaira and Giotgio Napolitano Interior minister. Giorgio Napolitano at present is the President of the Italian Republic.

formulated by the Contri Committee [89] in 1993, a body of experts who worked to modify the 1990 Act and formulating a new immigration law. However, it also established the expulsion of illegal immigrants and for the first time in Italy it was discussed the idea of centres for temporary stay for illegal immigrants waiting expulsion. Another important measure was the setting up of a National Fund to support integration measures wanted by local and regional authorities which gives the duty to identify priorities. The Turco-Napolitano, however, was characterized by concepts of 'imminent threat' as part of a European, at national level, approach, by setting quotas for new immigration and defining the standards for naturalization (Triandafyllidou 2004:6).

The law presented some novelties if compared with the previous legislations. In the sphere of illegal entry the law introduced the possibility of detention in special centres controlled by voluntary associations and the police. The status of those not in possessions of the required document for a legal stay was classified as 'illegal'. The yearly quotas for immigrants are decided by the prime minister and it covers a three year plan. The requirements for an immigrant to reside in Italy legally are related to the seasonal quota, the contract with an Italian employer and the sponsorship of an Italian resident. The resident permit was permanent after five years of legal stay as a measure to promote integration together with the provision of family reunion.

Mariangela Veikou and Anna Triandafyllidou (2000) points out some positive features in terms of control of immigration and integration. Italian authorities were willing to deal with immigration as a long term phenomenon which determined a radical change from previous legislations. Also the law determined equality of rights between Italians and immigrants. Another innovation in line with the transnationalist approach was the cooperation with countries of origins and the recognition that he Italian labour market needed workers. Also some negative effects are pointed out. The policy was made responsible for the formalities of dealing with immigration. Employers did not want legal immigrants but look for irregular immigrants because they could be underpaid. Italian

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[89] This Commission was set up during a technical government, the Ciampi government and was composed by the representatives of the main ministries involved with immigration policies and of academic involved in the field.

public usually seen as tolerant towards migrants became xenophobic.

4.5.3. *The Bossi-Fini and the Securitization of Immigration*

The Act was reformed in 2002 by the *Legge Bossi-Fini* [90] (Bossi-Fini Law) of 2002 (law n. 189 July 2002), which was characterised by 'repressive-legalist and functionalist positions' (Rayneri 2007:68). It was made more difficult to enter the country and also more difficult the regular residing of the foreigner. On the other hand, expulsion was made easier also reforming the process of asylum. The control and regulation of flows responsibility of the government to be review every year in relation to labour with the idea of controlling immigration through the limiting of entries imposed by the authority.

A further innovation in the Bossi-Fini is that of limiting entry to migrants whose nations do not cooperate with the Italian government in contrasting illegal immigration or with the process of expulsion, with better quotas with countries which collaborated in regulating immigrant flows and the process of readmission. Arguably this created impartiality between individuals because of their citizenship. It would be up to the discretion of the Italian government to decide if the government of a foreign immigrant is actually adopting a sufficient cooperative approach, with the result of illegal immigration because such countries can not export their labour force legally. In the case of entry procedures, at the Embassy or Consulate of the country of origin, any refusal does not have to be justified, giving the applicant no chance of appeal.

The bill also increments the number of limitation to obtain a visa adding to the missing prerequisite and public order reasons, the denial following penal conviction. With this it is also introduced the taking of finger prints, usually for convicted criminals and not for Italian citizens or EU citizens.

In relation to the entry of subordinate non-seasonal workers, the majority of workers, the Bossi-Fini is similar to the previous Bill. The resident permit is subordinated to the

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[90] Named after Umberto Bossi leader of the Northen League and Reform minister at the time. Also Gianfranco Fini vice Premier and leader of the right wing pary National Alliance.

attainment of a work contract guaranteed by the Italian employer with an accommodation and the money for the return ticket. However, in the majority of the cases, the employer would not employ a worker without knowing him or her since they reside in the country of origin. On the contrary the employer employs the illegal immigrant or with a tourist visa and then formalizing it later on making the worker in Italy at the right moment.

The Bill also reduced from one year to six month the period of accepted unemployment and made resident permits shorter asking for more frequent renewals. In the field of social rights, foreigners returning to their home before the age of retirement were not entitled to get their social contribution, or only in cases of bilateral agreements on pensions (Rayneri 2007:144). Also public funds for integration measures were considerably reduced. However, annual quotas, previously reduced, were increased up to 2006 because of pressure from pro-migrant advocacies and employers' associations. Nevertheless, these quotas were directed to seasonal workers, and in favour of immigrants of Italian origins introducing a co-ethnic principle.

The first immigration policies to resemble a Northern European model are articulated towards the end of the 1990s. Northern European model means comprehensive policies which consider immigration as a long term phenomenon, gives equal rights with citizens and considers integration measures. This was achieved with the 1998 Immigration Law but paradoxically it also introduced the creation of special centres for detention, expulsion of illegal immigrants showing the two sides of Italian politics that is the need to accommodate different political groups. The reform of it in 2002 was characterised by two leaders of the centre right government which came to power in 2001, and that on the one hand increased the legalitarian aspects, but on the other hand favoured the entrance of cheap labour. If Italy has developed near to appropriate immigration policies, later compared to other European countries, so is research that analyses such changes in the dynamics of migration.

4.6. Immigration Research and Theoretical approaches

Research on immigration in Italy is relatively a new practice if compared with other European countries, above all UK, France and Germany (traditional immigration countries), which had experienced immigration flows before Italy and were not migration countries like Italy and other Southern European countries such as Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey. Since the 1980s, in fact, these countries have become points of attraction and new places for migrants also due to their geographical situation.

The comparison with other Western European countries is important to understand how research has developed in Italy. Traditional immigration countries in the 1980s had to deal with integration of second generation children whose parents came to Europe 30 years before just after the Second World War.

4.6.1. Immigration Research in the European Context

In the European research context, particularly relevant are the works of Brubaker who compared access to citizenship of foreigners in France and Germany by looking at the *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*. Other comparison looked at the model of inclusion, for instance, Schnapper looked at the processes of inclusion in France, Great Britain and Germany, the difference of political cultures in relation to the colonial experience. Castles and Miller have distinguished three model of inclusion, temporary, assimilation and pluralistic, by looking at nationality and citizenship policies, access to employment and economic rights, social policy and welfare inclusion. In Europe migration and integration studies changed with the increased globalization in terms of composition of migrants and growing facilities such as communication and transportation. American concepts of research have increased also in Europe such as the 'network approach' (Massey 1988:396).

4.6.2. The Development of Immigration Research in Italy

Italy until the early 1980s was considered a migration country with no perspective of

becoming a significant immigration country like the other European counterparts.[91] This early literature did not try to understand the sudden change from a migration country to an immigration country. Migration was in fact described as an economic and political phenomenon, as in traditional research. In Italy, early research studies were concerned with demographic inflows, their national composition, and entry to the labour market. They considered 'push factors' [92] in their various categories.

In the late 1980s research on immigration focussed on the exceptionality of Italy, that is a sending country and at the same time a receiving one .Already in the 1970s, in the middle of economic recession, Italy was considered an immigration country due to the fact that Europe was an economic destination. But it was also underlined that Italy not being traditionally a immigration country had less strict immigration laws in relation to entries because of the influence of the national political culture.

It was also ignored research studies on immigration which looked at 'migratory chains' [93] (Rayneri 1979) to explain continuous new flows. The main literature in the 1980s had two features: one to be descriptive in order to provide basic data and information; and two, methods of understanding based on the assumption that Italy was a 'case apart'. This was different in other European countries where immigration was studied in the context of economic expansion and positive labour market conditions. This was due to the fact that countries such as Great Britain, France and Germany had experienced the first wave of immigration from the 1945 to 1973. Therefore, they had already changed priority of research in immigration and the main issues were those related to long term settlement and therefore assimilation, adaptation or integration (Caponio 2008). In any ways they reflected   national   traditions   reflecting   different   understanding   of

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[91] Rella, Piera and Titta Vadalà. 1984. "Sociological Literature on Migration in Italy." *Current Sociology* 32:143–74.

[92] Push factors have an important role in North African immigration. They can be distinguished between political, economic, ecological and demographic. Political factors refer to the persecution, human rights violation, civil war, bad governance and ethnic and economic factors.

[93] John S. MacDonald and Leatrice D. MacDonald, in "Chain Migration Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Networks, encapsulated migration chain as follow: a "movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants."

assimilation/integration.[94]

In the 1990s Italy, was considered an immigration country in the same way of other European countries and therefore, research of immigration in the context of international literature. Studies started to look at immigration settlement and integration and they can be related to research in immigration European countries. For example *community studies* (Zanfrini 1998:14 cited in Caponio 2008:449) focuses on national groups and emphasis in ideas of cultural identity, related to French and British critical studies which imply that integration can not result into 'streamline assimilation' (Caponio 2008:449). This research approach was concerned with the need to provide general information on immigrant communities and cultures and not a critical approach to ethnicity, difference and social integration. The second approach dealt with social problems, reflecting the German approach, which assumes that policies have to foster integration into the mainstream society to avoid isolation and marginalization. Studies focussed on migrants' offspring education and family access to the labour market, health care and housing (Cocchi 1990). Also comparative approaches can be found in Melotti (1993) where he looks at the political culture of immigration policies by looking at the ideas that on the long term influence the relation between state, people and the nation and therefore between ethnicity, nationality and citizenship, principles which regulate the acquisition of the civic status.

It is reasonable to state that this in the 1990s and the consequent change in policy approach signs the end of assumption of Italy as a case apart and although Italy experienced immigration. With the Legislative Decree of 1995 and the 1998 Act the search for solution increased and different experts also Europeans were invited to the discussion. Political scientist approached the field from the policy-oriented perspective and the 'policy research nexus approach' becomes important in this period. Within this context Pinnux points out that this approach which looks at the connection between policy and research is adopted together with the advocacy coalition framework by

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[94] Melotti (2003) argues that Great Britain, France and Germany reflect in turns 'unequal pluralism', 'ethnocentric assimilation' and 'utilization of guest workers'.

Zincone and Di Gregorio (2002) to analyse the informal policy process in Italy (Penninx 2006:287).

A different approach to that of 'top-level decision making institutions' is concerned with relations between different levels of government and different actors in policy making as in the governance approach. The emerging theme is that of *research policy nexus* (Penninx 2005) and the role played by experts on migration in shaping immigration policies at the national and local level. This approach developed in the Netherlands but also in France, Sweden and Belgium has also been applied in Italy (Zincone and Caponio 2006) where experts played an important role in the development of national policies. European research experts more involved in the policy making process with the appointment of the *Contri Commission* [95] in 1993 and more explicit with the *Turco Commission* set up with the 1998 Immigration Act to monitor implementation and to inform integration policies. Caponio (2008) argues that with the change of policy approach to deal with immigration there is also the adoption of lesson drawing and perspective approach. This is in line with the importance of immigration issues in Europe particularly in relation to citizenship and integration, and the decision making process and its relation to the implementation of immigration policies.

In the 1990s local policy grew in importance thanks to projects promoted by international organizations such as UNESCO, OECD and Ethnobarometer.[96] These studies collected information on policies adopted in different cities and identified 'best practices'. In the 1990s another model is the policy approach in different European countries for processes of negotiation and approval of national immigration laws.

Growing literature in immigration from the 1980s and through the 1990s is characterised with varying research themes and different theoretical approaches and methodological

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[95]This Commission was set up by Fernanda Contri during a technical government, the Ciampi government and was composed by the representatives of the main ministries involved with immigration policies and of academic involved in the field.

[96] Ethnobarometer is an independent, international research network of social scientists and experts providing reports on contemporary European: inter-ethnic relations, migration flows and integration.

perspectives. There is not a clear relation between immigration research and the Italian tradition in the social sciences which is also one of the reasons for gap between academic research and policy framing/policy making.[97] There has been convergence with other European literature such as migrant networks and social capital, transnationalism, social integration, models of citizenship, local policy and policy making. In Italy research has also been influenced by American literature as reflected by the sociological network approach and political policy approach and the agent driven transnationalism influencing today sociology and anthropology research in Italy.

4.7.   The Making of Italian Immigration Policies: Which Role for Research?

In analysing the process of the making of immigration policies are relevant the works of Zincone and Di Grgorio (2002), Veikou and Triandafyllidou (2004), Zincone (2006), Zincone and Caponio (2006 Reyneri (2007). It is argued by some of these protagonists that the study of this field is still embryonic. As they place the study of *policy making analysis* and *multilevel governance* respectively as fourth and fourth and half generation type of studies, they argue that in the informal and semi-formal decision making processes, unions, NGOs, immigrant associations, social movements, and academics and experts in a new decision making mechanism influence decisions. Particularly in this sphere, the growing interest in the analysis of the policy making process coincided with the need to gain more knowledge about the policy decisions. This is perhaps due, within political science in the study of policy making process, to the growing importance of immigration issues at government and at political discourse level, and the involvement of academics in the early phase of policy making processes in the 1990s. In the field of immigration and with the 2002 Immigration Law Reform, this trend has reversed. With the centre right government and the policies of the Northern League and National Alliance, particularly of their leaders, immigration policy has been characterised by decisions mainly formulated to satisfy electoral promises.

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[97] Regonini, Gloria Dipartimento di Studi Sociali e Politici Facolta' di Scienze Politiche, Universita' degli Studi di Milano , personal interview 5 March 2011, (for inteview questions see Appendix 1).

4.7.1. The 1998 Immigration Law and Immigration Research

In the analysis of the 1998 Turco-Napolitano Act, Zincone and Di Gregorio (2002) adopt a *system analysis* and a *policy network* approach. The system analysis approach analyses how immigration policies were conceived and formulated by looking at *inputs* and *outputs*. The second approach, policy network, adopts the *advocacy coalition* approach and it looks at different groups from different positions such as elected and agency officials, interest group leaders and researchers, associations and organizations, which share a similar belief system and agree on a particular position in a particular field. Zincone and Di Gregorio (2002:38) argue that according to the interviewees[98], the reason for the formulation of this act was the failure of the previous legislation. In fact, the Turco-Napolitano Act of 1998 introduced by a centre-left coalition is the first inclusive immigration bill which treats immigration as a long term phenomenon. Adopting a transnational approach it considers the country of origin also including measures for integration (Zincone 2010:24). The previous legislation, the Martelli Law (law n.39/90) was thought inadequate to tackling the issue of integration. Immigrants were considered useful only for the economy without taking into consideration the social and cultural needs of the new comers. Also, problems were found with the system of inflows at the borders and inside the country. The act was also made in the light of emergency in the sense that the phenomenon of immigration was growing and with it problems related to illegality and social integration in the context of the Schengen Agreement.[99] With the compliance of this international treaty Italian borders became the borders of the Schengen area and they became a concern of other European member states. According to Zincone and Di Gregorio (2002) some of the interviewees gave much importance to the pressure from European countries which considered Italy a *relaxed country* in terms of immigration control at the borders, for the formulation of the law. This influence was felt in the time of approval and also in the substance of the law.

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[98] The interviewees are main responsible for the formulation of the Turco-Napolitano in ncluding the two ministers that the Act got its name and also all the main actor including the leaders of the most influential groups in the making of the act.

[99] Signed in 1990, ratified in 1993 and compliance with its criteria in 1997.

In the preparation of the bill and to try and fill these gaps, it was taken into consideration the work of the Minister of Social Affairs Fernanda Contri in 1993 who established a commission for the study of the juridical condition of foreigners in Italy. The commission was composed by experts and civil servants of the ministries and the result was a bill with 174 articles.[100] This bill also introduced restrictive measures conflicting with the Constitution. This included the possibility of detention centres for immigrants awaiting deportation because without the valid documents to reside on the territory. The issue divided the centre-left coalition. (Zincone 2006). In the draft stage of the bill experts of the academic world played an important role. They were already involved with the Contri Commission which as previously mentioned provided the basis for the Turco Committee two years later with the Prodi government. The bill following the work of a previous centre-left government included measures to cope with 'external change' such as immigration flow control, comparison with other countries and the incorporation of 'good practices' to deal with concrete problems.

In the input phase important is the contribution of the advocacy coalition made of prevalently religious associations.[101] Also non religious groups had an important role such as trade unions. The main input outside the government which was determined to put through the priority objectives came from the immigrants' advocacy coalition composed by Catholic associations. The 'decentralised groups' forming the advocacy coalition managed to obtain the main health provisions including illegal immigrants. This also happened in the field of education at primary and secondary schools were head teachers sympathetic of the advocacy coalition accepted children of illegal immigrants and this became a practice which influenced the Education Ministry to issue 'permissive circulars' which became statute in 1998.

However, in the final drafting stage 'policy learning' was reduced, the role of expert was

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[100] De gregorio and Zincone (2002) argue that because of the change of government from centre-left to centre-right and the first time of Berlusconi as a prime minister in 1994, this draft law remained unused because it was considered too complicated and not feasible.

[101] *Gruppo di Riflessione* formed by *Acli, Acse, Agesci, Caritas italiana, Comunità di S. Egidio, Cser, Federazione delle chiese evangeliche in Italia, Fondazione migrantes CEI , Gruppo Martin Buber ebrei per la pace, Jesuit refugee service, Osa, Ucsei e Ywca-Ucdg*

restricted and the bill was made non-amendable preventing the input from the advocacy coalition. The final draft was left to a sub-committee with the influence of the offices of the main ministries. It is assumed that the government wanted to get the law passed quickly in order to satisfy the European partners. In this stage of the drawing up of the draft law ministry officials played the leading role. Giorgio Napolitano from whom the Act takes the name, a former MEP and member of the PCI (Italian Communist Party) and at the time Interior Minister brought his experience at EU level. The other individual contribution was that of Livia Turco, from which the Act also takes the name, who was a member of catholic associations as well as a feminist.

4.7.2. *An Explicit Example of Research in Policy Making*

The *Commission for integration policies of immigrants* (Commissione per le politiche di integrazione degli immigrati Art. 46) established by the Turco-Napolitano solicited a model of 'reasonable integration'. This meant the *integrity of the person* and of the *other*, and the pursuing of *positive integration*. In it was also included the safeguard of Italian citizens who were considered important and that had to be supported in overcoming the fear of the phenomenon of immigration and similarly take into consideration the fear of immigrants in the face of the ignorance of groups in Italian society. The commission had the duty to provide annually the state of the art of the implementation of integration policies, to formulate proposals for action and to provide solutions to government quests about immigration policies, intercultural issues and against racism. The commission was formed of representatives from relevant ministries such as social affairs, interior, justice, health, education and of about ten experts qualified in the field of social, juridical and economic analysis nominated by a decree of the prime minister. The president of the commission was chosen from academics expert in the field.

In the first annual report the commission analysed integration through a strategy of *indirect integration* though association of civil society. Integration was also understood through four fundamental principles based on security, integrity for regular immigrants, minimum integrity for irregulars, and interaction based on pluralism and communication. In the second annual report the president Giovanna Zincone introduced an instrument to empirically measure integration with the purpose of comparing it with other countries and

also within other nationalities in Italy. Also the thematic areas related to EU directives such as labour, Islam in Italy, smuggling of human beings, security, discrimination and family conjunction were discussed.

The report outlined that in the year 2000 there had been a change in the relation between Italian nationals and minorities which partly reflected the heterogeneous behaviour of the political elites which some of them were open to more inflows and some had an opposite approach. However, labour associations which were in favour of more labour force because of structural deficit of manpower. Public opinion recognised that immigrants had jobs which Italian did not want anymore and were prepared to give more rights and equality in the workplace.

In the report of the commission analyses the Italian concept of citizenship in relation to the jus sanguinis which imposes immigrants a period of ten years of waiting. The report states that other countries like Luxemburg have restricted the given the high percentage of foreigners and the size of its territory. In this respect the position of the EU sees the Italian approach too restrictive given the low number of foreigner in Italy that after five years of regular residence could start the process of naturalization.

Experts and academics had also a role in the bill for the reform of the citizenship law proposed by the then minister of social affairs Livia Turco to change the 1992 Citizenship Act.[102] Turco maintained that it was time to change the law which ruled the acquisition of citizenship because was not adequate in the light of changes in migration flows and the introduction of EU citizenship. In fact is the European context which according to Turco the *jus sanguinis* which prevails in Italy and hostile for the integration of immigrants and therefore against other positions within the Union which already accepts immigration as a long term phenomenon on. Moreover, according to EU model of citizenship holding a

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[102] Naturalization can be asked after a period of ten years and the requirements of residence, autonomy and paying the taxes. In 1998 concessions of naturalizations were 927 and 418 refused. This kind of refusal is seen as a public refusal which may lead to institutionalised racism and thus a refusal to the many immigrants that work.

member state citizenship allows free circulation and stay in member states, the right to vote in local elections and the European Parliament and the right of petition to the European Parliament. Turco in this matter points out that the Maastricht Treaty expected the convergence of nationalities laws on citizenship.

Turco also spoke of an 'explicit citizenship politics' based on rules and values, rights and duties, the recognition of the convenience to live together. This was considered constructive for Italians and acknowledge the need of immigrants for the economy but also the 'cultural openness' necessary in the age of globalization. The pursuing of citizenship strategies would also critically evaluate the Italian attitude to refute a system of rules, to escape the law and solidarist with cynicism. Turco argues that the European model of integration based on assimilation have showed their weaknesses and that in the year 2000 in Europe models are characterised by a mix of universalism, integration and respect for differences.

The Commission posed a series of points. The facilitation to acquire citizenship for children from families settled in Italy. The choice to change the acquired identity or the original identity; the valorisation of the family and the school as principal agencies of integration. This can be achieved with the following reform actions. Acquisition of citizenship of children from foreign resident parents of which one born in Italy this to favour integration through citizenship of immigrants of third generation. The acquisition of citizenship for the child born in Italy if the parents are resident in Italy for at least five years and if they present a request for the acquisition of their child from the fifth year of age which coincide with the beginning of schooling.

4.7.3. *Popular Politics and Policy Making: The 2002 Reform*

The Bossi-Fini on the contrary had stronger political influence as it was initiated by the parties and party figures from AN [103] and Lega Nord [104] who played a predominant role in drafting the bill. When the centre left came to power immigration policy was an

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[103] National Alliance, a centre right wing party from a post-fascist party.
[104] Northern League, a populist party representing prejudiced sentiments towards the Southern Italian region.

electoral promise that had to be maintained. The centre right justified their position by maintaining that the previous bill had had negative feedback and problems with immigration flows and integration. The aim of the government was to introduce tougher measures to tackle illegal immigration and registered employment as the main means for integration.

In fact the first action taken was the abolition of the job seeker's residence permit proposing a 'unified contract of employment and residence'. Accordingly, immigrants would be allowed to enter only with a contract of employment and stay in country would be according to the length of the contract. This was articulated, according to the policy makers, to prevent door to door sellers and small drug sellers. Moreover, another disappointment was the sponsorship method which was not used by potential immigrants but by associations, mainly Chinese and Moroccan. This was in opposition to the fact that many small business, also in areas where the Lega was strong, relied on illegal workers and found themselves without their labour force.

With these tones the political parties of the centre right drafted the first stage of the reform and the role of the parties was present until the final drafting of the reform. The coordination of the reform was assigned to the Deputy Prime Minister Gianfranco Fini an exponent of *AN*, an ex post-fascist party who with the *Lega Nord* largely influenced the reform. In the same government coalition the Catholics and some opponents of some aspects of the reform argued over the content of the reform and negotiations took place within the governing coalition. It is argued that also experts and representatives of the civil society were consulted but nothing like the approach of the previous reform. In fact the bill reflected two main positions, the functionalist and legalitarian, and attempts from the Catholics and part of AN to try to correct them with the solidarist approach.

Although the drafting and correction of the original draft were carried out by the centre-right government coalition, the advocacy coalition was indirectly able to influence the political process through personal relationships so like in the previous bill Catholic associations influenced the bill. Some changes can be seen in the elimination of the residence period for family reunification and the crime of clandestine immigration was

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not included. These measures were also scrapped because of costs of trials and deportations but some measures already existed with the Turco-Napolitano, such as the escorting to the borders in some cases without the right of defence. The new bill extended this to all persistent offenders.

Zicone (2002) argues that the bill was not open to outsiders in the form of associations because it would have increased the discontent of the Italian public. Also, limited 'policy learning' produced by the comparison with other European methods, with the exception of border control, immigration still a domestic issue also with little consideration for the European dimension of regulation (Di Gregorio 2001).

Within the sphere of immigration policy and with the 1998 Immigration Law, the role of research had primarily two functions. Firstly it was employed to analyse why and how the policy was formulated, concluding that the main reasons were failure from previous legislation to address immigration issues and pressure from European Member states. Secondly, the support of research was sought to aid the policy making process through the establishment of the Turco Commission. This approach was not followed with the 2002 reform of the previous act which was dominated by immigration related security issues.

4.8.   Conclusion

Although the social sciences were conceived as a universal system of concepts to understand human behaviour, they developed within national settings and in parallel with the development of the nation state. Many features that characterises the social sciences are then reflected in the conceiving of the nation and the people, and the legitimation of the state including its membership. In the Italian case what pools together the social science tradition to that of citizenship can be found in the elitist and popular elements of Machiavelli's political thought together with the republican tradition. Nevertheless, it is also the complexity of the Risorgimento, that is, the period of Italian unification, that the

notion of citizenship is embedded with the concept of nationality to justify the relationship between authority and the citizen, and that belonging to the state one is subjected to its authority. In fact for Mancini the nation is not a human construction such as in the traditional contractarian theories of Hobbes and Rousseau, but it is in the conscience of individuals who have a character with laws and government.

Citizenship in Italy, since its early development and also in the new constitution, is characterised by the co-ethnic principle with the jus sanguinis, which can also be found as late as in the 1992 nationality law. Moreover, nationality and immigration laws had a vision of Italy as a migration country in the fact that Italian migrants could return back to Italy and regarded as a gain. It can be also argued that this contradiction and inability to formulate policies which could address the existing situation in the sphere of immigration was also related to the slow and complicated policy making process characterised by political instability of the 1980s and 1990s. On the other hand it also reflects an attitude particularly in southern Europe, which into the 1990s was still considering immigration as a short-term phenomenon.

The first truly comprehensive law is the Turco-Napolitano Act of 1998 because it was conceived to regulate immigration and to support legal immigration including family reunion, health care and education. It also gave experts and academics a more central role, on the European model, to assist the policy making process and the implementation of the law. It is perhaps with this legislation that a certain European influence is visible for at least two reasons. Firstly, there is the implementation of the Schengen agreement and as a consequence Italy becomes the borders of the member states which signed up to the treaty. This act therefore has to satisfy the European partners by including some measures which fall under the label of securitization, or the vision of immigration as a possible threat for European culture. This can be seen in the detention centres and the expulsion of illegal immigrants. Second, it is the European trend reflected in the transnationalist approach that was adopted by the Commission and that characterised most northern European countries. That is to understand immigration as a long term phenomenon which means the integration of immigrants also through means of citizenship and the research-oriented perspective approach to aid the policy making

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process particularly in the sphere of integration. In fact the Turco Commission had the task of monitoring integration policies and represented the policy-research nexus.

Indeed research in the field of immigration is also a later comer if compared with other European countries such as Germany and UK which experienced immigration before and therefore developed a research framework to better understand its dynamics. Furthermore, if we considered that in many Northern European countries the role of research has been given a more important role in the policy making process, its focus in any cases was directed in accordance to the problem to be dealt.

European research has had influence in Italy especially the migrant network and social capital, transnationalism, social integration, models of citizenship, local policy and policy making. Also, American research approaches are present; particularly the sociological network approach and political policy approach influence Italian social sciences. Following the policy oriented approach in Northern European countries and also promoted at EU level, in Italy this approach has been developed relatively recently and it coincides with growing interest both in the policy making process and also in immigration issues and the inclusion of political scientists in the policy making process. The role of experts and academia of the Turco-Napolitano had not the same role in the Bossi-Fini which was controlled by the centre-right coalition party leaders. Immigration was criminalised and blamed the previous law for not controlling enough immigration flows. Integration based on registered employment before entering the country. Some solidarist principles were introduced by the same catholic coalition in the sphere of family reunification, health and education. The formulation of the bill was closed to outsiders and did not adopt a policy learning approach. This means that at that moment electoral promises counted more than the contribution and participation of experts and academics.

Another more recent proposal Sarubbi-Granata[105] to change the n.91 1992 law on

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[105] The name of the proposal takes the surnames of the two parliamentarians who drafted the bill. The bill is drafted taking into consideration the n.91 0f 1992 citizenship law which is still based on the *jus sanguinis*

citizenship was proposed by the centre right government in July 2009. This proposal also argues about the changed role of Italy from migration country to a stable immigration country but with regulation for citizenship still related to its former past. In fact Italy with 4.000.000 foreigners residing regularly is one of the first countries in Europe if we look at France with 4.900.000, Spain 5.200.000 and Germany 7.200.000. However, the bill points out that in terms of integration, by looking at concession of citizenship as indicator Italy is well behind other European countries. In 2005 19.266 citizenships were given compared in the same period with 154.827 in France and 117.241 in Germany and 48.860 in Spain. Moreover, in Italy fourth fifth of citizenship given is acquired through marriage indicating that citizenship through residence is not considered by the immigrant who feels more as a guest rather than integrated in Italian society.[106]

and proposes the acquisition of citizenship to children with a stable family particularly in the school period.

[106] PROPOSTA DI LEGGE d'iniziativa dei deputati SARUBBI, GRANATA Modifiche alla legge 5 febbraio 1992, n. 91, recante nuove norme sulla cittadinanza Presentata il 30 luglio 2009. http://www.centroastalli.it/fileadmin/immagini/News/Cittadinanza-lex09.pdf (12/03/2011).

Chapter 5. Research Policy in Italy and Italian Participation in FP6 and FP7 Immigration Research

5.1.   Introduction

This chapter briefly looks at research policy approach at institutional level in Italy and the involvement of Italian universities and organizations in the FP6 and FP7 in the sphere of immigration. The intention is to understand the approach for the use of policy research in the policy making process. Also to deduce, from Italy's participation in the FP programs of the EU Commission, if there is a convergence of policies and an *internationalization/Europeanization* of social science research on immigration and the construction towards a *supra-national discourse*. After having evaluated in chapter 5 the Italian national tradition in terms of social science, nationality law and immigration this is an attempt to determine if there is a pretext to assert that the discourse initiated by the Commission, which advocates a line of research and a more involved role of the latter in the policy process, has in some ways contributed or may contribute to a distinct research policy discourse in matters of immigration in Italy.

In the FPs, MIUR (Ministry of Education, University and Research) has been strongly engaged in the formulation of the programmes also directed to safeguard the scientific and industrial interests of Italy. Moreover, Italy is present in the various levels of the EU and participates in the formulation of the FPs. In both FP6 and FP7 the presence of Italy at the proposal level is second only to Germany, but on the approved projects it falls behind UK and France and also below the European average.

From the approach auspicated by the Commission and the funding of social research to directly aid the policy making process, which materialized with FPs (FP6 and FP7 for the social sciences), this chapter also looks at the projects which explicitly are situated in the sphere of immigration in which Italy is present and analyses their content to determine the issues addressed, the approach to deal with migration flows and the policy

recommendations particularly in the Italian context. When compared with the immigration policies and policy proposals it is understood that in Italy there is continuity with a policy approach which has a national pattern and a discontinuity at discourse level in the sphere of immigration also promoted by the EU Commission. The immigration issues which emerged from the projects covers different aspects of integration including civic and political participation, education, and the problematic of undocumented immigrants. The policy recommendations which sometimes are directed at the national case or formulated in a more generic way, point out the national trends of Italian immigration policies.

5.2.   Policy Research and Policy Making

Since the 1990s in Italy public funding for research has not developed in the same way as in the main European countries, although research policy has an important place with institutionalised research centres. Italy is also involved in the preparation of FPs at EU level influencing their agenda. The social sciences are funded through universities within which also immigration research is funded. Also a number of institutes, partly public funded, focus on the phenomenon of immigration.

5.2.1. Investment on Research: Italy in the EU Context

At institutional level, research, through the various public programs, inter-ministerial committees and ministries, is in the discourse of the policy making process[107]. In fact, Italy is amongst the countries with Finland, Sweden, UK, Holland and Germany which gives high importance to research policy.[108] The promotion of research for policies is also strongly encouraged by EU policies which have and impact on Italian research planning.[109] Governmental bodies fund mainly unemployment and economic issues and academic research, however, the public expenditure for research and development, as for

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[107] CEPR (Committee of Experts for the Research Policy) Decree 5 June 1998, n. 204 and modified by decree 29 of September 1999, n. 381 and reconstituted in 2009.
[108] ERAWATCH monitoring body of ERA
[109] In the 2008 Financial Law was included the approval to implement the EU directive No 2004/48.

2008, was 1.18% of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) (fig.1).[110] In this respect, in the area of allocation of resources to research policy, Italy is amongst the countries which have not improved allocation of resources to research policy.[111]
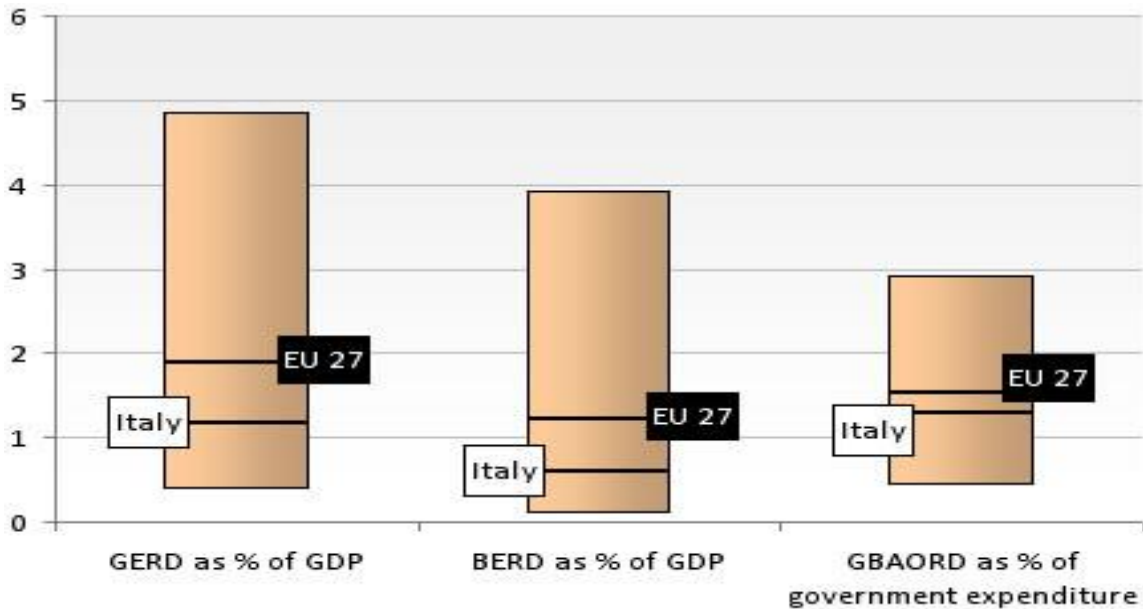
Fig.. 1 Source ERAWATHCH

5.2.2. Research Policy in Italy: Institutional Level and Funding

As previously mentioned, research policy has an important role in government statements for policy and policy intentions. Research policy is given importance in the PICO (National Reform Program for Innovation Growth and Employment) with 12 strategic initiatives. In fact research policy is in the discourse of policy formulation and it is supervised by the CIPE (Inter-ministerial Committee of Economic Planning) and the MIUR (Ministry of University and Research). MIUR operates through specific funds for universities, public research agencies FRA (Fund for Applied Research) and FIRB (Basic Research Investment Fund) and fiscal automatic incentives.

The main elements of research policy are in the National Research Program and they cover the promotion and development of human capital also through the implementation

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[110] GERD (Gross domestic expenditure on R&D), BERD (Business enterprise expenditure on R&D), GBOARD (Government budget appropriations for R&D).   Source: EUROWATCH
[111]   Italy is among the counties EU27 that give high importance to research policy but together with Latvia and Hungary it has remained unchanged. GDP inverstement France 2.2%, Spain 1.35%, Germany 2.63%, Sweden 3.75%.

of PhD programs and financial support to PhD courses in collaboration with other countries. Support for basic research is provided 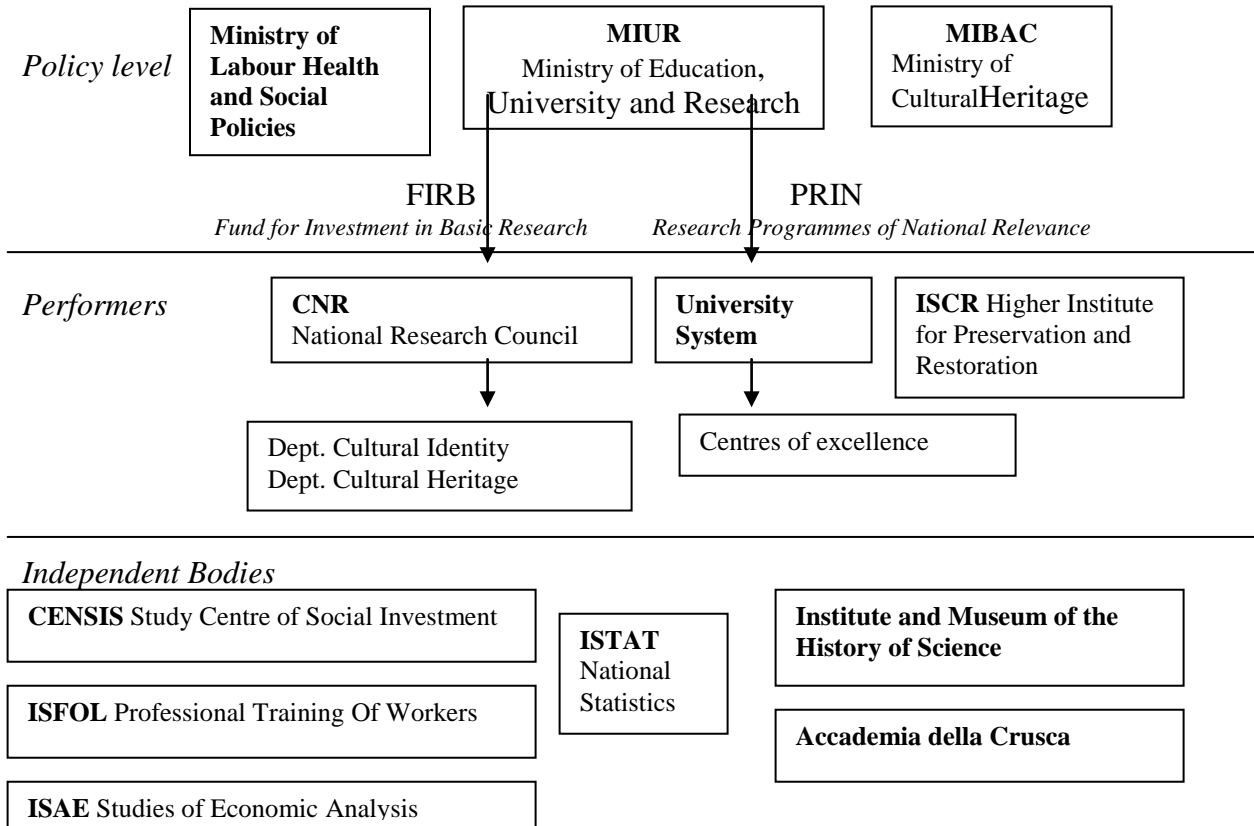through the implementation of public project funding such as PRIN (Projects for relevance of National Interests), links between ordinary funds and university and scientific productivity of academic personnel, support for mission oriented programs (FIRB), support for Italian participation in the preparation of EU FPs, support for industrial research and support for research and development regional programs. The main mission of policy instruments are the development and improvement of human capital, the promotion of excellence in fundamental research, pursuit of multidisciplinarity and internationalization, collaboration between private and public agents and the use of results evaluation. In few words, the approaches and the tools set up to promote research are in line with the general approach that can be found in most advanced modern societies and at EU level.

The main implementing bodies for social sciences can be divided in three categories: ministerial level, intermediary bodies and performing organizations. The most important centre for research in the social sciences and humanities is the MIUR and the MIBAC (Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities) at national level and at regional level the Committees for Cultural Resources and Activities. Also the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy has responsibility for policies including immigration. The FIRB, under the competence of MUIR funds research projects of scientific excellence. PRIN which funds programs of at least two years developed from different universities research centres is the most important funding structure for social science and humanities research in Italy. Important is also the CNR (The National Council of Research) where social science research is concentrated in the Department of Cultural Identity and the Department of Cultural Heritage and the CENSIS (Study Centre on Social Investment) as an independent research body in the social sciences (Fig 2).

Fig. 2

Policy level	**Ministry of Labour Health and Social Policies**	**MIUR** Ministry of Education, University and Research	**MIBAC** Ministry of CulturalHeritage

FIRB
Fund for Investment in Basic Research

PRIN
Research Programmes of National Relevance

Performers

CNR National Research Council	**University System**	**ISCR** Higher Institute for Preservation and Restoration

Dept. Cultural Identity
Dept. Cultural Heritage

Centres of excellence

Independent Bodies

CENSIS Study Centre of Social Investment

ISFOL Professional Training Of Workers

ISAE Studies of Economic Analysis

ISTAT National Statistics

Institute and Museum of the History of Science

Accademia della Crusca

As previously seen, social science research funding is channelled through higher educations institutions such as the Ordinary Fund for Higher Education and University (MIUR) and research to private and public universities. From 2007 to 2010 under 'Systems, Structures and Political and social processes', the social sciences funds for research and development were respectively €676,90, €570,50 million, €581,10 million and 624,60 million.[112]

5.2.3. *Immigration Research at Institutional Level*

Immigration policies include integration of immigrants and are within the scope of social policies. The Ministry of social policy funds intercultural education, Italian language literacy and housing policies. Policy making and social sciences is included in Research and Development and regulated by the Act 204/1998 the government decides the financial findings for research and development setting priorities and guidelines under proposals of the Ministry of Education and Research. The objectives and implementation

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[112] INSTAT, MIUR.

strategies are defined in to the PNR where also are defined the strategies for the national scientific system. The final approval is granted by the CIPE (Inter-Ministerial Committee for Economic Planning).

Italy gives importance to research in general and more specifically to policy research, also directed to understand the phenomenon of immigration. In the field of migration this can be seen with the various public and semi-public institutes [113] which closely analyses the phenomenon of immigration. These research centres have developed almost in parallel with the main European trend of transnationalism.

Since 2001 under funding of PRIN, in the sphere of immigration 24 projects/programmes (see appendix 1) have been financed for a total amount of €2,242,419.[114] Projects directed to address concerns of national interests covered issues related to domestic labour, cultural interaction, discrimination, gender, integration and acculturation, and security. Importance is given to the economic sectors of society where the role of immigrants is crucial. For example in the domestic care sector, immigrants have a major role and several projects addressed the changes in the Italian family as well as the changes in the domestic labour market and the different images and practices of labour. In the sphere of cultural interaction, the issues of discrimination and related policies to prevent it were analysed; the issue of citizenship and cultural pluralism with reference the construction of the other in the public space were also taken into consideration. As it will be analysed

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[113] There are also various institutes which carry out research in the field of immigration which are partly government funded and are part of international networks in the field of immigration. The *Istituto per lo Studio della Multietnicità* (Institute for the Study of Multi-Ethnicity), founded in Milan in 1991, is the first Italian research centre and in the same period, the *Centro Studi* (Study Centre), funded in 1963, focussed to immigration. The *Centro Studi Politica Internazionale* (CeSPI), founded in 1985, has promoted connections between international relations, development and international migration. The *Forum internazionale ed europeo di ricerche sull'immigrazione* (FIERI), founded in 2002 in Turin promotes research on international migration, inclusion in the labour market, social integration, transnationalism, policy making in collaboration with European research centres, *IMISCOE,* and in 2005 *Medì-Migrazioni nel Mediterraneo* has been operating in Genoa. The *Istituto Cattaneo* of Bologna since 2002, gathers together contributions on different aspects immigration in Italy which are selected on the basis of a peer review procedure. Furthermore, along with the *Studi Emigrazione* review, since the mid-1990s academic, especially sociological, reviews have been accepting a growing number of contributions on immigration in Italy. A relatively new review has just been in 2007, *Mondi Migranti*, promoted by the *Medì* center.

[114] The MIUR was not able to provide detailed information pf projects related to immigration. This data is the result of a reserch in the MIUR projects database under the Social and Political Sciences.

later the themes under which projects were financed, reflect those addressed and financed at EU level. Although, they represent more national issues, some project take a constructivist approach to analyse the construction of public space and the understanding of multiculturalism within it. Other projects look at integration practices particularly in the sphere of labour market.

Overall, however, there is very little evidence of the influence of these research projects in the policy making process, although, the law 328/2000 established that in social policy every action should be put under the scrutiny of research. At the moment also there is a proposal in the parliamentary commission that has been advanced for a general verification[115]. The social sciences, as previously seen, in Italy did not have a real confrontation with the policy making process. In the field of immigration policies in the last ten years are characterised by the *Lega Nord* (see also chapter 5) approach which criminalises the presence of the immigrant in Italy [116] causing frictions between Italian citizens and immigrants. This approach prevents the contribution of the social sciences particularly with a bidirectional approach, promoting integration and dialogue for the immigrants and Italian citizens.[117] Also, the funds given by MIUR are utilized to the discretion of universities and other institutions. Although the MIUR elaborate research programmes with the scientific and academic community, the economic sectors and other administrative bodies of the state competent according to field, it is up to the universities and institutions do disseminate the result of research.[118] Moreover, in contrast with the projects financed under the FPs, the results of nationally financed programmes do not have specific guidelines and recommendations for the policy makers and do not have online access.

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[115] Murer, Delia (Democratic Party), President of the Social Affair Commision of the Italian Parliament personal interview 12 December 2010, (for interview questions see Appendix 1).
[116] Ibid; Torre, Andrea Tommaso director of centre studi MEDI, personal interview 12 April 2011; Vesco, Giovanni Enrico Liguria Region Immigration Policies Coucellor , personal interview 23 April 2011; Durante, Giovanni Executive Officer ARCI (Cultural and Creative Italian Association) personal interview 03 March 2011, (for interview questions see Appendix 1).
[117] Giulia, Pino President of ACLI (Catholic Association) personal interview21 April 2011.
[118] Interview with MIUR statistic officer, (for interview questions see Appendix 1).

5.3.   EU Impact on Italian Research Policy

EU initiatives have impact on different aspects of research and development. FPs and Structural Funds have a strong role in shaping research policies and funding strategies. FPs influence priority settings and support internationalization of public and private research performers. EU policies have strong impact in the Italian national multi-years-research planning. From 2008 there is the improvement of ERA issues and importance in the policy debate and the realization of the policy design although the implementation of new measures is weak and there are no official documents relating to the impact of ERA.

European debates on science policy influence the national policy making, and the Bologna process, the Lisbon Strategy and the ERA encourage the social sciences involvement in the policy making process. Italy joined the Bologna process in 1998 and Italian universities implemented it in undergraduate and graduate curriculum. Also the Lisbon Strategy influenced the social sciences in the search for excellence in basic research, participation in public-private and international networks, international mobility. The ERA is an important point of reference for research policy in Italy.

Participation in the EU FPs indicates the importance of European social sciences research.[119] In FP 4 and 5, 6,130 Italian institutes were involved which counted to the 8.6% of the total number 111 projects, in 12 cases an Italian group was the coordinator of the project, amounting to the 6.5%. In FP 4 there were 4 Italian coordinators, 9.3%, in FP 5 there were 6, amounting to 8.4%, in FP6 there were 2 Italian coordinators, 2.8%. In the proposals for the FP6, 50% contain at least one Italian participant. However, after the first evaluation the Italian participants drop to about 25% behind, Germany, UK and

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[119] The Ministry of Education, University and Research issued a document that approved the implementation of the FP7 also a continuation of the previous FP6; 'CONTRIBUTO ITALIANO AL DIBATTITO   SUL   FUTURO   DELLA   POLITICA   EUROPEA   DELLA   RICERCA' http://www.istruzione.it/alfresco/d/d/workspace/SpacesStore/f5c8dbf0-0466-47fd-97de-6ec563ddf5c2/2178.pdf . The German government document on the same issue argued for more emphasis on the social sciences and the humanities in the context of the transformation of the 'knowledge society'.

France. Coordinators are about 14.8% compared to 19.17% of European average.[120]

The number of accepted proposals under FP6 was 420 of which 34% based at universities, 27% at PROs, 12% within SMEs and 12% within large firms. In the social science participants in the FP6 'Citizens and the Governance ...' accounted for the 3.6% of the funded projects. The most successful was the European University Institute with 10 participants in 10 different projects. The University of Florence participated in 8 projects. The University of Milano Bicocca, Department of Sociology and Social Research followed with 6 participants.[121]

In the 7th FP to date [122] there has been a large participation to the proposals but a drastic reduction for the proposals accepted. In the proposals Italy is only preceded by Germany but in the accepted projects Italy is on the 4th place after Germany, UK and France. Therefore, the average of success of Italian participants is rather low if compared to traditional member states and also to the European average of EU members 13.3% compared to the average of 17,9%. Another important data is the coordination of projects by Italian institutions in the initial proposals Italy is in the first place. In the proposals Italy has the highest numbers of coordinators. However, in the list of approved projects Italy is behind Germany, UK and France. The average of success is of 7.7% against the European average of 12.3%. Participants to the programme are divided in five areas, universities, private companies, research centres and other various organizations. Universities represent 37%, industry 28% and research centres 25% in line with the European trend.[123]

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[120] Data from METRIS, http://acceptance.all4it.com/metris//fileUpload/Italy.pdf.
[121] Data from METRIS, http://acceptance.all4it.com/metris//fileUpload/Italy.pdf)
[122] Thi programm ends in 2013.
[123] Data from METRIS, http://acceptance.all4it.com/metris//fileUpload/Italy.pdf.

5.4. Italian Participation in Framework Programmes 6th and 7th: Research on Immigration

Immigration research at EU level is for the most part funded in the FPs 6 and 7 and it has increased in importance as the dimension of immigration in Europe has increased drastically in the 1990s. The need to better understand this phenomenon is also related with the determination of the Commission to embrace the establishment of the knowledge- society. For this reason, in the view of the Commission, it became crucial, also following the German model to value immigration and labour. In the FP6 Priority 7, "Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society", migration, immigration and multiculturalism are placed under the project category Networks of Excellence [124] funded projects and they are guided to adopt comparative and multi-disciplinary approach, and of support for policy making process. Research is directed to study the place and condition of migrants and ethnic minorities and their 'economic, political and cultural life (including religion) and the challenges of multiple cultures for the building of knowledge based societies with due attention to gender issues and to integration strategies'.[125] The purpose of these guidelines for research is to bring out the challenges that member states face with the increasing phenomenon of immigration and how they deal with culture, welfare, racism, brain drain, asylum seekers and refugees, formal and informal labour market issues. The *transnationalist* [126] approach to understand the dynamics of migration is prevalent and a close analysis of migration flows takes into consideration the reason why people decide to leave their country and to forecast the dynamics of immigration in Europe with particular interest to the countries of origin.

Emphasis is placed on the role of scientific knowledge to improve the policy making process and how to work towards the creation of the knowledge society. For this reason

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[124] These projects are intended to support in-depth integration of research programmes and activities in a given thematic area. They promote the development of a variety of joint activities in the context of the thematic content of the Research Topic in question; these activities may extend significantly beyond the core research activities.

[125] FP6 Specific Programme "Integrating and Strengthening the European Research Area"Priority 7: Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' Work Programme 2002 -2003 http://www.eurosfaire.prd.fr/knowledgesociety/documents/pdf/g_wp_200202_en.pdf

[126] See chapter 3.

importance is given to language and the fact that the EU with its members is characterised by remarked language diversity. The issue of language is seen both as a *communication tool* and as a *carrier of cultural content*. This issue is also taken into consideration in relation to immigration and the various languages that ethnic groups bring into particular European realities. Here the approach is twofold: to determine that *cultural integrity* is respected and at the same time to show the importance of *multingualism*.[127] Special focus is placed on the needs but also on consequences of a possible 'lingua franca' in the field of economy, politics, science and culture. [128]

With the FP7 which began in 2007, the issue of immigration has grew in significance given the developments of the phenomenon which at the time of FP7 formulation was estimated 3.8% of the total population of the EU. However, the phenomenon of migration in this programme is also regarded as the only factor for societal change in Europe given the demographic deficit faced by all European countries. Again, research within the FP was seen as a fundamental tool to aid policy makers particularly within the phenomenon of migration which present a real challenge for politics at all levels. What is required is also statistical data about the migrants experience and the effectiveness of policies. The programme again emphasises the aim of the Lisbon Agenda that of creating a knowledge based society and the favouring of 'evidence-based policy making' also in the field of migration.

In the *Call* [129] it is also stated that funded research under the programme should address the reason of migration flows, the experiences of migrants and the effect on policies related to migration. Comparative research is auspicated and the involvement of relevant non-European countries, the causes of changing migration flows and the administration of migration at regional, national and European level. The issue of migration was also addressed under the headings of *youth and social exclusion* and *cultural interaction and*

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[127] The practic of promoting more than one language.
[128] Specific Programme "Integrating and Strengthening the European Research Area" Priority 7: Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society Work Programme 2004 – 2006
[129] The Call for Projects contains the guidelines for project applicants.

multiculturalism in European societies.[130]

The projects funded under FP6 and FP7 [131] in which Italian universities and institutions took part (see appendix 2), look at different aspects of policies of ranging from issues related to history of *migration in Europe*, *language and education*, *undocumented workers*, *data on migration issues*, *diversity and inclusion*, *integration*, *political participation and naturalization*, and *gender related issues*. Overall, for the Italian context they indicated new approaches to deal with the phenomenon of immigration and in line with the ERA prerogatives they propose guidelines [132] for the different levels of policy makers.

The first project analysed in FP6, established as a Network of Excellence [133], *CLIOHRES* [134], addressed migration in all its forms in their historical context. The aim is to show that European countries were in the past migration countries[135]. Moreover, adopting a constructivist approach the aim is to show that existing concepts such as national consciousness, history of ethnicity, and also religion are artificially constructed and the role of historians have a pivotal role within this process. Thus, emphasis is placed on the role of the *national scientific community* of the countries involved in the projects to define their research agenda and therefore the role of the historians in portraying an arbitrary view of the past. Amongst other themes such as states, legislation and institutions, the concept of citizenship is regarded as a notion which can have different interpretation depending on the context that have changed over the time and that it acquired further meanings with the creation of EU citizenship. In the policy

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[130] Work Programme 2007 Cooperation: Theme 8 Socio Economic Sciences and Humanities.

[131] The total amont of fund of the project analysed amounts to €35.379 million.

[132] These are guidlines which suggest that projects should include policy guidlines for policy makers see 'Implementation of the European Research Area in the Social and Human Sciences', especially as regard of the coordinaton and opening-up of national programmes' ftp://ftp.cordis.lu/pub/citizens/docs/study_era_shs_03.pdf

[133] These projects are intended to support in-depth integration of research programmes and activities in a given thematic area. They promote the development of a variety of joint activities in the context of the thematic content of the Research Topic in question; these activities may extend significantly beyond the core research activities.

[134] CLIOHRES (Creating Links and Overviews for a New History Research Agenda).

[135] Estimates say that when Europe was the only modernised region between 50 and 80 milion of Europeans emigrated to the 'empty lands'.

recommendations it was pointed out that there is a 'path dependency' in the understanding in the concept of citizen and citizenship. In fact, views of citizenship are characterized by concepts such as political power, rights and duties, possibility of resistance and obedience to the law and internal and external boundaries of a political community.

FP6 funded a number of projects [136] where it is emphasised the role of *language* in the sphere of identity and culture, and education is regarded as an important element for social inclusion also for migrant groups. In the context of the Lisbon Strategy, language is considered as an important instrument for the political implementation of cultural diversity in the European knowledge based society. It is pointed out that in Italy the increasing number of immigrants [137] meant also more pupils in public schools [138]. In Italy due to a decree of the President of the Republic (349/99), also non-residents have full rights and duty to take part to Italian schools and in 2006 a ministerial memorandum provided 'didactical orientation' to encourage integration. One of the main results of the project was that exclusion from education was shared by all the vulnerable groups including migrants. For this last group the main barriers recognised were prejudice and racism from mainstream society and the approach was that in order to overcome poverty and exclusion, education was considered as related to the development of the potentials of individuals. Another approach to the study of language was that of culture and its relation to *multilingualism*. In Italy it was found that immigrant students bring multilingual ability to other students and may increase the interest of local students in their own language and that language policy is a necessary concept within the national level of investigation.

In the sphere of *diversity and inclusion*, issues of exclusion identified within employment, accessing education, private and public services and facilities. In the

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[136] Projects acronyms: Linee (Language In a Network of European Excellence), sus.div ("Sustainable Development in a Diverse World"), INCLUDE-ED (Strategies for inclusion and social cohesion in Europe from education), IDEAS (Integrating and developing European Asian studies).
[137] In January 2010 7,1% of the total population (ISTAT).
[138] MIUR

projects [139] migration is not understood in terms of *push-pull* [140] factors and therefore it is recognised, by the social scientists involved in the project, the need to formulate new approaches to understand immigration and the integration of migrants. Firstly, it was analysed the function of language and discourse in Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Estonia, Spain, Italy and France. The first report concludes that in countries such as France, Italy and Spain an *immigrant* is perceived as a threat and in the other countries more a general scepticism. Generally the use of 'us' and 'them' to refer to 'national' and 'immigrant' or 'majority' and 'minority' influences politicians' choices on how to deal with migration and cultural pluralism. Also the use of terms such as 'immigrat' or 'foreigner' is different in different countries. For example in France in the public discourse 'immigrant' remain with descendant of several generations while foreigners are considered those who are not naturalized French citizens. In Spain and Italy the term foreigner is associated with people from rich countries where immigrant with people from poor countries. In Spain and Italy the media focus on criminality when talking about immigrants in fact in Italy 50% of all news and articles about young immigrants focus on criminality.

The second report looks at the effect of citizenship legislation on the inclusion and exclusion process. In Italy immigrants and descendant who do not have citizenship do not have the possibility to exercise political influence unlike in Norway and Estonia where immigrants with a long period of residence permit are allowed to vote in local elections. The citizen is also more free to choose where to work and to negotiate labour conditions and also in the housing sector and educational grants and scholarship. Norway, Sweden, France and UK have the most liberal citizenship policies, on the other hand, Spain, Italy are less liberal. Italy with Spain has the lowest ration of granting citizenship. Sweden is the most liberal with requirements of only five year stay and no requirement of knowledge of Swedish language or culture. In Italy there is a complex set of requirements for citizenship which is also due to the lack of a coherent body of laws and norms in the

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[139] Projects acronyms: Border Discourse, sus.div (Sustainable Development in a Diverse World"), PROMINSTAT (Promoting comparative quantitative research in the field of migration and integration in Europe), EUMARGINS (On the Margins of the European Community. Young Adult Migrants in seven European Countries), CIVGOV (Organised Civil Society and European Governance), LIMITS.
[140] See chapter 4

sphere of migration. These national trends were identified also by national research but never implemented at policy level although it is recognised that facilitating access to citizenship does contribute to integration. The policy recommendations are divided in to different subject and included the recognition of transnational right to move within and outside EU borders for transnational families; the exercitation of civic citizenship to guarantee social, economical, political and cultural rights of all residents in the EU without discrimination; standardisation of the participation of non-EU migrants in all level elections in the member countries; to adopt bottom up intercultural policies which take into account existing coexistence; recognise different languages as administrative and educational system.

The importance of *integration* was also analysed from the perspective of gender,[141] to enhance competitiveness in Europe, economic growth and social cohesion. In Italy integration policies are present more at regional level [142] with the help of voluntary organizations. These organizations are religious such as *Caritas* (Episcopal Italian Conference), *Acli* (Christians Workers Associations) and also secular such as *trade unions* and human rights NGOs have been active in the field of immigration which have replaced actions for the reception, support and integration. Migrant women hold an important position in the Italian labour market especially in the care sector and they do not benefit from any equal opportunity policies for women in general. The general policy recommendations included an evaluation of general policies about gender, migration and integration, separation of residence rights and employment rights, improvement for female opportunities (skills, qualifications, training), integration as a long term perspective, inclusion of social economic aspect of integration, reaching disadvantaged groups and the right to work for asylum seekers.

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[141] Projects acronyms: GEMMA (Enhancing Evidence Based Policy-Making in Gender and Migration), FeMiPol (Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society. Policy
Assessment and Policy Recommendations), Ge.M.I.C Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in the Mediterranean and South East Europe an interdisciplinary perspective.
[142] This thesis does not explore the role of the regions which have in Europe increased their importance in the sphere of immigration and integration. For a comaprison of Spain, Italy and Germany see "Il ruolo delle regioni nelle politiche di integrazione e accoglienza dei migranti" T. Caponio (2003)

The concept of *civic participation* [143] was also considered as a move towards integration and political engagement since with the arrival of different ethnic groups the composition of a country is challenged. Immigrants were considered potentially important for the development of a civically active European society. The concern was the decline of civic activism and the undermining effect of legitimation at EU level. Within this context, immigrants were considered an important resource for civic participation based on the assumption that transnational networks are also based on civic engagement. A concern was also for the political and legal restrictions and the different factor which may affect pattern of immigrant civic activism. In the finding it was maintained that immigrants find different integration prospects and opportunity which varies from the country they live, on the rights linked to their country of origin, their individual status and the right at local level. Participation regimes in all countries were separated from nationals, EU citizens and third country nationals and only full citizens enjoy full political and civil rights.

In the policy recommendation it was pointed out three main areas. The first was that the institutions that fund research should also include immigrants as part of the researchers to make it truly transnational. The second was that organizations should check their training policies to favour the inclusion of immigrants. Thirdly, a public discourse on migration and integration issues to encourage engagement in public life in their country of settlement. This study also addressed the concern that ethnic diversity is connected to negative issues because on the 'horizontal approach' employed. Integration policies are not the only important tool but also the general discourse about immigration policies. Immigrants should also be consulted in the formulation of restriction policies, to prevent illegal entrance and the return of foreign national with legal documents. The formulation of restrictive policy may give rise to a negative discourse in the public which sees immigration as a threat and the lead to more restrictive policies. Also immigrant should be more included by eliminating unnecessary restrictions for naturalization. Where member states have voting rights at national level is appreciated by active immigrants.

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[143] Projects acronyms referring to civic prticipation: POLITIS (Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation), localmultidem (Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants Social capital in Europe: Participation, Organizational Networks and Public Policies at Local Level), IDEA (Mediterranean and Eastern European Countries as New Immigration Destinations in the European Union), pidop (Processes influencing democratic ownership and participation).

Another important concern of the Commission and also of national governments is data on different aspects of immigration [144] in order to better understand this phenomenon. Some studies involve information exchange on migration flows and asylum in the EU which in some cases are not considered a need and for this reason are not available. Other studies look at the unknown dimension of 'irregular' immigrants and its control. They attempt to determine the national situation of migration, asylum, residence permit, citizenship and data collection of data suppliers and policy makers. In Italy the responsible authority is the Citizenship unit of Ministry of Interior in the 1992 law. Within the field of statistical data, it is also considered important that on integration and discrimination. Recommendations suggest that bodies such as Ministries INPS (Institute of National Social Security), INAIL (Institute of Insurance for Health and Safety at Work) collaborate with ISTAT (National Institute of Statistics) and make their data available periodically so that they can be used for the programming and analysis of social policies. Moreover, according to the recommendations, there should be some coordination between bodies responsible for survey and ISTAT and there should be more communication in order to provide correct information to international bodies such as the EU regarding statistics about immigration and asylum seekers. The general more wide objective is to include administrative trend into the main survey and to include not only country of birth and current citizenship but also previous citizenship and the information of the country of birth and citizenship of parents in order to identify target population.

Research in this field addresses the need of being aware of migration flows in order to better deal with its effects. This is regarded important for policy makers to have an understanding of the number of immigrants without documentation [145] but also those whose permit expire during their stay. Similarly it is important to have a comparison with other European counties. Studies in this field try to understand the reasons behind legal and illegal migration and also information about those who became undocumented. Here

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[144] Projects acronyms referring to different aspects of immigration: THESIM (Towards Harmonised European Statistics on International Migration), ESRI, MAFE (Migration between Africa and Europe)
[145] Projects acronyms: UWT (Undocumented Workers Transitions), CLANDESTINO (Undocumented Migration: Counting the Uncountable. Data andTrends across Europe)

is also present the security issue of illegal immigration because undocumented immigrants are also subjected to repatriation. On the other hand, there is also the humanitarian issue and, as in the case of Italy, the attempt to make illegal stay a crime. Until 2009 attempts to estimate undocumented migrants were few [146] and characterised by overlapping definitions such as *irregular foreign resident* and *irregular foreign workers*. Also member states do not adopt internal comparable practices and therefore there are different methods. Other studies within this field look at undocumented migrants in relation to EU labour markets and the channel of internal and external migration. Terminology for addressing foreign citizens in another state: 'undocumented in violation of its regulations on entry and residence, having crossed the border illicitly or at an unauthorized point'. The mass regularization of immigrants such as in Italy do not decrease the workers in the informal economy because it is not in parallel with improved working conditions which are related to other factors such as trade unions. In Italy there is not primary source on undocumented migrants and data is based on the number of regularization; for instance in 2006 regularizations were 760,000 (Fondazione ISMU).

The analysis of these projects broadly showed that the approach towards immigration and related issues is an attempt to partly reformulate the idea of migration in Europe and also to look for the reasons for better integration. The characteristic of the results which emerged from the various projects is that also of informing the policy making process. As we have seen in the previous chapters, specifically in chapter 3, the idea of research formulated within the FPs is that of informing the policy making process also at national level. For this reason each project has policy guidelines or recommendations which in theory should be used by policy makers and experts as well. Here the focus was mainly on Italy and policy recommendations essentially pointed out the inadequacy of Italian national policies in the sphere of immigration that are also poited out with a certain discourse present in Italy and here analysed through the Turco Commission and subsequent bills proposed at parliamentary level by the centre-left and the centre-right, respectively the Amato Draft in 2006 and the Granata-Sullubri in 2009, to reform the

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[146] In the United States, the size of the irregular migrant population has been repeatedly estimated, and results are included in the official statistical yearbook

nationality law. Most of the recommendations are in a way counter also to the very recent legislation formulated by the centre-right government in coalition with the Lega Nord and renowned for their anti-immigration position.

One of the question of the thesis was also to assess to what extent the outcomes of these research would influence the policy making process. The interviews carried out to members of the research projects [147] generally pointed out that research policy has not reach the national level policy process. Some interviewee did not know this either because the projects are not completed or just completed or because they did not have any idea of what followed up. However, for the Italian case the general impression communicated by the researchers was rather negative and most of the interviewees did not see any chance, at least for the moment, that their finding could be used at policy making level. This is also because there is not an institutional mechanism that transmits the research conclusions to policy makers. This is left entirely to universities which may organize events where policy makers are invited. In some cases, interviewees agreed that at local level it may be different but not concrete example could be given.

5.5.   Conclusion

In Italy policy research is present at theoretical level and in the institutional settings for research and development. In the process to the knowledge based society and investment in research and development, Italy has set up at institutional level the theoretical tools for the involvement of research in the various policies. In the particularity of the social sciences Italy has also established a mechanism of research with some thematic, including immigration issues within the scope of social policies also with the

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[147] Zani, Bruna (PDOP) personal interview26 April 2011; Amaduccia, Giulia (European Commission DG Home Affairs) personal interview 21 April 2011; Bonifazi, Corrado (IDEA) personal interview 28 March 2011; Chiapparino, Francesco Chiappa (sus.div) personal interview 27 March 2001;Franceschini,Rita (LINEE) personal interview 27 March 2011 ; Mezzadra,Sandro (Ge.M,I.C) personal interview 26 March 2011.; Burgisano, Laura (CLIOHRES) personal interview 24 March 2011; Perocco, Fabio (UWT) personal interview 25 March 2011, (interview questions see Appemdix 1)

establishment at a regional level of more policy oriented research. However, as it has been recognised in chapter 4 at least in the formulation of immigration policies, at practical level there is not much change. In the larger picture, Italy is in fact investing less than other European countries and traditional member states, in research and development either public or private. This, points out that there is not an established channel between researchers and policy makers as in the case of other European countries and that migration issues are under the influence of politicians which are concerned for their electorate.

If we consider the influence of EU policies in the research-policy nexus, the Commission oriented research approach, particularly for the funding of cross-national research but also the involvement of MIUR in the formulation of the FPs, Italy is reasonably involved. With the Bologna Process, the Lisbon Strategy and the establishment of the ERA social science research has been promoted and Italy's participation in the FPs at least since the social sciences were introduced is also significant. It must be said however, that the Italian approved projects are below the EU average. This also points out the inability of Italian universities and institutions to successfully take advantage of EU funding, taking also into consideration that Italy, overall, contributes more financially to the ERA than it takes in return.

In the specificity of immigration related issues, research was explicitly introduced in the Priority 7 of FP6 with specific guidelines for the conduction of policy relevant research prevalently based on constructivism and transnationalism. Within the funded research, where Italian institutions and/or universities were involved the topics covered address issues of integration, social inclusion, civic participation but also data which is regarded important for the control of undocumented migrants and illegal immigration. As a characteristic of FP funded research, policy recommendations pointed out the issues in which immigration policies are deficient, particularly integration, where at this very moment, immigration policies in Italy are characterised by the criminalization of immigrants and the reluctance, based on ethnicity issues, to change the nationality law as encouraged by a liberal integration approach. Similarly in the sphere of education different aspects were explored encouraging through the concept of multilinguism, the

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importance of mixed classes, for language awareness and the importance of education in providing the elements to avoid social exclusion. Also emphasis is given to the importance of civic and political participation of immigrants, also for their involvement in the formulation of related policies and in the participation of political life particularly at local level, rights where in many European countries are granted. All these guidelines which resulted from the analysis of existing policies on immigration, point out at least in Italy that there is a gap between research and policy both at national and EU level. This gap is also confirmed by the projects participants interviewed which do not see any future connection between FPs policy research and policy making process at national level.

Conclusion

In this thesis the relationship between *knowledge* and *politics* was analysed through a two-level design focused on the relationship between research and policy making at EU and national level. Furthermore, the thesis considered EU funded research related to immigration issues and its possible impact and implications at national level on the social science research tradition as well as on the policy making process. In the opening chapters of the thesis it was determined that at national level a certain relation between the social sciences and the state has always been present. Through this debate the relationship between knowledge and politics was exposed historically and theoretically in its national context. It was also understood that the *policy science* developed by the Yale Law School was the institutionalised version of such a relation.

If we compare the policy science approach with that associated with the knowledge society approach, the difference is in the production of knowledge. In Mode 1, to borrow the term from Gibson et al, knowledge is considered to be autonomous and progressive as in the Enlightenment model and fulfilling the Mertonian principles (see chapter 2 and 3). This is criticised for being positivist implying that the social scientist is not autonomous. This was further criticised by Kuhn's assumption that scientific change is not caused by progress but by a multiplicity of factors including political ones, which let a scientific revolution to take place. In mode 2, knowledge takes a different meaning. If before knowledge legitimised itself ideologically, with the second version knowledge is called by politics to legitimise the policy process and therefore is legitimised politically.

In this way knowledge becomes a product which requires money and time to be produced. If there is investment in knowledge, in the capitalist mode of production there must also be a return, which is that of legitimising the policy process. This justifies the increasing need for knowledge in the flexible economy and the developing of intellectual property legislations. This last interpretation of policy oriented research within policy analysis represents the *politics and legitimation* model where the relation between knowledge and politics here cannot be conceived as in the rational model because there is

not relation if politics decide what knowledge is. Knowledge is understood as *Discourse* in Foucault's terms which construct social reality and it is within power relations. Therefore knowledge is not used to *enlighten* but to *legitimise* decisions made beforehand. At EU level, mode 2 knowledge is produced and funded by policies which have the power to fund them but do not have the power to implement problem oriented research like it has happened in the national context.

Therefore, research produced at EU level to improve and inform the policy making process do not have the political legitimation at EU level. Similarly, many of the immigration and citizenship policies promoted at EU level, in the Maastricht Treaty, the Amsterdam Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty were partly prevented or mitigated by member states. This is another sign of the weak political power of the EU. However, the creation of a body of knowledge furthers the formation of a discourse on immigration research which can contribute to the debate. If this can have some consequences at national level it remains to be seen. On this point the thesis attempted to determine if the EU funded research through the FPs can affect the features and dimension of policy research at national level.

Italian Citizenship, Nationality Law and Immigration Policies: the Tradition of the Social Sciences and the European Dimension

Another question posed by the thesis was the possible impact of EU policy oriented research at the national level, and therefore the assumption of a national dimension in the social sciences. It was observed that the social sciences developed together with the nation state and also absorbed some of the features which gave them a national distinction. Above all, language with all linguistic articulations characterises this difference. There are, nevertheless, other profound characteristics which delineate the national dimension. It can be seen, for instance, in the main European national traditions such as France, Germany and Britain with their own distinct features which give them a particular tradition based on the way societies understand themselves and developed a body of knowledge with distinct concepts and methodologies. We could argue that this composition of tradition make up what could be called a European tradition or Western tradition. By looking at the theoretical framework behind the creation of ERA and

research encouraged by the Commission different traditions are prevailing as well as trend in the international context which reflect a certain degree of experience with recurring events. In chapter 2 it was discussed that the discourse which leads towards the creation of the knowledge society at EU level is part of a trend which begun in Japan and USA and that was also articulated at national level and specifically in Scandinavian countries.

In the case of Italy a distinct tradition can be traced in the political theory of Machiavelli. His understanding of society and particularly the relation between rulers and the ruled was the reflection of fragmentation in Italy and the desire of a strong ruler or elite which could eventually be a unifying force for Italy. However, at the moment, the social sciences in Italy are facing a moment of crisis also due to the structure of the universities strongly influenced by power relations but also because of funding towards the utility of research and a relevant role of FPs funded research.

Immigration research in Italy also reflected the late acknowledgment of Italy as an immigration country. In the 1980s research literature was prevalently descriptive based on basic data and information, mainly focussed on the national composition of immigrants and demographic inflows and on the fact that Italy was at the same time a migration and an immigration country. In the mid 1990s integration and immigrant settlements were interpreted through community studies taken from British and French critical studies. Other studies were based on the German approach and the assumption that policies have to aid integration into mainstream society to avoid isolation.

An element of the national tradition is also present in the theoretical debate around Italian citizenship and nationality law and also in some practices which constituted the national context in the construction of the Italian nation. The concept of the nation was based on a vision of *loyalty* and on the universalistic principle of *humanity*. The conjunction of citizenship and nationality as the identity of the *popolo* was the justifying tool for state sovereignty and the relationship between citizenship and authority. The 1992 Nationality Law is the first reform since 1912, when Italy is an immigration country. However, it further extended the period for obtaining citizenship from five years to ten years

reinforcing the *jus sanguinis*, with the exception of EU citizens, four years, and foreigners with Italian origins. The *co-ethnic* principle also was present since the Electoral Law of 1895, the Nationality Act Reform of 1905 and also in some instances in the 1948 Constitution after the experience of the fascist regime.

The first immigration policies to resemble a truly European model and also a transnationalist approach are in the 1990s. The 1998 Immigration Law introduces measure to regulate immigration, to support legal immigration and to contrast illegal immigration. Nevertheless, the reform of this law in 2002 was characterised by repressive measures which reflected the securitization approach present in other European states also as a result of Sept 11. A similar centre-right government in 2009 passed a *security package* which introduced the crime of illegal immigration, more control on marriages between Italian citizens and other citizens and the establishment of civil patrols with the clear message to make Italian citizens to feel safer from immigrants.

The different policy approaches in Italy, since immigration has become a significant phenomenon, are the result of emergency, international pressure and different coalition governments. Although almost all policies are formulated in the context of European emergency, since immigration has partly become a responsibility of the EU, there has been an increasing influence also at national level. In the case of Italy this can be seen with the 1998 act and also with some measures that the Berlusconi government wanted to adopt which were contrary to EU regulations, such as the driving back of immigrants at sea and the intention to deport Romanian citizens, and therefore EU citizens.

Europeanization/Internationalization of Research Policy

In Investigating the relation between research and policy, which guided the entire thesis, it was determined that in Italy there is not a distinct role of social science research in the policy making process. Although at theoretical level and through various public bodies research should play an important role, at practical level in Italy we cannot talk of a system like that of UK, Germany, the more advanced system of Denmark and Sweden or, in the field of immigration, the Netherlands which have developed a policy process with the direct involvement of academics and experts.

Although it is difficult to determine the informal relation between policy makers and researchers, from the analysis of the last two significant legislations on immigration it was determined that the latter had a marginal role in the preparation of the bill. This involvement of researchers depended also on the composition of the government. With the centre-right coalition and emphasis on populism, immigration policies are also heavily charged with security and cultural issues which appeal to a part of the Italian electorate. There has been, nevertheless, an increase of immigration research in Italy also promoted by the EU Commission FPs attention to this issue. At the same time, nationally funded projects are characterised by national concerned and are not specifically designed to aid the policy making process. This can be determined by the lack of direct link between research and policy.

At EU level, within the transnational paradigm, the main subjects proposed for research are integration and multiculturalism, encouragement of comparative and multidisciplinary approach, and support for the policy making process. Research is directed to cover the condition of immigrants and minorities, their economic, political and cultural life, and the challenges of multiple cultures for the knowledge based society. The transnationalist approach is encouraged to understand the dynamics of immigration and particularly to find out why people leave their country. Emphasis is placed on the role of scientific knowledge to improve the policy making process for the creation of a knowledge based society. For this reason importance is given to language for communication and as a tool to ensure cultural integrity and multilingualism. But at the same time, it is promoted one language for the economic, political, scientific and cultural spheres. Immigration is also regarded as the only remedy for European societal change because of demographic deficit.

Some aspects of FP funded projects are inherent to what is partly attempted to determine in this thesis, and that is, the effort to delineate, using the case of Italy, that there is a national tradition in the social sciences and more specifically that this tradition affects the way a nation understand itself. In the previous chapter it was pointed out that Italian citizenship tradition since Unification and also the way of formulating nationality policies

reflected a particular approach which can be seen in existing citizenship regimes.

Immigration issues including integration are also considered in relation to gender, competitiveness, economic growth and social cohesion. Results showed that integration policies are more present at regional level through voluntary and religious organizations showing continuity with advocacy coalitions. Women have an important role in Italian labour but do not benefit from equal opportunity policies. Recommendations therefore encouraged increasing rights and opportunities for grater integration.

Concluding Remarks: Towards Europeanization Internationalization of Immigration Research in Italy?

The main question of the thesis was to determine the impact of EU policy research on the Italian national tradition of research and ultimately in the policy making process. The attempt to give a relevant answer to this question presented other point significantly relevant. One is that, broadly speaking, Italy does not seem to be investing for developing a model of knowledge society. At least in the field of the social sciences, which had increased in importance in advanced democracies in the attempt to invest in innovation, there is not evidence that the various governments are investing in the same way other European member states are.

In the sphere of immigration, in terms of research and policies, which was one aspect of the thesis, it has been determined that in Italy there is not a strong national tradition of policy research and advice to the policy making. One reason is that in Italy immigration research is relatively a new field since Italy has become an immigration country only recently and therefore, developed a research approach comparable to the rest of Europe only in the 1990s. Moreover, early immigration research was mainly based on data collection and not targeted to understand the phenomenon of migration in relation to the integration of immigrants. This kind of research has only developed in correspondence with the 1998 Immigration Law and found some consideration in the implementation of

policies. However, with the subsequent change of government the role of academics and experts was almost absent or did not have a main role.

The influence of the EU within this context has been present at policy and at research level. At policy level mainly this thesis emphasised, following the signing of the Schengen agreement, pressure from other members state to increase control on the borders an also pressure to formulate a more European aligned immigration policy which was done with the 1998 legislation. The establishment of EU citizenship and consequent regularization of Roma communities, when Romania entered the EU, prevented deportation measures for these minority groups which were included in the security package wanted by the centre right government in 2009.

At research level this is more complicated to determine the influence of the EU Commission. One reason is because it is difficult to assess the impact of social science research in this case immigration research. Research can be disseminated in many ways and it is the duty of the university/institutes involved to make use of the data collected. In almost all the projects, policy recommendations outlined the Italian policy *national trends* pointing in directions which can be recognised in the Commission approach and also in a certain discourse which has been generated by the IMISCOE at European level and through FIERI at national level. From this approach it is possible to see analogies in the study of the policy process and in the relation between research and policy making. In this respect, also the recommendations of the EU funded research point in the same direction. This is the case where EU funded project such as IMISCOE has an impact at national level and/or find similar approaches. This comes also in a time where the Italian social sciences are not recognised at institutional level [148] particularly in the CNR and MIUR where the social sciences should find funding for development and applied research. It seems that one Italian trend is also the lack of a coherent tradition in the social sciences, a trend which begun in the post war period and remained the same up to this time. From these considerations it is possible to conclude that the supranational level

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[148] 'La scomparsa della sociologia della scienza ufficiale italiana: suicidio od omicidio?' Guido Martinotti *Republica* 18/02/2010

have effects on the national level and it prevents the national politicised issues, particularly in the field of migration to prevail. On the research side, in Italy there is a discourse which is strongly influenced by the international context and also correspond to what is predicated by the EU Commission through the FPs. There, however, the nexus between research and policy seems absent. Although the knowledge is available for policy makers there is not the political will to adopt an approach like that of other European countries mentioned above. This also shows a certain Italian pattern which does not to take into consideration the advices given to the 'prince'.

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The Future of Key Research Actors In the European Research Area (2007 Directorate-General for Research Cooperation European Communities. http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/future-key-research-actors-in-era_en.pdf.

List of projects:

EUMARGINS On the Margins of the European Community. Young Adult Migrants in seven European Countries http://www.iss.uio.no/forskning/eumargins/

GE.M.IC – Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in the Mediterranean and South East Europe: an interdisciplinary perspective – http://www.gemic.eu/

GEMMA – Enhancing Evidence Based Policy-Making in Gender and Migration – http://www.gemmaproject.eu/

MAFE – Migration between Africa and Europe – http://mafe.site.ined.fr

CLANDESTINO – Undocumented Migration: Counting the Uncountable. Data and Trends across Europe – http://research.icmpd.org/1244.html

FeMiPol – Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society. Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations – http://www.femipol.uni-frankfurt.de/

IDEA– Mediterranean and Eastern European Countries as New Immigration Destinations in the European Union – http://www.idea6fp.uw.edu.pl/

IMISCOE – International migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe http://www.imiscoe.org/

LOCALMULTIDEM – Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants Social capital in Europe: Participation, Organisational Networks and Public Policies at Local Level – http://www.um.es/localmultidem/

NATAC – The Acquisition of Nationality

POLITIS – Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalized Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries – http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/

PROMINSTAT – Promoting comparative quantitative research in the field of migration and integration in Europe – http://www.prominstat.eu/

SUS.DIV – Sustainable Development in a Diverse World – http://www.susdiv.org/

THESIM– Towards Harmonised European Statistics on International Migration – http://www.uclouvain.be/7823.html

UWT – Undocumented Worker Transitions – http://www.undocumentedmigrants.eu/

CLIOHRES.net – Creating Links and Overviews for a New History Research

INCLUDE-ED – Strategies for inclusion and social cohesion in Europe from education http://www.ub.es/includ-ed/

LINEE Languages in a European network of excellence – http://www.linee.info/

PIDOP Processes influencing democratic ownership and participation http://www.fahs.surrey.ac.uk/pidop.

MAFE Migration between Africa and Europe http://mafe.site.ined.fr.

REMC Religious education in a multicultural society: school and home in comparative context http://www.esri.ie/research/

RESPECT Towards a "topography" of tolerance and equal respect. A comparative study of policies for the distribution of public spaces in culturally diverse societies. http://www.respect.iusspavia.it

IDEAS Integrating and developing European Asian studies http://www.ideasconsortium.eu/

BORDER DISCOURSE Border Discourse: Changing Identities, Changing Nations, Changing Stories in European Border Communities ftp://ftp.cordis.europa.eu/pub/citizens/docs/ok_hiep_hpsect_99_00003_final_border_disc ourse.pdf

CIVGOV Organised Civil Society and European Governance http://cordis.europa.eu/documents/documentlibrary/100124321EN6.pdf