

FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN  
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES  
FONDATION EUROPÉENNE  
D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES

Annual Activity  
**REPORT 2021**





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# FEPS TEAM



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*Secretary General*



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*Director of Operations*



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*Director of Studies and Policy*



**Ania SKRZYPEK**  
*Director for Research and Training*



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*Head of Communication and Deputy  
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**Susanne PFEIL**  
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**Stefano PORCIELLO**  
*Communication Assistant*



**Laetitia THISEN**  
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# MESSAGE BY THE PRESIDENT



2021 was a period where many learned the value of European solidarity. A more coordinated access to anti-Covid vaccination, a recovery plan being prepared by all member states, with an exceptional financial backing by the European Union, and an action plan to implement the European Pillar of Social Rights.

The European plans to conduct the Green Deal and the Digital transition were brought to a higher level of ambition and creativity to define the European way and tackle new social inequalities. A strategy to develop the care sector was announced as a pre-condition for real gender equality.

In the meantime, US president Joe Biden's election and the defeat of the Capitol insurrection brought new hope to the renewal of the multilateral system. A new kind of partnership with Africa started being defined.

We also moved forward in the battle for democracy. First of all, defending it with the rule of law conditionality mechanism. And secondly, re-inventing it with the launch of the Conference on the Future of Europe. A new phase of the European project is needed to move to a new development model and to strengthen the EU strategic autonomy with the necessary means – financial but also political – but which can only be based in a stronger and more active European citizenship.

FEPS was active on all these issues with qualified and relevant outcomes in research, policy consultancy, training, publications, and a wide variety of public events.

We are working with a large range of experts, civil society stakeholders, and policymakers across Europe and beyond. Our headquarter in Brussels is a new home for many of them, but we are still waiting to turn the page of the pandemic to make the best of it! In the meantime, the FEPS team has been developing new capacities to excel in the virtual and hybrid world.

The Progressives forces in Europe are now stronger and they can count on this hub of progressive thinking, which is well connected with the European political system, but also with its network of national foundations across the continent and beyond.

Maria João Rodrigues  
*President*

# FEPS IS THE EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL FOUNDATION

*At the European Progressive Annual Autumn Academy 2019*



The Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) is **the think tank of the progressive political family at EU level**. Our mission is to develop innovative research, policy advice, training and debates to inspire and inform progressive politics and policies across Europe.

We operate as a hub for thinking to facilitate the emergence of progressive answers to the challenges that Europe faces today.

FEPS works in close partnership with its members and partners, forging connections and boosting coherence among stakeholders from the world of politics, academia, and civil society at local, regional, national, European, and global levels.

Today FEPS benefits from a solid network of 68 member organisations. Among these, 43 are full members, 20 have observer status and 5 are ex-officio members. In addition to this network of organisations that are active in the promotion of progressive values, FEPS also has an extensive network of partners, including renowned universities, scholars, policymakers, and activists.

Our ambition is to undertake intellectual reflection for the benefit of the progressive movement, and to promote the founding principles of the EU – freedom, equality, solidarity, democracy, respect of human rights, fundamental freedoms, human dignity, and the rule of law.

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## Background

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FEPS was created in 2008 as the European-level political foundation associated with – but independent from – the Party of European Socialists (PES) and the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament (S&D). Since its creation, FEPS has mainly been funded by the European Parliament.

FEPS was set up to "serve as a framework for national political foundations, academics, and other relevant actors to work together at the European level" (art. 1.4 of Regulation (EC) 1524-2007).

These credentials have made FEPS into an important stakeholder, recognised by foundations and international think tank rankings such as the Pennsylvania Global Think Tank Index. In 2020, FEPS was ranked fourth best party-affiliated think tank worldwide.

In August 2017, FEPS was officially registered with the status of European political foundation (number: EUPF 4BE0896.230.213).

In 2019, FEPS was honoured to be granted Special Consultative Status to the **United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)**, the highest status given by the UN to non-governmental organisations, thus allowing it to participate in the work of the UN.



# FOREWORD BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL



In 2021, FEPS endured the second pandemic year with expectations of deconfinement that did not materialise quickly. Most of the time, we continued to work, meet and discuss remotely, and the online activities allowed for delivery according to plans and expectations.

As we experienced 'zoom fatigue', testing hybrid methods of event organisation was an important feature in 2021. High quality, well-articulated communication, on diverse channels (online and printed), became even more important than before, while the construction of the new FEPS website continued.

The dominance of online activities also meant very few opportunities for actual travelling and an interruption of our transatlantic relations. Nevertheless, in 2021, Europe was shocked twice by the USA: first in January, when the Capitol building was stormed, and then in August, with the dramatic withdrawal of the US military from Afghanistan. These events just reinforced our commitment to work more on questions of democracy and European strategic autonomy.

Under the extraordinary circumstances created by the pandemic and global insecurity, the European Union started to discuss its future, with the direct involvement of citizens. FEPS has been an active and productive participant of this process. We have focused on contributing to the Conference on the Future of Europe, an unprecedented dialogue with citizens unleashing fresh ideas on EU level democracy and cohesion.

Despite the Covid-19 related restrictions, we managed to use our new headquarters for various hybrid events,

including the Annual Autumn Academy and the concluding sessions of the FEPS Young Academic Network. Reshaping these trademark projects also took place in the context of the preparations of a Training Strategy, which has represented one of the most important investments for the future of FEPS, but for that of also our political movement at large.

for FEPS, 2021 was also a year of team reconstruction (in line with orientation from our leadership), some colleagues leaving and new ones being recruited in a highly competitive environment. Throughout this process, we remained mindful of the need for strengthening in-house expertise, but also of a well-organised management system and delivery capacity.

Equally from the point of view of our finances, 2021 has been a turning point: closing some legacy issues, and launching a new Financial Strategy that could bring FEPS to a higher level of resilience in the long run. Launching the transition to a new online management platform has been an important early step of implementation, together with the preparations of program-based funding.

Altogether, in 2021 our aim was to not only muddle through but to lay the foundations – organisationally, financially, intellectually – for the post-pandemic rebound. Our activities in various functions and policy fields should be assessed accordingly.

László Andor  
*Secretary General*



# CORE MISSION FOR 2021

In 2021, we have witnessed a stabilisation and even comeback of Social Democratic forces in various European countries, including Norway and Germany. In some other cases, however, like the Czech Republic, we have experienced further weakening and declining support. For FEPS, the task has been not only to analyse the prevailing trends and their causes but also to provide ideas and arguments to the political family.

At the European level, it has remained an important task for FEPS to represent and promote the founding principles of the European Union (equality, solidarity, democracy, respect for human rights, human dignity, and the rule of law), but also find ways to strengthen those values and align policy proposals that make the connection between ideals and social reality.

In our Framework Activity Programme for 2021, five major overarching shifts were identified to help the positioning of European Progressives in various positions they hold, but also to develop the right policies that can make a real historical difference by:

- Strengthening the European citizenship, which should encapsulate stronger political and social rights that can create a basis for greater European economic and social cohesion
- Equipping Europe for now and the future by designing new European policies that will drive the green and digital transformation, leading to greater sustainability and equality, and also strive for a Health Union.
- Realising the promise of strategic autonomy for Europe by endowing the EU with new instruments in areas of: competition and industrial policy, trade and foreign affairs, and enabling it to promote international solidarity, peace and development
- Making Europe resilient through risk-sharing by developing stronger European financial instruments, which include a new kind of EU budget, EU issuance of bonds and EU taxes
- Democratising the European political system by developing the Community method, as also opening up through new platforms for citizens' participation

These five overarching trends have constituted a compass for FEPS to focus our work on, and to organise our contributions to the debates on the Future of Europe accordingly. To enhance political relevance, we maintained close coordination with our political family (while PES continued their preparations for the long-awaited Congress), and also explored further opportunities to expand our networks in the world of academia and think tanks.



# KEY FACTS AND FIGURES 2021

2021 was a challenging year, which was marked by persisting COVID waves and hence also perpetually changing operational conditions. FEPS made an effort to implement the Framework Activity Programme 2021 while adjusting the work plan more frequently, developing new methodologies (such as pioneering the hybrid events during the 3rd Annual Autumn Academy), and investing more in dissemination and communication tools. The creativity brought especially the outputs onto a new level, also modernising the organisational culture of FEPS.

In parallel, there have been three important tracks pursued. The first was to consolidate and reorientate the work around the new annual priorities. The second to implement the adopted strategies, such as organisational (looking into transforming thematic fields to programmes), communication and financial ones. Thirdly, it was about pursuing reviews and avenues, of which Digital Review Meeting, ongoing Democracy portfolio review and the finalised Training Strategy were some among the key examples.

## 1. ECONOMY AND FINANCE

On analysing COVID-19 crisis phases, looking at policy proposals towards recovery and the creation of the new European financial instruments.

## 2. ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE

On addressing the climate emergency and deliverables of the European Green Deal, including in particular the ways these can facilitate a wave of new jobs in Europe.

## 3. DIGITAL AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY

The acceleration and its effects, notably the use of online platforms and algorithmic systems at work, school and in the public sector.

## 4. SOCIAL EUROPE

On the future of the European Pillar of Social Rights (as COVID-19-proved), including here particular attention to the public health and social protection.

## 5. GENDER EQUALITY

On advancing the feminist and gender equality agenda and reorganisation of the care work and jobs in fairer, more sustainable ways.

## 6. MIGRATION AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

On defining the conditions for efficient and humane management of migration between Africa and Europe, and in the context of a renewed EU-Africa partnership.

## 7. EUROPE IN THE WORLD

On new multilateralism and the EU external action, having especially the USA, China and Russia in the spotlight.

## 8. POLITICAL EUROPE

Contributing to the Conference on the Future of Europe and the architecture of political integration.

## 9. DEFENDING AND DEEPENING DEMOCRACY

Looking at the new ways of civic empowerment and participation and examining the main threats to democracy (nationalism, right-wing extremism and authoritarian tendencies).

## 10. NEXT LEFT

Evaluating the positioning of social democracy and defining paths for its modernisation and recovery.



FEPS EVENTS

78



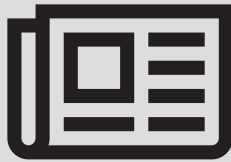
FEPS PUBLICATIONS

63



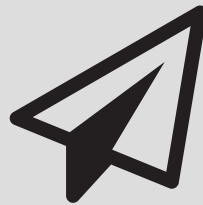
FEPS TALK PODCASTS

46



NEWSLETTERS

109



PROGRESSIVE PAGES

44



PROGRESSIVE POST  
MAGAZINES

3



FACEBOOK  
FOLLOWERS

16,3K



TWITTER  
FOLLOWERS

13,6K

# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# ECONOMY AND FINANCE

### Ambition

After the pandemic and in view of ensuring a smooth implementation of the digital and ecological transitions in Europe, many voices even outside the progressive camp have demanded for stronger interventionism of the public sector in the economy. Against this backdrop, FEPS had set as itself the objective to contribute to a paradigm shift in economic policy – not only by reviving the debate on a theoretical approach to political economy and state interventionism but also by actively channelling ideas for economic alternatives to lawmakers, government officials and parties of the progressive family.

The ambition was not only to reflect on a new narrative but to take an active role in switching towards a new paradigm for national and European economic policymaking. The quest for a new economic model that underpins social, climate, regional, and digital justice has to find its application also in the new rules framing budgetary policy in the EU and economic coordination. To this end, FEPS prioritised the support to the progressive family in the design of new fiscal rules. With the re-opening of the debate around the changes to the economic architecture of the EU there is a need to drive the discussion towards a completely new framework and endure that the debate is also participatory and inclusive. The third area of work for the year 2021 was taxation. Given the international attention to the OECD/G20 deal and the rather successful negotiations on a new global minimum corporate tax rate, 2021 will remain in the annals as a big year of transformation for tax policy. Progressives had long advocated for far-reaching tax reforms able to deliver on fiscal justice and FEPS has been active on this with research, public conferences and closed-door meetings.

### Results

With the adoption of NextGenerationEU, the European Union has entered a new stage of fiscal development, and for the first time, a true possibility has emerged to leave behind the restricted world of the Maastricht paradigm. The leading role of the public sector for future-proof investment has been recognised, and the EU in particular has become the go-to institution in terms of designing and financing the ecological and digital transition as well as the trajectory toward socio-economic recovery.

The relevance of the debate on the NextGenerationEU at the member states level has brought FEPS staff to intervene and contribute on many occasions to party events and public exchanges with the objective of presenting the recent developments around the National Recovery and Resilience Plans, the joint borrowing, or the use of SURE. But beyond the role played in the dissemination of the positive novelties affecting European economic integration, FEPS has been able to support the progressive family in the quest for a new economic governance that bypasses the state of emergency and leads to a new economic framework that recognises the role of the public sector in steering the economy.

The online gatherings on the occasion of the Day of Progressive Economic Policy (with FES, IMK and DGB) and the Progressive Governance Summit (with Das Progressive Zentrum, PES, FES, Broadbent Institute, the Greens and many others) have marked two important public occasions recognising the new role of the state and of the European Union and the beginning of a new course of action for economic policy globally.

Furthermore, many experts have recognised that the FEPS and the S&D Group's initiative to establish an informal group on the reform of EU fiscal rules has provided a safe space for an informed open discussion on the various themes connected to the reform of the Stability and Growth Pact and have been functional to foster coordination within the progressive family, thanks to the involvement of Commission's cabinets, MEPs in charge of economic files at the S&D Group, and some of the economic advisors to Social Democratic parties.

Online Conference

**TAXATION & INVESTMENT**

MONDAY  
**25 OCTOBER**  
14:00 to 17:00

ON ZOOM

FEPS  
FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN  
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES

FRIEDRICH  
EBERT  
STIFTUNG

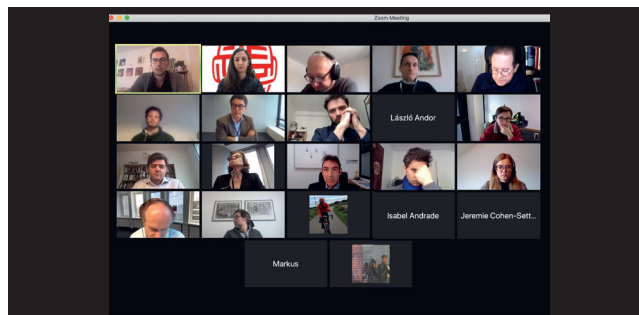
AK

tasc  
Think tank for action  
on social change

RI RennerInstitut

Another relevant area of work on which FEPS' convening and research power has given its fruits in 2021 is that of taxation, as the dedicated 'highlight' box explains more in detail. Providing policy suggestions that can impact the debate on taxation and EU own resources was a relevant mission for FEPS. Policy ideas on taxation are very much needed in the current context: the need of resources to deliver on the recovery, new legislative opening for EU own resources, potentially new transatlantic progressive alliances in view of a G20 agreement. A remarkable result in this field has been the deployment of a vast array of activities: monthly coordination meetings with PES, S&D Secretariat and EU Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs Paolo Gentiloni's cabinet, closed-door meetings with top scholars and lead negotiators, public conferences with fresh content and first-rate speakers,

policy briefs discussing the implications for the EU of the global tax deal on corporate tax, policy studies simulating the impact for member states and developing countries of a new minimum corporate tax rate, and a video campaign for social media to distil the novelties affecting tax policies to a public of non-experts.



## 1 // TASK FORCE WITH S&D ON FISCAL RULES

Over the years, FEPS has been vocal on the need to rewrite the European fiscal rules, but the matter still remains contentious within the progressive family, as some argue for a deep reform whilst others would only be open to small revisions to the framework shaping the European economic governance. In this moment in which internal discussion on the matter was particularly beneficial, FEPS launched a closed collaboration with the S&D Group for the establishment of an informal working group on the EU fiscal rules comprising lead experts and policymakers from the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Fiscal Board as well as former top officials

of the European Central Bank. Monthly meetings have been organised to exchange on various aspects of the changing architecture of the EU governance: the macro imbalance procedure, the deactivation of the general escape clause, the reform of the European Semester, etc. The meetings and the internal notes edited and shared by participants have been particularly relevant as they kept different actors and parties informed and have been instrumental to a European Parliament's own-initiative report, led by MEP Margarida Marques, which has been the first cross-party agreement on a new post-Covid fiscal framework for the EU.

## 2 // REFORMING CORPORATE TAX IN EUROPE (WITH FES AND TASC AND ICRICT)

Taxation is a critical question for Social Democrats who want to maintain well-functioning welfare states and investment capacities in Europe and elsewhere. In this domain, the year 2021 has been a turning point, thanks mostly to the international negotiations at the G20 level around the OECD proposal for global corporate tax reform. FEPS, in partnership with FES, TASC and ICRICT, has put taxation at the forefront of its work.

The research covered strategic areas of tax policy that were under discussion at the G20 in order to provide guidelines and suggestions on how to take advantage of this favourable momentum. As part of the project, FEPS organised high-level closed-door meetings to discuss the what, the why and the how of the global deal around the OECD proposal, with inputs by Gabriel Zucman (UC Berkeley and European Taxation Observatory) and the European Commission's negotiators. In addition, two publications, one by Tommaso Faccio (ICRICT and Nottingham Business School), and one by Robert

Sweeny (TASC), have contributed to the debate, also by presenting fresh data and simulations on the impact that a global deal on corporate tax could have on EU member states. Importantly, ahead of the G20 Summit and of the new European Semester cycle, FEPS and partners reflected on "Investment and Taxation" in a public digital conference that explored how to improve national practices as well as the capacity of the European Union to support state fiscal capacity by efficient and fair taxation.

A special effort has been developed to bringing the complex new tax policy solutions to a broader non-specialist public: a video campaign featuring experts and lawmakers has been promoted via social media to insist on the strategic areas of tax policy that are under transformation and discussion: green taxation, global minimum corporate tax, financial transaction tax and wealth tax.

# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE

### Ambition

With the EU set for a green recovery through the European Green Deal, FEPS sought to answer the public's key questions on how this would impact their lives and the place of Europe in the world. FEPS' two main ambitions here were: knowledge and skill-building on climate policy, to boost climate action and, pushing for progressive economic governance in the climate transition.

Central to this was the question of climate investment and the perception of climate policies across different demographics. International cooperation featured as another foundational topic given the pressing need for concerted political action to tackle the climate crisis. Technical elements of economic and financial governance raised awareness around the costs of the climate transition and the mechanisms at our disposal to tackle these. The priority was to focus on the financing arrangements that allow for a green and socially just recovery from the pandemic. Various avenues on how to channel finance towards investments that enable a low carbon economy were explored. Careful analysis of the interaction between human and environmental systems was applied to serve a broader and wider societal understanding of the climate crisis and our response to it. Such a vision, in turn, can provide a roadmap and a benchmark for both policy development and evaluation. This knowledge and skill-building mission was accomplished through a mix of insightful hybrid events, webinars, and research projects.



### Results

Policy studies from R. Wildauer, J. Kapeller and S. Leitch that FEPS published in cooperation with the Renner Institut and the Austrian Chamber of Labour (AK) singled out wealth taxes as one potential source of revenues that brings important co-benefits such as the reduction of inequality, and capacity building in the fight against corruption and organised crime. In a second study, the authors estimated the effects of a bond-financed European investment initiative of EUR 10 trillion and came to the conclusion that the expected large multiplier effects of around 5 euros in additional economic output for every public euro spent will ensure that fiscal sustainability of public finance actually improves.

A study by S. Griffith Jones and M. Carreras emphasised the role of the European Investment Bank in providing funding for priority issues related to the green transformation such as adaptation, technology innovation and large-scale infrastructure all while aggregating and scaling such investments.

Apart from publishing educational research on questions of financing, FEPS also catered to educational aims by disseminating original research findings and policy knowledge on climate issues in the EU and on the global level to a broader audience. The policy breakfast series on Financing the Green Deal is a case. In four short seminars, FEPS debated with experts and institutional representatives the aforementioned research results on the development banks and the potential gains from a wealth tax as well as the issue of green central banking and greenwashing in sustainable finance.

The second focus of FEPS activities in 2021 on climate and environmental issues was to explore the perception of climate policies across different demographics. FEPS carried out a survey in the context of the Talking Green project that was carried out together with the Fabian Society and the Thinktank for action on social change (TASC). The resulting data show that significant differences persist along social categories such as class or education levels in the perception of the climate crisis and the evaluation of climate policies. Similar cleavages can be observed when the climate crisis is framed in abstract and jargon-heavy

slogans. However, narratives emphasising the quality of life as well as various aspects of justice and fairness are met with more universal support, showing the way for a progressive communication on climate issues.

Finally, FEPS addressed the issue of international climate justice in a publication and an event that was co-organised with Foundation Max van der Stool and presents how climate change and (EU) climate policies are perceived by people from different regions and backgrounds in Africa. The publication as well as the event amplified the visibility of African voices. This applies to pointing out the injustices and omissions of policies originating from other

regions, but also to highlighting innovation and actions in the fight against climate change.



## 1 // A FISCALLY SUSTAINABLE PUBLIC INVESTMENT INITIATIVE IN EUROPE TO PREVENT CLIMATE COLLAPSE with the Renner Institute (AT)

FEPS and the Renner Institut, in collaboration with the Austrian Chamber of Labour (AK) have carried out the research project 'A fiscally sustainable public investment initiative in Europe to prevent climate collapse' in 2019. Among the activities of the project, three complementary policy studies developed have been developed.

The first, "Is a €10 Trillion European Climate Investment Initiative Fiscally Sustainable?", sought to answer to what extent large-scale public investment efforts could be a viable tool to provide the necessary infrastructure to break Europe's dependency on fossil fuel and carbon emissions. The private sector's poor track record for providing the required scale of financing for this infrastructure and the limited time that is left make it necessary to assess strategies that do not primarily rely on slowly changing price signals or the private sector's own initiative.

The second policy study "a European Wealth Tax for a Fair and Green Recovery" investigated the potential of a European net wealth tax to raise substantial revenues while supporting the economy and the consensus on climate action. The study demonstrated that a European net wealth tax has the potential to make a substantial contribution to the EU's efforts to organise a decisive response to the twin crises of Covid-19 and climate change.

The third study "How to Boost the European Green Deal's Scale and Ambition" analysed the European Commission's modelling and estimates that have been put forward in the context of the European Green Deal and assessed whether the outlined measures represent a plausible strategy to meet the key targets of the Paris Agreement.

## 2 // THE 'TALKING GREEN PROJECT' with TASC (IE), the Fabian Society (UK), the Institute for Social Democracy and the Progressive Hungary Foundation (both HU)

Talking Green is a research project that explores perceptions of climate actions across Europe. Through surveys in Hungary, Ireland, and the UK, FEPS – in partnership with the Fabian Society, TASC, the Szociális Demokráciáért Intézet and the Progressive Hungary Foundation – is developing an understanding of how the green transition is perceived especially by low- and middle-income people.

The collected data allows progressives to find the most effective ways to talk about climate change and develop participatory and effective policy proposals that address climate change while delivering a just transition that is aligned with people's concerns.

While future results will come in 2022, the first iteration of the Talking Green project was its UK survey. It investigates respondents' perceptions of how relevant climate change is compared to other policy issues. It also analyses opinions on particular policy measures and people's reactions toward different frames and narratives. The study finds that although the public is concerned about climate change and wants action, other policy areas such as the economy, health or Brexit are prioritised. Furthermore, environmental concerns vary with age, education, political alignment, and social class. While there is a general optimism about the benefits of climate action for job creation, cleavages among social groups can be observed. Moreover, there is still considerable confusion over the impact of climate action on jobs and the significance of the terminology that is often used (green jobs, net zero).

# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# DIGITAL AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY

### Ambition

The year 2021 was a big moment for the regulation of digital technology at EU level, with legislative proposals being discussed on online platforms, artificial intelligence, data governance and platform work. Having previously highlighted the importance of such a 'democratisation of the digital' via regulation, FEPS put as its ambition to look more in-depth at the flurry of legislative activity and to provide concrete inputs into the regulatory efforts that are poised to set the direction for the development of the internet in the coming 10 years. At the same time, FEPS considered it important to look beyond the immediate policy agenda and consider the broader and long-term trends of the digital transition, by fleshing out progressive pathways for a European digital transition that is distinct from the approaches prevalent in the US and China.

### Results

After the hosting of a multitude of expert working group meetings on platform governance, artificial intelligence, and the digitalisation of work, FEPS, the Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, the Fondation Jean-Jaurès, the Fundación Pablo Iglesias and the Fondazione Pietro Nenni published sev-

eral policy studies on topics directly relevant to the EU digital policy agenda, which were translated into German, French, Spanish and Italian and Czech.

The policy study 'Governing online gatekeepers: taking power seriously', assesses the potential and limits of existing EU policies to address the power of large online platforms, and discusses what the upcoming EU regulatory proposals in this area should focus on to change the online environment into a more just and democratic one. It has also highlighted the case for more public investment. The policy study 'No digitalisation without representation: an analysis of policies to empower workers in the digital workplace' evaluates the digitalisation of the workplace, which has sped up in the wake of Covid-19. It looks at a range of different EU policies and assesses what is missing to empower workers in this environment.

In the longer term, FEPS has analysed the European Commission's plans for the digital decade in its policy brief 'Correcting Course – the 2030 Digital Compass'. This was subsequently discussed during the Digital Capitalism Congress in November 2021, organised by FEPS in close collaboration with the Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung's Competence Centre on the Future of Work. The conference's key themes were 'Europe's quest: an autonomous path for the digital decade?'





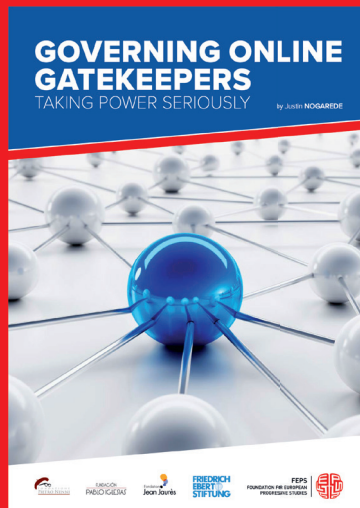
## CASE 1 // REGULATING LARGE ONLINE PLATFORMS

How should the EU respond to the power and control that large online platforms exercise over crucial digital services, markets, and the public sphere? This is one of the key questions confronting policymakers at the moment. FEPS, together with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the Fondation Jean-Jaurès, the Fundación Pablo Iglesias, and the Fondazione Pietro Nenni, explore that question in the policy paper 'Governing online gatekeepers – Taking power seriously'. This paper is especially relevant in the context of the European Commission's recent proposals for the Digital Services Act and the Digital Markets Act.

In the absence of public investment and legislation, the internet has evolved into an online ecosystem of powerful and private gatekeepers. The Covid-19 crisis once again underlined that large platforms function as essential social and economic infrastructure. Online retailers find it difficult to avoid Amazon, citizens find it difficult to

avoid Facebook's social media ecosystem, and everyone relies on Google to find and be found online. However, these gatekeepers regulate social activity via the technical design of their services, but in ways that are increasingly at odds with the public interest, societal well-being, and citizens' rights.

The policy paper explores the EU's existing policy approach to reign in large online platforms' power and align their functioning with the public interest, and finds that it has been ineffective (competition policy), overly accommodating and complex (the raft of self-regulatory initiatives on illegal content), and simply not properly enforced (notably the General Data Protection Regulation). The paper argues for public investment in digital infrastructure, and simple – but strictly enforced – public rules targeted at the biggest online gatekeepers.



## CASE 2 // PRESERVING WORKER AGENCY IN A DIGITAL ECONOMY

Power at work is increasingly embedded in – and exercised through – the way data is collected and then used via algorithm systems. This trend has accelerated since the Covid-19 pandemic. While this shift can – in theory – support the quality of work, at present, it seems to mainly facilitate expanding surveillance and control of the workforce.

To change this and ensure a digital transition that is socially sustainable, workers and their representatives need to help shape the digital infrastructure that determines how they carry out their work. The problematic question is: how?

FEPS, together with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the Fondation Jean-Jaurès, the Fundación Pablo Iglesias, and the Fondazione Pietro

Nenni, explores possible answers in the policy study 'No digitalisation without representation. An analysis of policies to empower labour in the digital workplace'.

The study offers a set of recommendations for EU institutions and the member states, for Data Protection Authorities and trade unions, works councils and shop stewards.

The focus lies on how to fully implement and make better use of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in the workplace. Beyond that, the study pays attention to workers' collective rights across the EU, as well as the potential of upcoming EU legislation on data governance and algorithmic systems.



# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# SOCIAL EUROPE

### Ambition

The socio-economic consequences of the pandemic have endured throughout 2021. Naturally, health-related issues had to become a paramount focus for FEPS' work, even though, since the beginning, the ambition was more related to the construction of a European space for health integration rather than to the analysis of the vulnerabilities of the national healthcare sectors. Building on the last few months of 2020, FEPS wanted to grow its network on health policy and become a positive player in the field, able to identify avenues for political integration in the field.

Besides healthcare, other social aspects related to the impact of the pandemic have become a necessary focus of FEPS activity. In the thematic area covering gender equality (see pages 18-19), FEPS has developed activities to help prioritise care policy and the fight against gender-based violence. In the 'social Europe' thematic block, the aspects that have been covered relate to the impact on education, childcare and employment as a whole.

Another ambition for the year 2021 was to offer a new prism to understanding regional divides beyond the narrow approach of cohesion policy. In the European Union, a social and spatial polarisation has emerged between economically developed centres and peripheral regions, each reinforcing the upward or downward movement of the other. These divergences have been fuelled by external factors such as structural change, globalisation, and severe economic crises. These are some of the reasons that brought FEPS to focus on social inequalities and economic coordination across regions and countries with the ambition of finding solutions for improving wellbeing for all and avoiding further divergence. The objective was to make clear that the EU should perceive the alarming regional divide not as a marginal problem that can be fixed by a dedicated policy, but as an existential prob-

lem, threatening the unity of Europe, and only adjustable by re-positioning territorial cohesion at the core of the EU actions on economic, investment, climate and digital policy.

### Results

Several projects launched in 2020 in response to the call for projects dedicated to the pandemic have come to completion in 2021. FEPS had done some work on health inequality in the past, but did not have a track record of publications and activities in the field of health integration. Activities in 2021 have instead contributed to strengthening FEPS' knowhow on health issues, with specific reference to the study of the European Health Union, a political project put forward by the European progressive family that needs to find a concrete application and political momentum. Projects in Hungary and Bulgaria have reflected on the perceptions that people have around a stronger European role in the health sector and have helped progressive thinkers to connect with associations of health professionals and Civil Society Organisations (CSO) and NGOs that are active on the topic. Importantly, FEPS publications on the topic showcase how the establishment of a European Health Union is seen as a great step toward diminishing health inequalities within countries and improving quality standards.

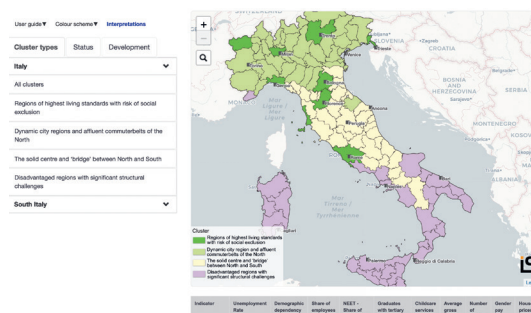
In addition to that, in 2021, FEPS has completed three important lines of work that had started in 2020: i) lifelong learning and the European right to education, ii) affordable and social housing policy, iii) fighting inequalities since the early years with the Child Union. These lines of work are to be seen in relation to the European Pillar of Social Rights implementation, as concrete potential applications of the rights promulgated by EU leaders and reaffirmed in the Porto Summit. On lifelong learning the results that FEPS can boast are clear: under the leadership of Commissioner Nicolas Schmit, the Commission put forward a Council Recommendations on individual learning accounts which goes very much in the direction of the proposal that FEPS and the Jacques Delors Institute had proposed and engaged the cabinet with. This work was launched after a discussion in a Review Meeting format with members of the former cabinet of the EU Commissioner on Employment, and it proves how the methodology can work. Concerning housing, an issue that links crucial economic and social inequalities, FEPS has encountered equal success but of a different nature. No direct follow up in terms of EU policy proposals, but the work conducted at FEPS with a strong cluster of member foundations has



been used as a reference for the work of the family both at the European as well as at national level, even in those countries that were not initially involved. On Child Policy, FEPS research work conducted in 2020 on the Child Union continued to serve as a catalyser of attention and a prism to give ambitions to the European Child Guarantee that the European Commission has launched.

A special mention goes to the line of research that brings together social and regional inequality, where FEPS in collaboration with FES has been able to produce fresh data and maps for five European countries. More on this in the highlight box, but what is worth mentioning here in terms of results is the ability of the research design to link up

local aspects and data and regional policy considerations with the promotion of national debates and analyses on inequality in the framework of a broad European lens exploring possibilities to reform the EU's approach to cohesion policy and to territorial cohesion.



## 1 // REGIONAL AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES (WITH FES)

In close cooperation with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, FEPS investigated the extent of regional disparities in five member states (Italy, Romania, Estonia, Sweden, and Finland) to showcase the relationship between social and regional inequalities. For each of these member states, the research has examined eleven socio-economic and wellbeing indicators to cluster regions in terms of socio-economic inequalities. The exercise is useful to assess the territorial dimension of the disparities in living conditions among European people. The research methodology condenses in a unique indicator several "social" factors, referring to employment conditions, availability of public goods, gender parity, political participation, and investment levels. The picture that emerges makes clear that the regional divides within European countries are underpinning a social divide; and that social and regional inequalities are strongly interrelated.

Can we improve living conditions in Europe and fight social inequalities without a renewed strategy to fight the regional divide? Can we think of a development model that offers equal opportunities and high standards of living, regardless of one's place of residence? Rhetorical but important questions that FEPS has put forward to the EU Commissioner Schmit and the EU Commissioner Elisa Ferreira, who, on two separate occasions, has been engaged in a discussion around the results of this project.

The results of the national studies have been also presented and discussed in national capitals, receiving much attention from the side of the media, particularly in the case of Finland. Furthermore, a summary of the lesson learned from these five national studies – plus three realised by FES independently – has been published in an EU-wide publication (see Policy Contribution session) putting up a strategy to fix this "Unequal Europe".

## 2 // ADULT LEARNING FOR ALL WITH THE JACQUES DELORS INSTITUTE

Ahead of the publication of the European Commission's proposal on individual learning accounts, FEPS contributed to the discussion on the EU Skills agenda with a relevant policy proposal and with a high-level discussion featuring the European Commissioner in charge and the Finnish Minister of Employment. The work has highlighted the importance of individual learning accounts (ILA) and set out some relevant design features that the EU ILA might have. It is meant to give concrete application to the right to education, which, enshrined in the European Pillar of Social Rights, may lead the way to the establishment of a concrete European right to adult education in order to ensure that EU citizens are resilient and fit to take full

advantage of the transitions. Building on the FEPS and Jacques Delors Institute Policy Study on "Towards an Individual Right to Adult Learning for All Europeans" (2020), the Policy Brief "Towards A European Individual Learning Account" (2021) further expands on the policy proposal and calls for a European initiative to foster the creation of an individual right to adult learning in each member state through the establishment of ILA based on common European guidelines.

# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# GENDER EQUALITY

### Ambition

2021 has been a defining year for gender equality, which remains one of the greatest challenges ahead for the European Union and its member states who are coping with the yawning gender gaps across all spheres of life. With the Covid-19 pandemic still permeating most aspects of society and the economy, deep-rooted inequalities have been unearthed. The continued undervaluation of women and the most underprivileged groups cannot be denied any longer.

As we entered the second year in the implementation of the 2020-2025 EU Gender Equality Strategy, setting the framework of action to promote gender equality, FEPS has continued its endeavour to closely monitor and critically accompany the main initiatives undertaken by the EU throughout the year, particularly revolving around three main axes.

First, ensuring a Europe free from violence and stereotypes has constituted a major focus of attention in FEPS work. Violence against women and domestic violence constitute a blatant human rights violation. It remains widespread across the EU, and the pandemic has triggered a snowball effect reinforcing it even further. It disproportionately hinders the rights to equal opportunities of women and girls, and also comes at an enormous economic cost for society at large.

Second, following another important pillar of the EU Gender Equality Strategy geared to thriving in a gender-equal economy, FEPS has been particularly concerned with the improvement of women's positions in social and professional life where many of the gender gaps have been stagnant. On the one hand, the gender pay gap demonstrates slow progress. On the other, women's increasing labour market participation has not been matched with an adequate redistribution of care responsibilities, eventually resulting in a severe care crisis. In this respect, FEPS has insisted on demonstrating how care inequalities are inherently connected with gender inequalities.

Last but not least, promoting gender equality and women's empowerment across the world has constituted another major component of the feminist agenda.

### Results

In implementing a gender-sensitive answer to the challenges above, FEPS has sought to keep the issue of care inequalities high on the list of political priorities. Far from fading away, as Europe is looking at its long-term reconstruction after the Covid-19 emergency, the care crisis has become further entrenched. Therefore, the need to politicise care has formed an important common thread across a large set of activities targeting a diverse range of audience. Starting with the 7th Barbara Prammer Symposium 'For a Gender-sensitive Covid-19 Response' in partnership with the Renner Institute, SPÖ Women and SPÖ parliamentary group, the tone was set by underlining how rising female unemployment rates and exposure to precariousness are intertwined with an unequal and unsustainable distribution of care work, calling for sound public social infrastructures as essential components of any well-functioning society. Likewise, the 2021 International Women's Day was entirely devoted to giving the voice to the first concerned – care workers – as part of our event 'Towards a fairer, care-focused Europe!' in the backdrop of a partnership with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the S&D Group in the European Parliament and the Young European Socialists. This also marked the launch of a large-scale public campaign on social media and the press supported by a series of background papers (including the launch of the Care4Care articles series) and a video calling for a shift in the narrative through a care deal, eventually to echoed a few months later in European Commission's commitment for the launch of a Care Strategy. Far from considering this work to be over, FEPS has continued engaging on the different aspects of the issue, namely addressing (a), how regional inequalities meet with gender and care inequalities as a result of care chains during the 2021 edition of the Korčula School together with the CEE Gender Network and (b), how inter-generational solidarity matters for a life-cycle approach to care in the context of our joint event with PES (Party of European Socialists), ESO (European Senior Organisation) and YES (Young European Socialists).

Another issue at the heart of FEPS activities has been the elimination of gender-based violence as a major challenge to women's and girls' equal opportunities. This intolerable form of gender-based discrimination raises important questions about the heavy structural barriers preventing the achievement of equality at work, in politics or at home. Acknowledging the inherently intersectional nature of gender-based violence as a phenomenon at the crossroads with many other inequalities, the continuation of the Stop

Gender-based violence publication series by FEPS and Fondation Jean Jaurès explores the implication from various standpoints: What does it mean for women and girls with disabilities? Why are lesbian, bisexual, trans, intersexual people particularly exposed to gender-based violence? How has the increasing presence of digital technologies in our lives increased the risk and changed the nature of gender-based violence? Using these publications as a springboard to feed the reflections around the need for the EU to ratify the Istanbul Convention and to take concrete legislative action, the subject was further explored as part of our policy expert roundtable ahead of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women in partnership with Fondation Jean Jaurès and the Renner Institute as well as during the the 'Let me Say This' event involving engaged activists with Fondation Max Van Der Stoel (FMS) delving into the issue of sexual consent.

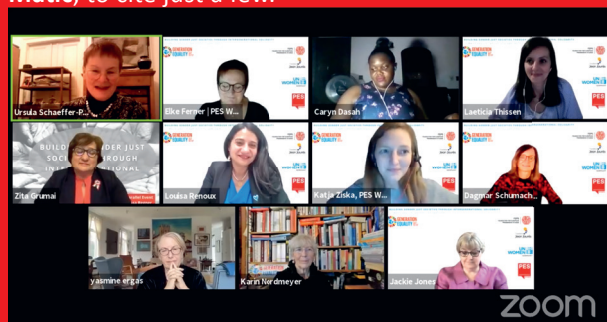
2021 also placed gender equality in the limelight with the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration (postponed from the previous year due to the pandemic), particularly as part of the 65th UN Commission on the Status of Women in March and the Generation Equality Forum in Paris in June resulting in major commitments to radically speed up progress towards gender equality bolstered by significant funding pledges and commitment to legislative change across six main areas: gender-based violence; economic justice, sexual and reproductive health rights, technology and innovation and feminist movements and leadership (see text box for a more detailed description of the FEPS parallel events).

Finally, FEPS became officially member of the Brussels Binder Think Tank network to reaffirm its strong commitment to gender inclusivity and female representation in EU policy debates throughout its activities.

## CASE 1 // CSW65 PARALLEL EVENTS

The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) being to gender equality what the COP is to climate policy, it always represents an important highlight in FEPS annual events on gender equality. Providing a major opportunity for FEPS to contribute to the largest intergovernmental gathering on women's rights, four official parallel events were organised 2021, each with various partners bringing their own expertise on the topics at hand. Revolving around the CSW's review theme 'women's full and effective participation and decision-making in public life, as well as the elimination of violence, for achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls', together with the review theme 'women's empowerment and the link to sustainable development', we had the immense privilege to count on a set of key feminist voices

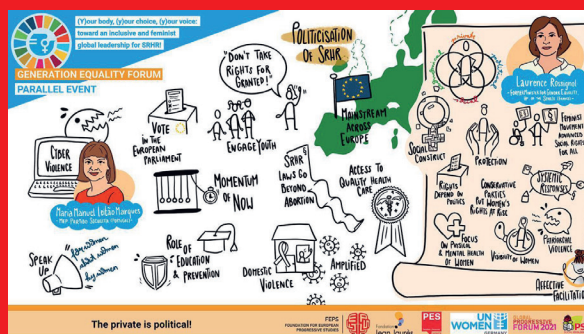
including EU Commissioner for Equality **Helena Dalli**, UN Women Deputy Executive Director **Åsa Regnér**, Secretary General of the Generation Equality Forum **Delphine O**, Former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of Croatia **Vesna Pusic**, and the Member of the European Parliament **Fred Matic**, to cite just a few.



## CASE 2 // GENERATION EQUALITY FORUM SIDE EVENT

*(Y)our body, (y)our choice, (y)our voice: Towards an inclusive and feminist global leadership for SRHR!*

On the occasion of the Generation Equality forum, FEPS, Fondation Jean Jaurès, PES Women, UN Women Germany, the French Parti Socialiste and the Global Progressive Forum organised a multistakeholder event focusing on one of the main focus areas – sexual reproductive health and rights (SRHR). The event explored the connection between sexual health and reproductive rights and women's opportunities to thrive whilst discussing progressive answers placing SRHR on the global agenda.



# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# MIGRATION AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

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### Ambition

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Amidst the Covid-19 pandemic, European policymakers' and public opinions' interest in migration was overshadowed by the news concerning the virus, the vaccine campaigns, the social and economic impact of the pandemic and the EU's and its member states' bold response to it. In the same way, FEPS' initial desire to focus on the relations with Africa vis-à-vis migration was deviated by the pandemic. On the other hand, it was precisely the spread of the pandemic, the border restrictions implemented by the EU member states in the attempt to prevent the spread of the virus, and the consequent attention paid to people employed in the care and other vital sectors, such as agriculture, that – at least temporarily – made European citizens and authorities acknowledge the critical role played by migrants in European societies. Yet, despite the indisputable importance of their contribution to the economy, labour markets and welfare of the hosting countries – as recognised in the European Commission's Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027 – migrants employed in these key sectors too often suffer deplorable working conditions that are reflected in their capability to integrate and exacerbate their social marginalisation. To investigate the obstacles to migrants' integration in Europe and the EU member states, building on previous work done by FEPS in the last years, was one of the ambitions for 2021 activities. This was coupled with the continuation of the analysis on online disinformation activities and their consequences on the narrative around migration.

Concerning the European neighbourhood, FEPS activities focussed on the enlargement to the Western Balkans and on the role that European progressives – in the EU as well as in the WB6, that is, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia and Kosovo – can play to revitalise a process that in the last years had stalled, due to – among other external factors – to the lack of political will on the side of the EU member states.

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### Results

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In 2021, FEPS investigated and analysed the working and social conditions of migrants working in two key sectors: care and agriculture. The work focused on the obstacles that migrants employed in these fields – who are crucial for

the European economies – must endure, and the negative impact that poor working and living conditions have on their inclusion in the hosting society. Corollary to the research was the definition of key recommendations at the European and national levels. The results were published in the paper "Migrant key workers and social cohesion in Europe", published together with TASC. (See case 1)

The work on the integration of migrants was also conducted with the slight update and translation into English of the book, previously published in Italian in cooperation with the Fondazione Socialismo, "Of walls and bridges". This English version will be published in spring 2022.

In the field of narrative and disinformation about migration, FEPS, in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the European Policy Centre (EPC), conducted original research on a widely unexplored field. Building on the project realised in 2020, this new research aimed to explore new ways of countering disinformation. Disinformation actors can and do spread lies and fake news quickly and widely, they are able to adapt their messages to political trends and adjust to the emotions and concerns of public opinions. Against this background, debunking is not enough to counter the spread of fake news about migration. The research concluded that disinformation should be pre-empted before it begins to circulate. The researchers involved in the project formulated several instruments and recommendations that may be useful in this process and that were published in the paper "From debunking to prebunking: how to get ahead of disinformation on migration in the EU".

Finally, in cooperation with the Fondation Jean Jaurès, FEPS published the book "Le grand enfumage" by French historian and demographer Hervé Le Bras, who explored the similarities and differences between European far-right parties in their dealing with migration, and the transformation of these parties' ideologies and vision.

As far as the neighbourhood was concerned, FEPS together with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the Fondation Jean Jaurès, and Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale (CeSPI) gathered prominent European policymakers, experts, and academics to discuss the European Union's commitment to enlargement in the third edition of the series of events held in Villa Vigoni (Italy). What should progressive forces do to finally overcome the deadlock that characterises European enlargement policies and ensure a credible political turn?

What are their responsibilities? These topics were at the centre of the debate "What is progressive? The EU and the challenge of enlargement to the Western Balkans" that took place online on 18 June 2021. (See case 2)

## CASE 1 // MIGRANT KEY WORKERS AND SOCIAL COHESION IN EUROPE

Migration has become one of Europe's most politically divisive issues. The Policy Study "Migrant key workers and social cohesion in Europe", published in cooperation with TASC was the result of a two-year-long research in four countries and concentrates on two critical sectors – agriculture and care – that depend on migrant labour to function. The paper demonstrates that migrant workers are often invisible in society, routinely subjected to exploitative working conditions, and denied the basic social rights and protections afforded to local workers.

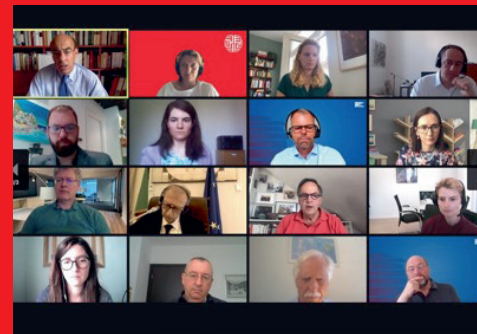
Yet, enabling migrant workers to actively participate in the social, civic, and political life of their communities is key to building solidarity and fostering more resilient and cohesive societies across Europe.



## CASE 2 // THE EU AND THE CHALLENGE OF ENLARGEMENT TO THE WESTERN BALKANS

Today, stating that the EU enlargement towards the Western Balkan countries is in a stalemate, amounts to a cliché. The number of declarations, summits, initiatives and pleas from Brussels and some member states has only reinforced a growing frustration, as deeds have not followed words and the commitment to the region's 'European perspective' remains half-baked – the case of the Bulgarian veto to the opening of North Macedonia's Intergovernmental Conference

(IGC) only strengthened this gloomy picture. Against this background, FEPS organised in the framework of the series of international conferences "What is progressive?", a high-level discussion on the role European progressives can and should play to revitalise the enlargement process. The discussion was supported by the publication of two policy briefs.



# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# EUROPE IN THE WORLD

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### Ambition

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The beginning of 2021 was marked by the swearing-in of Joe Biden and Kamala Harris. The change in the White House allowed many to cherish the hope that a new chapter could be opened in international relations. The anticipation was that there would be a U-turn in the US policies and, as a consequence, a window of opportunity to reopen the conversation about a new world order and the notion of multilateralism. The European Union was watching these developments with an expectation that it would regain a powerful ally, who would re-commit to join the strives of the realisation of agendas as the Millennial Development Goals and Paris Agreement.

FEPS was observing those developments closely, assessing the changing context, and in parallel reviewing its approach to the portfolio of the projects belonging to the thematic field "Europe in the world". Against this

background, a three-folded framework was defined to make sure that FEPS: 1) delivers a cutting edge-research that would help shape Europe's international agenda and engagement in world affairs in a more progressive way; 2) provides space and influence the debates at the European and international level; and 3) creates bridges and fosters international dialogue. These would be transversal principles for the work in the areas focused on: the EU external action capacity; EU neighbourhood policies; EU strategic partners; EU global solidarities (encompassing issues of global importance and having implications for international actions plans).

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### Results

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In the context of changing political landscape in the US, FEPS has been able to build on the long-standing partnerships as well as on the work carried out in 2020 to provide timely analysis and inputs on: i) how to revive the transatlantic bond around relevant progressive objectives – via a collaboration and joint publication with the Center for American Progress; ii) on how to reignite multilateralism for a more just and prosperous world (with a book and several meetings that built on the network and work done by FEPS on multilateralism in 2022), iii) on the impact of the first months in office for the new Biden Administration – in the framework of the 'State of the Unions' series with the German Marshall Fund.

Other relevant work has been carried out in 2021 to deepen the understanding of EU relationships with two crucial areas of the world and key organisations: the Russian Federation and the African Union. Even though the discussions around the EU-AU summit have been severely impacted by the Covid-19 outbreak, FEPS, in collaboration with the Instituto Affari Internazionali has been able to

provide relevant food for thought on institutional cooperation, as well as on trade and security issues. Even more far-reaching was the work carried out with the Renner Institute and other partners (see the dedicated highlight box) to deepen the understanding of Russia's foreign policy and the possible strategies for Europe.

Throughout 2021, FEPS has also moved to reinforce its footing within the international community, for instance making greater use of its UN ECOSOC observer status, attending the COP26 in Glasgow and expanding the synergies with our sister organisations (such as the S&D Group, PES, Global Progressive Forum and Progressive Alliance) and partners, both in and outside of Europe (for instance with the Broadbent Institute and their annual 'Progress Summit'). Collaborations with the progressive family for the Africa Week and the Global Progressive Forum, as well as the close exchange around the concept of European strategic autonomy signal the vicinity of intents and how fruitful the support of FEPS can be to the European progressives in the domain of international affairs.



## CASE 1 // 'UNITED FOR' AT THE GLOBAL PROGRESSIVE FORUM 2021

After a pause, the Global Progressive Forum (GPF) resumed its activities and organised a high-level conference that took place in Brussels from 18-19 November 2021. The leading topic of the event was "How the Progressive Post-Covid-19 world would look like", which encompassed six thematic sessions on the future of democracy, the New Green Deal, reinventing globalisation, human rights, sustainable cities, wellbeing, and opportunities. FEPS had the privilege to be entrusted with two of the sessions, within which it embedded its annual conference "UNited for a People-powered recovery" and ensured a list of speakers that included: Josep Borrell, Madelaine Albright, Michelle Bachelet, Guy

Ryder, Helen Clarke, Camilla Brückner, Howard Lee Chuan Han, Maria João Rodrigues, and László Andor.



## CASE 2 // EUROPEAN STRATEGIC AUTONOMY

Does the EU have the capacity and agency to set priorities and make decisions autonomously in its external action? What are the necessary political, institutional and material steps to get there? How can strategic autonomy help the EU to face the challenges within and beyond European borders?

To answer these questions, FEPS, in cooperation with the FES Brussels office and the Fondation-Jean-Jaurès, has launched a new flagship research project on "European Strategic Autonomy – pathways to progressive action". Despite the concept getting more central in EU affairs circles every day, there is a persistent lack of clarity on what European strategic autonomy actually means. For this reason, FEPS and partners have put up three working groups to reflect on what the open strategic autonomy agenda may mean for: i) security and defence, ii) economy and trade, iii) technology and digital policy. Thanks to a first-rate network of experts, twelve policy briefs responding to specific policy questions will be produced, some of them in 2021, others in early 2022.



## CASE 3 // EU-RUSSIA RELATIONS

Following the launch of this new project in 2019 and the first round of the debates held in the presence of the High Representative Josep Borrell, FEPS continued its efforts to develop the initiative that would look at the potential new scenarios for the EU-Russia relations. In this endeavour it was supported by a vast consortium of partnering organisations (Renner Institut, Fondazione Socialismo, Fondation Jean Jaures, FES, and Amicus Europae), as also a directly involved group of experts (Andre Gerrits, Peer Teschendorf and Reinhard Krumm). Additionally, it could count on the input from Barbara Roggeven, the first-ever FEPS Visiting Fellow – who completed a paper on the positioning of the respective Social Democratic parties regarding Russia. Her chapter, together with several other articles commissioned ahead of the two online

expert debates, was published online and as a hard copy. Despite the dramatically changed circumstances, they remain an important reference point, providing invaluable insights into pre-war Russia. They also preserve the understanding of all the impediments and irreconcilable differences, which had prevented any genuine rapprochement in the past.



# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# POLITICAL EUROPE

In the recent years, the European Union was faced with weighty pressure tests. First, though Brexit had now become a reality, there seems to be a persisting difficulty to come to terms with its political implications. The referendum that had preceded it, as also the debates around the process on the EU level and inside of the respective member states were considered to carry several existential questions about the future of the European project: from its purpose to its internal functioning. Secondly, the experience of the 2019 elections indicated that serious consideration must be given to the Treaties, the decision-making mechanisms, and the balance among the different institutions. If anything, the Covid-19 pandemic and the multi-faceted crisis that it prompted only reconfirmed the conviction that there was both a demand and a historical opportunity to discuss potential avenues for the political integration in the future.

### Ambition

Those questions led to the launch of the Conference on the Future of Europe. Long awaited and largely criticised at first, it was finally launched on 9 May 2021. Since then, it has provided a space for citizens, civil society, trade unions and elected representatives at all levels to have much needed debates. Its conclusions will become a strong foundation to the call for a convention and far-reaching reforms of the European Union towards a more progressive future. FEPS has been a central actor in the discussion related to the Future of Europe, first looking at how to set up the Conference and then how to influence, and to bring progressive ideas to the debate.

Furthermore, FEPS has worked with its Working Group on Political Union and Transnational Parties to follow legislations on the future of European Political Parties and the reform of the electoral law as key follow-ups to the 2019 elections.

Concerning the UK, FEPS aimed at maintaining a bridge, especially looking at the situation in Scotland.

### Results

In order to influence the Conference on the Future of Europe, a FEPS Expert Group was established, bringing together experts and policy-makers from across member states, which was instrumental and led to the publication of the book *Our European Future* (case 1).

The Working Group on Political Union and Transnational Parties looked at the various elements of the political and electoral system of our Union and brought forward a series of proposals on how to reform it to the benefit of citizens, making it more democratic and inclusive. FEPS also followed closely the debate on the reform of the regulation on European Political Parties and European Political Foundations (case 2).

Lastly, FEPS also worked closely with the Fabian Society looking at the implications of Brexit, not only for the EU-UK relations, but also internally, concerning the internal dynamics between the countries that form the UK, especially Scotland.



## CASE 1 // FEPS EXPERT GROUP ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

Under the leadership of its President, Maria João Rodrigues, FEPS called for an Expert Group on the future of Europe – which completed several reflection rounds in a record time, looking at various key angles: the socio-economic implications of the green and digital transformations, the impact of the Covid-19 crisis, the external action of the EU in a multilateral world, a new generation of EU financial capacity and the next democratic transformation. Their conclusions are reflected a collective book *Our European Future*, the first high-quality book making proposals to the Conference on the Future of Europe, authored by 36 top experts and intellectuals. This book, available in English and French already and soon in German, Italian and Spanish, has been central to the conversation on the Future of Europe. It was distributed at key political events in Berlin, Strasbourg and Ljubljana, and made available across Europe in academic institutions. Since the publication of the book, FEPS has continued to engage in the debates, together with policy-makers and well-known experts, looking notably at the questions of citizen participation and European public goods.



## CASE 2 // WORKING GROUP POLITICAL UNION AND TRANSNATIONAL PARTIES

At the EU level, 2021 was marked by two key legislative processes regarding the reform of its political system. The first was focused on changing the regulations for the European political parties and foundations. The second was looking at how to innovate the European electoral law. Both provided a very important context for the research and reflection within the Working Group on Political Union and Transnational Parties. The four meetings that the WG held were an opportunity to discuss the papers that the respective members were drafting on questions such as: how to reinvigorate and open up transnational parties; how to make the European elections embody stronger the ideals of participatory and representative democracy;

and finally how to approach the challenges resulting from the Spitzenkandidaten process and a need for forming broader political alliances ahead and after the new EP is voted. The results of the deliberations and the summaries of the debates with the MEPs in charge of the respective dossiers (Gabriele Bischoff, Marek Belka and Domenec Ruiz Devesa), as also other representatives of the PES, PES Women, YES and the S&D Group will be published, in 2022, in a new book "Transforming the Political Union: Reinforcing europarties ahead of the European elections".

## CASE 3 // DEVOLUTION PROJECT

FEPS, together with the Fabian Society in Scotland, undertook an ambitious project to analyse the lessons from the two decades of devolution in the UK. The focus was on its meaning for Scotland and for the Scottish parties (including the Labour Party), and on its impact on the attitudes towards different levels of governance (the EU-one included). The initiative featured a survey and a set of focus groups, which provided the data analysed subsequently in the publication "A voice for the future: how Labour can shape the next 20 years of devolution". The contributions there came from the leading researchers of the project – Martin McCluskey and Catherine Sangster – alongside articles by MPs, councillors and academics. The foreword to the volume was offered by the former Prime Minister Gordon Brown. The book was launched twice, for the Scottish and for the European audiences, involving several MEPs, professors, and other experts on the EU-UK relations.



# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# DEFENDING AND DEEPENING DEMOCRACY

Democratic deficit and the pressures under which democracies are placed have been a preoccupation of many analysts for several years. It has been noticed that the traditional forms of political participation attract fewer citizens, seeing many more resorting to protests and backing protest movements instead. It seems that even greater challenges have arisen in the time of Covid-19, where some governments used the opportunity to steer their countries into even more authoritarian paths. Civic rights (i.e. the right to information or freedom of expression and assembly) have been undermined, and space for civic activism, in general, seems to have shrunk.

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### Ambition

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FEPS has been committed to deploying intellectual efforts to provide the most accurate understanding of the diverse aspects of the so-called democratic backslide, as also to provide frameworks within which proposals could be developed on how to safeguard democracies and make them resilient in the future. On the EU level, FEPS has been closely observing the discussion on the "conditionality mechanism" and means through which the Union's institutions can defend principles such as the rule of law. On the national level, it has been engaging in projects that could offer opportunities to look at the specific challenges that the respective states have been facing. It could examine the dynamics behind polarisation and fragmentation of the political stages, rise of right-wing radicalism, and ways in which Social Democrats could push back, being able to block any attempts to derail democratic processes inside of those countries otherwise. Finally, it has also been committed to looking at the current shortcomings of representative, participatory, and deliberative democracies' systems via socio-economic lenses. That was underpinning the effort to examine the political attitudes of the generation of young Europeans in what follows the previous flagship FEPS project "Millennials".

Additionally, FEPS came to the conclusion that as a European think tank it would like to offer a unique added value and aim at profiling the conversation about how to defend and deepen democracy in a distinctive progressive manner. This is also why it launched a multifaceted review process with a help of an external consultant and the engagement of all its governing bodies and members to identify the building blocks for this thematic field in the future.

## CASE 1 // BUILDERS FOR PROGRESS

Following the proud tradition of the "Millennial Dialogue" FEPS, together with its partners PES, Think Young, Felipe González Foundation, AKM Stiftung, Fondation Jean Jaurès and Društvo Progressiva designed a survey that helps understand dreams, objectives and attitudes of the representative of the Millennial and Z generations in Europe. The focus groups, as also a questionnaire have been developed with Think Young, with whom FEPS has been working for several years already and together with which it prepared the first two 'sneak peek' sessions that shed the light on some of the results. At the dawn of 2022,

the efforts continue to organise a very rich material obtained from samples collected in ten countries into one comprehensive report and the country-case dossiers. The objective remains to offer both the insights and the political counsel, aimed at building bridges and reconnecting progressive parties with young citizens. To mark a change in the scope and new beginning for this project, also a new communication strategy has been developed for it resulting also in a new branding "Builders for Progress".

## CASE 2 // LET ME SAY THIS

This unique initiative was focused on bringing into the spotlight activists, who are driven by a passionate commitment to engage in politics and whose actions contribute to making a difference. The project was realised with the support of FMS in the Netherlands and brought the viewers to diverse corners of both Europe and Africa – allowing fighters for gender equality, democracy, human rights, sustainability and education for all, to speak up and tell their respective personal stories. Each of the videos would provide inspiration and would be followed by a live interview,

both ensuring a powerful message that each and everyone's contribution matters in a joint struggle to



## CASE 3 // VOTING DURING PANDEMICS

For years already, FEPS and ISI in Bulgaria have been conducting a project labelled "election observations". On its fundamentals, the two organisations joined forces to design a new initiative – which would look at the elections in the region of Central and Eastern Europe in the specific period of Covid-19. At the origin, there was the hypothesis that the limitations were introduced in order to protect people and contain the disease, had an unavoidable impact on i.e. the possibility to run a full-fledge electoral campaign. Additionally, in some of the countries, it seemed that they offered a window of opportunity for those, who wished to temper the electoral laws. With those initial thoughts in mind, FEPS together with ISI invited to the cooperation Centrum Ignacego Daszynskiego, Masarykova Akademie, Društvo Progressiva, Policy Solutions and FSD, with whom it identified researchers – who then completed the papers respectively answering three questions: *what have been the reforms to the electoral law? How did Covid influence the campaigns? How the pandemic changed the nature of post-electoral negotiations.* The results were presented at an expert seminar and subsequently published as paper series.

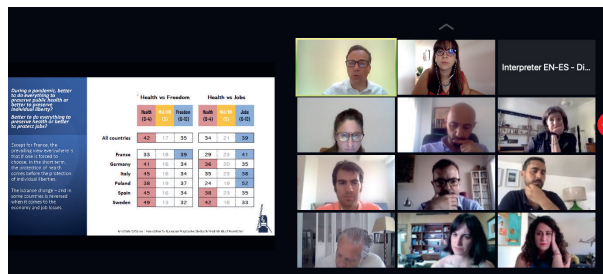


# FEPS AT WORK: RESEARCH AND STUDIES

## MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS

# NEXT LEFT

The FEPS Next Left Research Programme is a flagship initiative, which, since its inception in 2009, remains a reference point for Social Democrats across Europe and beyond. Founded with the support of the Renner Institut, the Programme is currently chaired by Andreas Schieder (MEP and head of the SPÖ Delegation to the European Parliament). In the past months, it has undergone an important transformation, which saw the establishment of a High-Level Conversation (working in parallel with the Focus Group and offering a stage for exchange between the leading academics and politicians), as also the development of a new toolbox (which includes audio-visual materials that are soon available in the context of the FEPS Open Progressive University). What is more, the scope of the Programme was broadened, with a number of new initiatives, which focused on, for example, the particular positioning of Social Democrats in the CEE region, and on strategic polling.



## Ambition

At the end of 2021, European Social Democrats were looking back at the year that brought immense changes. There was a new political map. On the one hand, rather unexpectedly, the SPD, under the leadership of Olaf Scholz, won the elections in Germany and was entrusted with the mission of building a governmental coalition. In the North, the progressives remained in power in Finland, Denmark, and Sweden, and won a difficult election in Norway. In the south, PD was successful in regional and local elections, seeing Roberto Gualtieri elected mayor of Rome. The predictions for Portugal and Malta, which held parliamentary elections in the first quarter of 2022, were reassuring. But on the other hand, the Dutch PvdA noted a very poor result and saw the voters move to other political parties inside of the centre-left. In October, the Czech CSSD did not manage to cross the parliamentary threshold and found itself outside of the parliament. And the three elections in a row in Bulgaria did not appear to be a charm for BSP, which noted a new historical low. At the dawn of 2022, it looked like the Hungarian all-opposition coalition (from left to the extreme right) would still find it hard to combat the incumbent FIDESZ. SD Slovenia was expecting a rough campaign. And the polls were most discouraging ahead of the Presidential elections in France.

The overall reflection was that progressive ideals and ideas may have been more in demand since the Covid-19 pandemic. And that the predictability and appearance of being a traditional party could help attract voters in times of instability. But as the reality changed, the political stages became more polarised and fragmented, Social Democrats could not expect that this would help their return to a position of a majoritarian party. They need to reflect on what kind of an agenda would embody their understanding of equality, social justice, and progress for all, and would serve as a bridge to build alliances with other political stakeholders, trade unions, and civil society. They need to keep on drawing lessons from the experience of governing in tough times, showcasing that they have regained confidence in themselves and the ability to think both short and long term. And they need to ponder what kind of an organisation would allow them to open up, accommodating new patterns of political participation (including online).

These are just the headlines of some profound reflections, which, regardless of the particular parties' positioning, will remain at the core of the preoccupation of progressive politicians and thinkers – and hence will frame the reflection within the FEPS Next Left Research Programme.

## CASE 1 // HIGH-LEVEL CONVERSATIONS

FEPS High-Level Conversation continued to be a space for debates and reflection about the medium- and long-term challenges that progressives are facing, when it comes to their ideology, programmes and organisational developments. Next to inputs prepared by the respective honourable members, the meetings of this group provided also an opportunity to engage in debates with prominent politicians and to open a new stream within the Next Left, which would be more oriented on direct political counselling.

In parallel, the Next Left Focus Group used the year to develop, discuss and review the original research papers. The process was most intense and included, for example, a legendary online-marathon, which was a two-days long on-line meeting filled with the several rounds of the peer reviews. The results will be available in the first half of the 2022 – in a form of two volumes, a pamphlet-memo and a set of lectures, all produced and published thanks to the invaluable support of the Renner Institut.

## CASE 2 // THE STATE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE VISEGRÁD GROUP

Social Democratic parties from the four countries of the Visegrád group have been frequently classified into one group, seen as parties that rose quickly but are facing hardship and decline now. Evidently, though there are many common characteristics, the picture is more nuanced. The analyses of what connects and what distinguishes CSSD, MSZP and DK, Nowa Lewica, and SMER were at the focus of the research project,

which was set with an aim to provide an answer about the potential and prospects of those stakeholders in the context of a historical fight for democracy in the region. The outcomes – four case study-papers and a comparative chapter – will soon be available in a new volume by FEPS, Policy Solution, Masarykova Akademia, and Centrum Ignacego Daszyńskiego.

## CASE 3 // EU PUBLIC OPINION DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC SURVEYS

There is no doubt that Covid-19 was a profound and transformative experience. It put life as we know it on hold, it magnified the existing challenges, and it prompted irreversible new developments in the world of labour that would not be held back. Against this backdrop, Social Democrats, especially when in government, performed well. They seem to have been able to provide a much-needed reassurance, combining crisis management with integrity in pursuing a progressive agenda. But is the revival of the ideas of a caring welfare state with a robust public sector here to stay? Is the trust in state and its institutions firm? What are the expectations, concerning Europe and international organisations? Those and other questions guided a survey, which was used in two waves to measure the citizens' attitudes and their change across the two years of Covid-19 within six EU member states. The initiative has been realised in cooperation with FES, whereby the academic support for collecting data was provided by Instituto Cattaneo and Dynata. The closed round tables

organised with the support of FES local offices (in Brussels, Warsaw, Madrid, Stockholm) and partnering organisations (Centrum Ignacego Daszyńskiego, Fundation Pablo Iglesias, Felipe Gonzalez Foundation, Foundation Alternativas, Olaf Palme Center, Fondation Jean Jaures). The final report, wrapping up the project and providing strategic advice for Social Democrats especially in the analysed countries – Poland, Germany, Italy, France, Spain and Sweden – has been completed by Kieskompas.



## FEPS AT WORK: OUTREACH

# NEW POLICY SERIES

### Financing the EU Green Deal Policy Breakfast Meetings

In 2021, FEPS introduced a new series to boost its impact on the policy debate around relevant European dossiers. The new format consists of a 45 minutes early-morning meeting featuring a short policy presentation and a solid policy proposal or analysis, plus the input of a well-known discussant and a brief exchange with the participants. For the moment, this new format has only run digitally via Zoom with a good response in terms of participation.

The first series has been dedicated to "Financing the EU Green Deal" in order to focus on the need to transform the European economy, relaunch investment and tax policy for the service of the climate transition and the implementation of the EU Green Deal. Overall, FEPS' Policy Breakfast series on Financing the EU Green Deal consisted of four Wednesday morning sessions analysing the question of how to pay for the climate transition: 1) the role of European and national development banks in financing the transition with key figures in this sector; 2) new economic resources for the green transition,

including the potential of a European net wealth tax to raise substantial revenues, the carbon border adjustment mechanism and the Emission Trading System reform; 3) the role of central banks in fighting climate change; and 4) the issue of greenwashing that have proliferated with the spectacular growth of sustainable finance offerings over the past years.

The exercise was considered an effective way to present FEPS' work and contributions to its network of experts, particularly Brussels-based operators, whilst establishing FEPS as a relevant player in the specific policy domain. The Policy Breakfast Meetings will therefore be replicated in 2022 with a focus on Data Policy (first semester) and employment policy (second semester).

FEPS  
FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN  
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES





POLICY BREAKFAST SERIES

# FINANCING THE EU GREEN DEAL

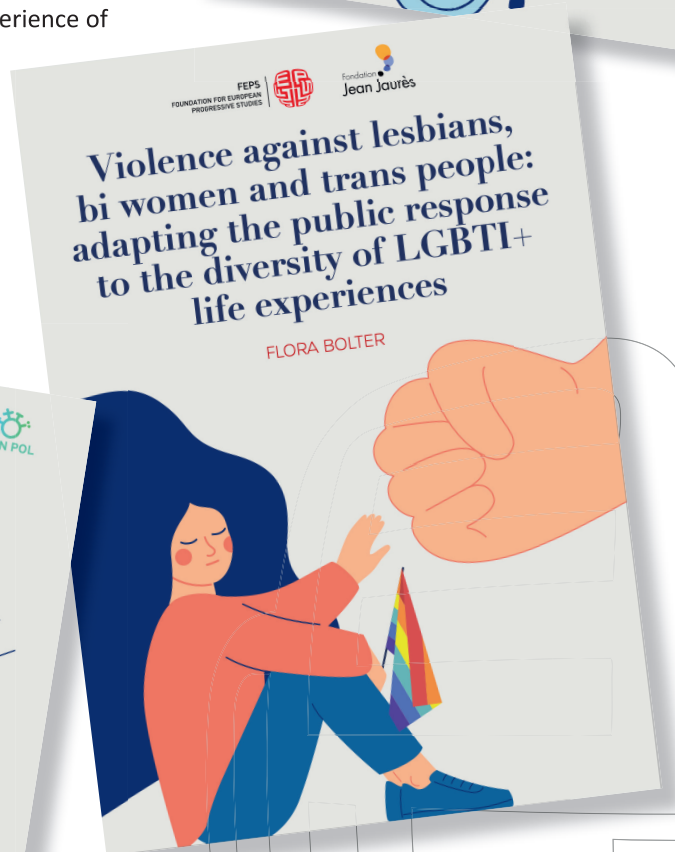
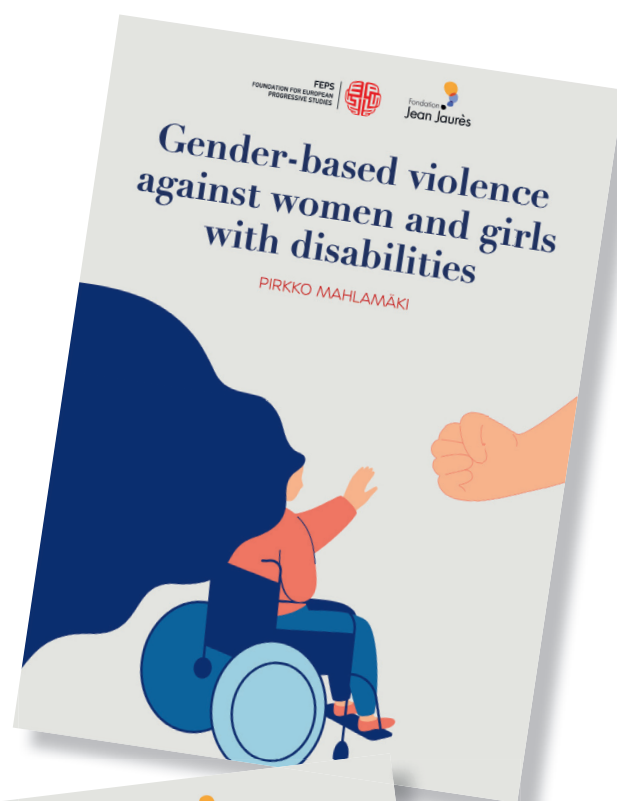


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## STOP GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE PUBLICATION SERIES

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In order to showcase the breadth of gender-based violence (GBV) and its link to gendered inequalities, FEPS and the Fondation Jean Jaurès have joined forces for this series of publications on the fight to eliminate sexist and sexual violence. Each publication looks into a different angle regarding GBV, recognising the intersection of gender with other discriminations such as sexuality, disability or economic status. In the continuity of the previous year's articles, the themes put forth in 2021 revolved around emerging manifestations of GBV. Due to the growing place of new technologies in our lives, the series namely explored the scope of cyberviolence. Moreover, the series addressed the specific experience of certain groups of women and girls who are particularly exposed to GBV due to the interlocking forms of inequalities they encounter as women and girls but also based on their disabilities, their sexual orientation or gender identity.



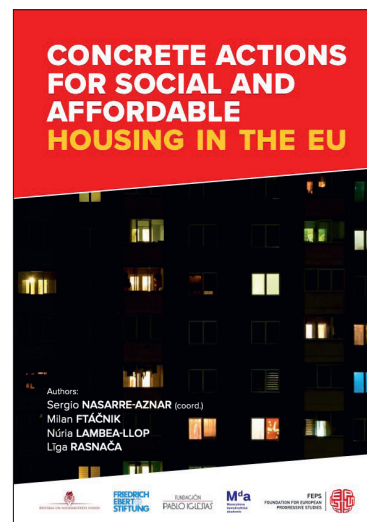
## FEPS AT WORK: OUTREACH

# POLICY CONTRIBUTIONS



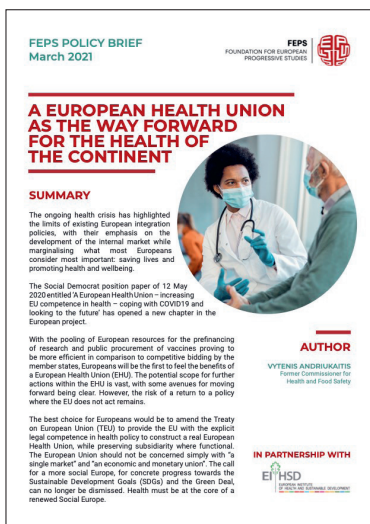
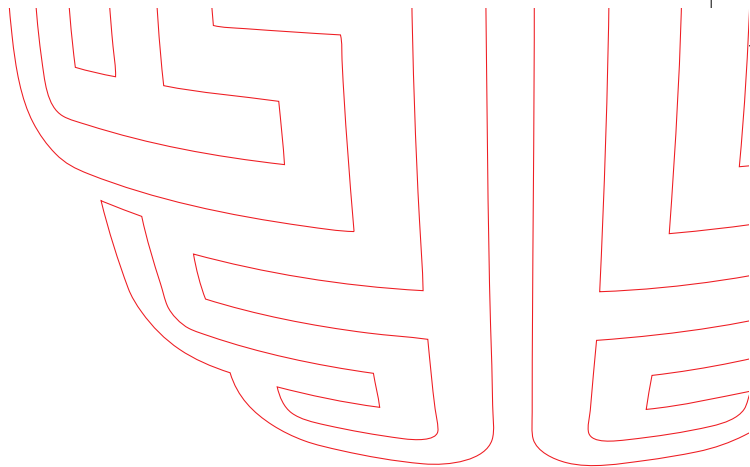
### Unequal Europe | Policy Study

The policy study "Unequal Europe – Tackling Regional Disparities in Europe" by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and FEPS brings together the results of national policy studies developed to investigate the extent of regional disparities in eight member states: Germany, France, Spain, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Italy and Romania. The starting point of the study is the growing social and spatial polarisation between economically developed centres and peripheral regions in the EU, each reinforcing the upward or downward movement of the other. These divergences have been fuelled by external factors such as structural change, globalisation, and severe economic crises. In this policy study, Björn Hacker recommends a shift from the current paradigm of competition and growth to an integrated European economic and social policy aimed at building protection and resilience in the face of global challenges such as pandemics or climate change.



### Concrete Actions for Social and Affordable Housing in the EU | Policy Study

In this Policy Study, Sergio Nasarre-Aznar, Nùria Lambea-Llop, Milan Ftáčnik and Līga Rasnača identify the main challenges relative to social and affordable housing in Europe and help to categorise the common trends affecting all member states. They also provide a thorough assessment of housing policy in selected countries (Spain, the Netherlands, the UK, Slovakia, Austria, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia) in order to generate valuable lessons and good practices in the field of financing, inclusiveness, affordability, and sustainability in housing policy. They propose practical and policy-oriented solutions that deliver tangible results for the citizens with a look at both local and European measures. Deepening, broadening, and updating the pre-existing institutions that provide accessible housing services in various forms, as well as adopting new methodologies for affordable housing, would constitute a major step forward for the European community. This policy study is part of a year-long project in partnership with the Fundación Pablo Iglesias, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Baltics, Brīvības un solidaritātes fonds and Masarykova demokratická akademie, exploring multilevel recommendations and actionable points for regional, national and European actions to enhance access to a decent, inclusive and sustainable place to live. The report was presented as part of the housing week, in collaboration with the PES Group in the European Committee of the Regions.



## A European Health Union as the way forward for the health of the continent | Policy Brief

This policy brief by former EU commissioner Vytienis Andriukaitis analyses why the best choice for Europeans would be to amend the Treaty on European Union to provide the EU with the explicit legal competence in health policy to construct a real European Health Union while preserving subsidiarity where it is functional. The ongoing health crisis has highlighted the limits of existing European integration policies, with their emphasis on the development of the internal market while marginalising what most Europeans consider most important: saving lives and promoting health and wellbeing.

The pooling of European resources for the prefinancing of research and public procurement of vaccines has proved to be more efficient than the competitive bidding by the member states. Therefore, Europeans will be the first to feel the benefits of a European Health Union (EHU). The potential scope for further actions within the EHU is vast, with some clear avenues for moving forward. However, the risk of a return to a policy where the EU does not act remains.

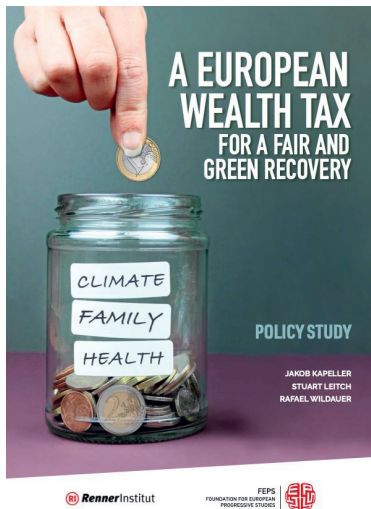


## Is a €10 Trillion European Climate Investment Initiative Fiscally Sustainable? | Policy Study

Europe lacks the infrastructure that is needed to become carbon neutral in time to fulfil its commitments under the Paris agreement. €850 billion is likely to be required annually, on top of current investment expenditure. This policy study by Rafael Wildauer, Stuart Leitch and Jakob Kapeller assesses the economic and fiscal impact of a large-scale publicly funded investment initiative targeted at putting the required green infrastructure in place quickly and at scale. The authors estimate the impact of such an investment initiative on GDP growth and public sector finances and stress that thanks to the fiscal multiplier, there is no risk of growing public debts. The core scenario which looks at the impact of a €10 trillion investment initiative undertaken over the course of ten years finds that such an investment push would lead to a fall in public debt ratios: each euro of green public investment generates a GDP increase of 5 euro within a decade.

# FEPS AT WORK: OUTREACH

# POLICY CONTRIBUTIONS



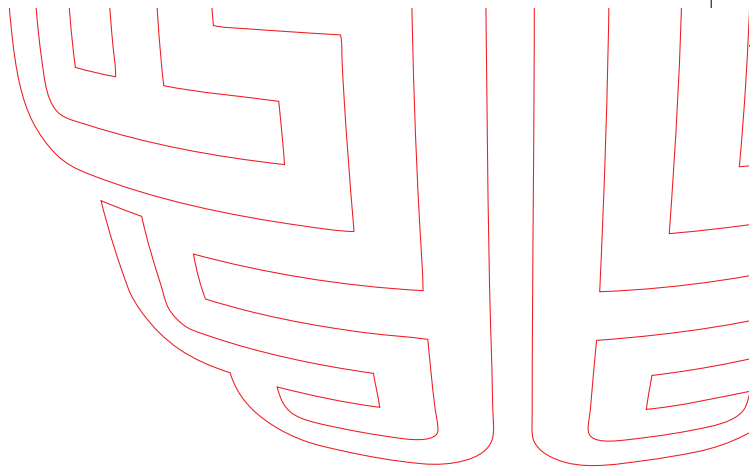
## A European Wealth Tax for a Fair and Green Recovery | Policy Study

The climate emergency requires an unprecedented volume of public resources to make the European economy sustainable. The question of how to raise these funds without jeopardising an already weak recovery from the pandemic, while at the same time doing so in a fair way without undermining broad political support for climate action, poses a major political and economic challenge. Jakob Kapeller, Stuart Leitch and Rafael Wildauer investigate the potential of a European net wealth tax to raise substantial revenues while supporting the economy and the consensus on climate action. To calculate the revenue potential of an EU wealth tax, household survey data from the European Central Bank covering 22 EU countries are analysed. This policy study shows that a European net wealth tax has the potential to make a substantial contribution to the EU's efforts to organise a decisive response to the twin crises of Covid-19 and climate change. The revenue potential is substantial and lies between 1.6 and 3.0 per cent of GDP annually when considering moderate proposals for wealth taxation and even taking into account some degree of tax evasion.



## Towards a European Individual Learning Account

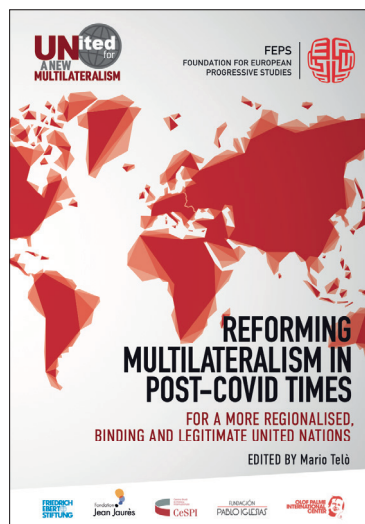
The European Union has set ambitious goals to upskill and reskill the European workforce and make it fit to drive the transformations and transitions underway. This policy brief, and the report it is based on, has highlighted the need for a systemic change towards a life-cycle approach to learning and put forward proposals that can help deliver on this objective. Skills development, because it is a topic so deeply intertwined with social and economic considerations, has the potential to build consensus for action among all member states, social partners and all the members of the adult learning community, both at European and national levels. The Social Summit in Porto and the upcoming initiative of the European Commission on ILAs should provide opportunities to find common grounds and create the "right to training for each worker, during all their life" that Jacques Delors was already calling for 30 years ago.



## In Our Hands: Progressive Ideas for a Renewed and Repurposed Trans-Atlantic Bond | Policy Study

Published on the very days of President Biden's entry into office, the report "In Our Hands: Progressive Ideas for a Renewed and Repurposed Trans-Atlantic Bond" by FEPS and the Center for American Progress (CAP) urges Europe and the United States to renew the foundation of their historic trans-Atlantic bond, repairing the damage caused by four years of outright hostility and neglect.

The authors highlight four key areas that demand urgent attention: i) foster an inclusive growth agenda that takes aim at inequality by finally addressing both symptoms and root causes, ii) deepen the shared commitment to free, open, and just societies by strengthening the democratic core of American and European communities, iii) thwart digital authoritarianism by increasing the accountability and transparency of digital practices and actors while strengthening the safeguards against efforts to weaponise (dis)information, iv) adopt a new joint strategic global vision.



## Reforming Multilateralism in Post-Covid-19 times – For a more regionalised, binding, and legitimate United Nations

Building on the work on multilateralism carried out in 2020, FEPS has published a book by Mario Telò in early 2021 to further reflect on the dynamic trends that already exist in the multilateral world, going beyond a mere continuity with the past and addressing with courage the current deficits in multilateral legitimacy, representation and efficiency.

The author describes how the world is facing a paradox. While the Covid-19 pandemic has confirmed the transnational and common nature of challenges such as infectious diseases, climate change, security, financial stability, extreme poverty, sustainable development, terrorism, etc, the main responses have been at the national and local levels. And multilateral global governance has been shown to be particularly weak. Defending the past multilateral legacy, and at the same time simply implementing a few managerial adjustments, is not a serious option. We, therefore, bring substantial arguments showing the urgent need to build a 'new multilateralism'.

## FEPS AT WORK: OUTREACH

# PROGRESSIVE POST FAMILY

Since 2016, the Progressive Post is the printed and online magazine of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies. In these first five years of its existence, the magazine has changed in format, organisation and ambitions, if not in the layout, but it has always confirmed its mission: to look at trends and changes occurring at national, European and international levels through the lenses of progressives and Social Democratic values, and to offer informed and thought-provoking analyses of European debates, challenges, and developments. This has been done thanks to the involvement of a wide network of progressive policy-makers, academics, experts, and activists, to whom the magazine is also addressed. In the course of 2021, the focus has been on economic and social questions (digital capitalism, recovery, fiscal rules, care economy, migration, education, platform workers), international affairs (enlargement, relations with the US, strategic autonomy, COP26), and the state of Social Democracy (in particular in Eastern Europe). Besides the printed magazine, the Progressive Post family has other lively and flexible tools that aim to reach out to a wider audience using different platforms and media: the Progressive Page, FEPS Talks, the European Progressive Observatory and the Progressive Yearbook.

### Progressive Post: the magazine

The Progressive Post's main goal is to reach out to European progressives, offering them tools to better understand the debates that revolve around key European issues, while at the same being a showcase for the wide analytical work done by and within FEPS. Since 2020, the magazine is published only in English and it features on a regular basis a special coverage and a focus, as well as dossiers, debates, interviews and book reviews.

- Issue #15 – Winter edition: Education in Europe: striving for quality and equality
- Issue #16 – Spring/Summer edition: Social rights for platform workers
- Issue #17 – Autumn edition: EU Strategic autonomy. Gauging the opportunities, avoiding the pitfalls.



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## Progressive Page

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The Progressive Page is a short opinion page (about 800 words) that is published weekly on the Progressive Post webpage and is disseminated by a dedicated newsletter. It is written alternatively by FEPS authors (President, Secretary General and Directors) and outstanding guest authors (renowned policymakers, academics, and experts). In 2021, the Progressive Page was authored by (among the many other outstanding experts) Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz, European Commissioners Elisa Ferreira and Helena Dalli, several members of the European Parliament, like Tanja Fajon, Robert Biedrón, and Juan F. López Aguilar, national ministers, like Svenja Schulze, or directors of international agencies, such as Marisol Touraine. In 2021, we published 43 Progressive Pages tackling a wide range of issues from the Portuguese EU Presidency to the Biden administration's performance, from the vaccination campaigns to poverty and hunger, from the state of the rule of law in Europe to international affairs.



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## FEPS Talks

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The Progressive Post tries to appeal also to those who have less time to read, but some time to listen to interesting and stimulating conversations, while they drive, take a bus or do some jogging. FEPS Talks are podcasts of 20-25 minutes, each featuring a dialogue between the FEPS Secretary General or FEPS Policy Analysts and prominent progressive policymakers, members of the academia or the civil society. In 2021, FEPS recorded 47 podcasts, with outstanding European and international personalities such as Nadia Calviño, Vice President of the Spanish Government and Minister for Economy and Digitalisation, Katerina Barley, Vice-President of the European Parliament, Derek Mitchell, President of the National Democratic Institute and former US Ambassador, or Jana Maláčová, Czech Minister of Labour and Social Affairs.



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## European Progressive Observatory

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The European Progressive Observatory (EPO) aims to cover elections in Europe and key elections elsewhere. In the course of 2021, EPO has offered to its readers sharp and timely analysis on elections in the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Germany, Czech Republic and Cyprus. EPO articles are published on the Progressive Post website and disseminated via a newsletter.

## FEPS AT WORK: HIGHLIGHTS

# CALL TO EUROPE X RECOVERING EUROPE: MIND THE SOCIAL GAPS!

@ONLINE 25-27 MAY 2021

### Brief Description

*Recovering Europe: Mind the Social Gaps* was the topic of the tenth edition of Call to Europe, FEPS' annual flagship conference. Its focus was on how Progressives can be at the forefront of fighting inequalities and ensuring an inclusive and sustainable recovery for Europe in times of Covid-19.

Call to Europe X was a three-day highly interactive virtual festival, which included cultural activities, online competitions, and storytelling by progressive changemakers.

Following the Porto Summit and the launch of the Future of Europe conference, FEPS joined forces with twelve partners, and with its network of Socialists and Social Democrats across Europe in view of mobilising action towards Social Europe!

Commissioner Elisa Ferreira, Former High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini, Ministers Enrico Giovannini and Pierre Yves Dermagne were among the many extraordinary speakers that contributed to the tenth edition of Call to Europe.

Day one of Call to Europe celebrated ten years of progressive thinking where FEPS, Call to Europe speakers and partners summarised the ten years of the project, its main achievements and political messages. Many of the contributors and friends from past Call to Europe editions took part and reconnected with FEPS again.

Day two focused on how the European progressive family can be in the lead of Europe's post-Covid-19 recovery and ensure that it is socially just and inclusive. It hosted a high-level ministerial panel and a feminist culture café among many other interesting settings of progressive talks.

Day three brought about forward-looking views on how progressive forces can realise such a recovery. On this occasion, the book 'Our European Future', a project led by FEPS President Maria João Rodrigues and a network of academic experts was launched in the presence of the President of the Socialists and Democrats Group in the European Parliament, Iratxe García Pérez, and President of the Party of European Socialists, Sergei Stanishev, as a contribution by FEPS to the European progressive family in the context of the Future of Europe conference.







## Milestones

- Call to Europe 10-year anniversary held online
- Conceptualisation of fully virtual grand slam of progressive thinking
- New engagement actions with participants, partners, and speakers
- Revamped visual identity, call to action and brand video

## Partners

Socialists and Democrats Group in the European Parliament, Party of European Socialists, Young European Socialists, PES Group at the European Committee of the Regions, Rainbow Rose, European Seniors Organisation, Think Young, Mondo Internazionale Hub, European Horizons Amsterdam, Eyes on Europe

## Key figures

- 12 partners
- "My Call to Europe" t-shirt and video campaign with speakers and partners
- 78 speakers
- Over 100 participants

## FEPS AT WORK: HIGHLIGHTS

# CALL TO EUROPE SLOVENIA



On 6 December 2021, FEPS, Društvo Progresiva and the regional office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES Zagreb) organised the first-ever local edition of Call to Europe, reshaping the brand of FEPS's flagship annual event in order to meet and involve local communities and policymakers.

The main idea was to bring a Call to Europe conference in the country holding the Presidency of the European Union and Slovenia, in December, was about to pass on the torch of the European semester presidency to France.

Call to Europe Slovenia was the occasion to debate three main themes:

- EU integration in the field of health policy, after the pandemic experience.
- Free media in Europe, and its role in sustaining democracy and the rule of law.
- The future of Europe – key issues for citizens in the coming decade.

The success of this first regional experiment strengthened FEPS' resolution to consider developing other local Call to Europe events in the future.



## FEPS AT WORK: HIGHLIGHTS

# BOOK 'OUR EUROPEAN FUTURE'

The book *'Our European Future: Charting a Progressive Course in the World'*, published in May 2021 and launched during the FEPS Flagship event "Call to Europe", was the first high-quality book with proposals for the **Conference on the Future of Europe**, authored by 36 top experts and intellectuals and edited by FEPS President Maria João Rodrigues, with the collaboration of François Balate.

With the Conference on the Future of Europe underway, it was high time to support a real debate of ideas. This book offers solutions to rethink our socioeconomic model in the light of the environmental and digital transformations; to redefine Europe's role in the world to contribute to renewed multilateralism; to strengthen investment in public goods; and finally, to re-invent our democratic contract. It brings together the insights of renowned experts from across Europe, and it is a handy guide for any progressive thinker, policymaker or activist, and for any citizen who would like to take part in the necessary democratic debate about our future.

The world is facing many great challenges: from pandemics to climate change, and from increasing inequality to the issues surrounding digitalisation. In this new and rapidly changing global landscape, Europe must look for solutions to these difficulties to follow up on its impressive decades-long process of integration. Europe has the capacity to chart a progressive course in the world. *Our European Future* offers a path to follow.

The book is now available in English and French and soon in German, Italian and Spanish.



# FEPS AT WORK: HIGHLIGHTS

## CARE4CARE

It took us a global pandemic to realise that **we depend on care**. But despite all the clapping, care workers continue to work in precarious and vulnerable conditions.

Women, who represent 70% of the care workforce, continue to suffer from a severe **lack of recognition** for both their paid and unpaid care work. The essential everyday tasks in our homes, performed by an overwhelming majority of women, remain unacknowledged.

It's time for a care revolution! It's time to **#Care4Care!**

FEPS, together with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and other member foundations, has been closely monitoring the EU gender equality policy agenda through a progressive lens focusing particularly on its care dimensions.

The research project #Care4Care started in 2019, before the pandemic, to investigate a paradigm shift towards a fairer, care-focused Europe, and ideas on how to react to the lack of attention towards the care work sector.

Over the last two years, it has developed **a care framework supporting the EU gender equality strategy**.

The project resulted in publications, articles, events, media presence and other outreach activities such as a communications campaign on the occasion of the International Women's Day. It will keep delivering new materials and research insights in the years to come.

As a proud feminist think tank, FEPS has made gender equality one of its leading priorities. After all, progressivism can only go hand in hand with feminism.

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### The Policy Brief series

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This Policy Brief Series launched in 2021 gives centre stage to Care4Care-related research. Each policy brief zoomed into a specific dimension of care to identify common challenges and possible good practices, and drew concrete recommendations to feed useful policy responses at the European and national level.

Two policy briefs were published in 2021: "Vital Yet Vulnerable: Europe's Intra-EU Migrant Caregivers" and "Part-time Work: Risk or Opportunity?"

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### Care4Care-related events

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A number of events - either inspired by the project itself or related to its core theme and mission - were held in 2021 with the involvement or support of FEPS.

The first one was the **'7th Barbara Prammer Symposium'** dedicated to Gender Sensitive COVID-19 Responses, held on 18 January.

On 4 March, FEPS and partners held **'Towards a fairer, care-focused Europe!'** as part of the 2021 International Women's Day celebrations and of the **'6th S&D Youth Progressive Forum'**. The event aspired to identify the challenges and formulate concrete (and progressive) recommendations for a real shift towards a people-oriented Europe.

Besides Part 2 of the Progress Summit 2021, titled **'Building a Caring Economy to Speed Recovery'**, it is worth recalling also **'Care Workers on the COVID-19 Frontline'** organised on 4 May by the European Public Service Union (EPSU) together with FEPS, the Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung (FES), Kommunal and Arena Idé.



CARE4CARE POLICY BRIEF SERIES | 2/2021

## Does Europe Care for Care?

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE STUDIES

### PART-TIME WORK: RISK OR OPPORTUNITY?

DR JANNA BESAMUSCA AND DR MARA A. YERKES  
Utrecht University

OCTOBER 2021

**INTRODUCTION**

Part-time work, in particular women's share in part-time work, is inextricably linked to care and caring.<sup>1</sup> In most European countries, part-time work is highest among mothers with children under the age of 12.<sup>2</sup> The intertwining of care and maternal employment has become very clear during the pandemic. Mothers in many countries reduced their working hours to take on the extra care resulting from the closure of schools and day care centres. In some countries, this has led to a reinforcement of women's roles as caregivers, potentially leading to a reinforcement of women's overrepresentation in part-time work. Multiple countries within and outside Europe struggle with this gendered and unequal nature of part-time work and its effects (see Figure 1 below).

But to move forward from the pandemic and develop sound policy solutions to the problems associated with part-time work, we first need to clarify the issue. Thinking of care and part-time work as primarily about mothers combining paid work and care is not an accurate picture of the part-time issue. Crucially, part-time work

is no longer exclusively a mother's issue, as young men, childless women, low skilled and ethnic minority workers are regularly found in increasingly precarious part-time work positions. For example, migrants are not necessarily more likely to be employed part-time but are clearly overrepresented among involuntary part-time workers.<sup>3</sup> Part-time work can also be more disadvantageous for certain groups, such as single parents, with single parents more likely to be earnings-poor in countries where work-care flexibility is higher.<sup>4</sup>

The part-time work force is thus diverse both in terms of composition (who works part-time) and working conditions (with what types of part-time jobs). When we broaden our view, we see that part-time work is often more precarious than full-time work and a substantial share of those employed part-time consists of workers who would prefer to work more hours. Part-time work is also common among shift workers, who are mostly employed in low to medium paid blue-collar occupations that require staff to work outside the 'usual' 9 to 5 hours to accommodate opening hours in service and health care industries, like supermarket workers, restaurant workers, or nurses.

1 Yerkes, M.A. 2009. Part-time Work in the Dutch Welfare State: the ideal combination of work and care? *Policy and Politics*, 37(6), 535-562. <https://doi.org/10.1039/b906435g>

2 [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&code=sdg\\_8\\_4\\_2018](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&code=sdg_8_4_2018)

3 Rubin, Jennifer, Michael S. Rendall, Lila Rabinovich, Flavia Tsang, Constantijn van Oranje-Nassau, and Barbara Janta, 2008. Migrant women in the European labour force: Current situation and future prospects. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, [https://www.rand.org/pubs/technical\\_reports/TR590.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/technical_reports/TR590.html).

4 Horemans, J. & I. Marx, 2018. Doesn't anyone else care? Variation in poverty among single working parents in Europe. In *The Triple End of Single Parent Families*. B. Neuwirths & L. Maldonado. Bristol: Policy Press. <https://brill.com/openurl?view=web/viewer/html?file=/content/html/9781801130225/0203/1642375.pdf?sequence=1&isIocViewed=1>

CARE4CARE POLICY BRIEF SERIES | 1/2021

## Does Europe Care for Care?

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE STUDIES

### VITAL YET VULNERABLE: EUROPE'S INTRA-EU MIGRANT CAREGIVERS

DR PETRA EZZEDDINE  
Charles University, Prague

SEPTEMBER 2021

**CLOSING EUROPE'S CARE GAP**

Late modern societies face a chronic care shortage. Their populations are ageing, and the traditional assumption that families (and predominantly their female members) represent an unlimited, endlessly flexible reservoir of care has been challenged.<sup>1</sup> There is an indisputable social need for institutions to care for elderly people and for hired domestic care workers. Within the EU, internal migrants (predominantly female migrants) provide much of the workforce to meet these needs, yet current care policies put them in a highly vulnerable labour position.<sup>2</sup>

In most of the EU, policy reforms have aimed to create a space for individualised, economically efficient formal care, while supporting informal care in the home. This transformation has produced a growing emphasis on cost-effectiveness and cost-accounting, which in turn created additional pressure to reduce the cost of care work and caregivers' wages. Care work has undergone a form of Taylorisation, manifested in its fragmentation

into partial tasks, delivered to a pre-set schedule, and an increasing performance pressure on caregivers. Meanwhile, the introduction of cash-for-care benefits and accompanying changes has boosted a market framework that centres on the consumer-provider relationship and promotes the commodification of care.<sup>3</sup>

The persistent demand for caregivers – predominantly women – offers a way out of female long-term unemployment, and represents an employment opportunity for migrant women. Yet it also leaves women vulnerable to exploitation and marginalisation.<sup>4</sup> Care work is defined as low-skilled, offering them very poor salary conditions and limited opportunities to assert their interests and labour rights. This vulnerability only intensifies for migrant women. As Uhde and Ezzeddine argue, the condition and position of migrant care workers varies considerably, depending on their legal migration status, cultural perceptions of their country of origin, their specific work setting, the legal relationship between employer and employee, and on migration, gender and care regimes in particular national contexts.<sup>5</sup>

1 Dudová, B. 2015. Caring for Elderly Parents: New Commitment of the Third Age. *Sociologický časopis / Czech Sociological Review*, 51(6): 903-928.

2 Uhde Z., Ezzeddine P. 2020. The political economy of social reproduction: cross-border care mobility in the Czech Republic. In Melighi A., Katarina N. (Eds.). *Towards a society of care? Tensions and contradictions in transnational elderly care systems in central and eastern Europe*, pp. 26-44. Budapest: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

3 Ibid footnote 2.

4 Marginalisation also manifests itself in the migrant/care worker's isolation when working at home with the elderly, which can become a significant obstacle to integration and social inclusion.

5 Uhde Z., Ezzeddine P. 2019. Transnational Migration: Border, Gender and Global Justice Challenges. *Gender a Výzkum / Gender and Research* 20 (1): 3-17.

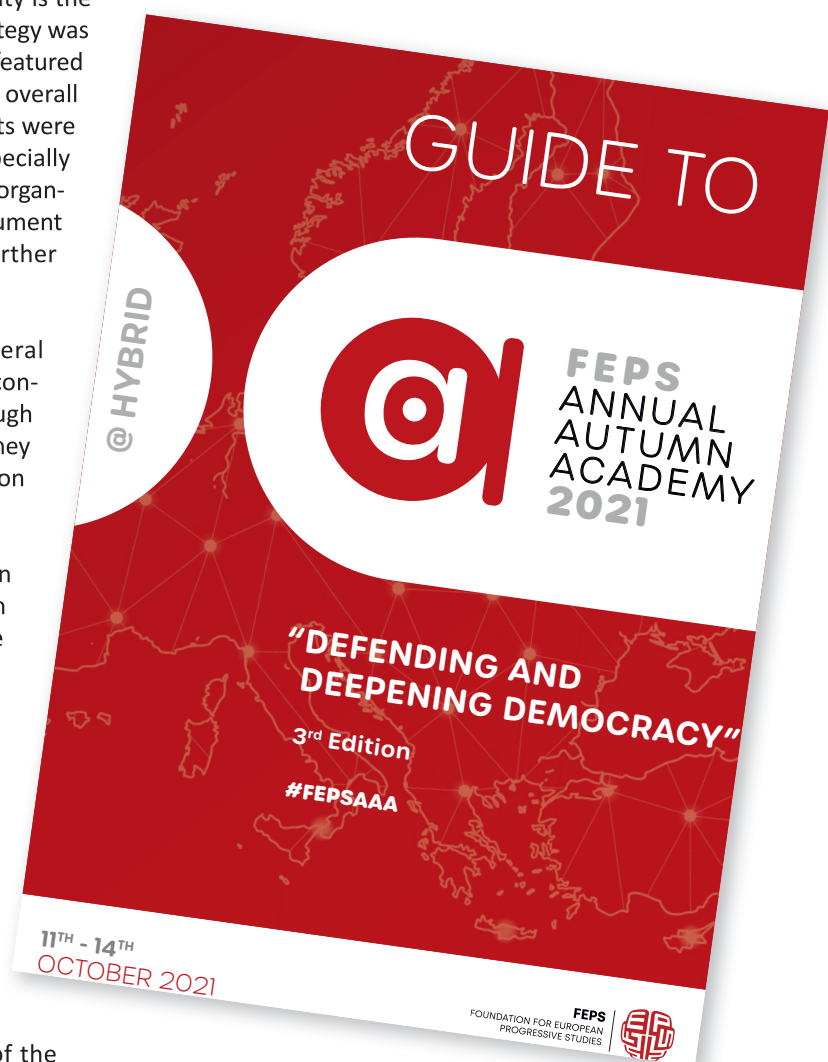
## FEPS AT WORK: TRAINING

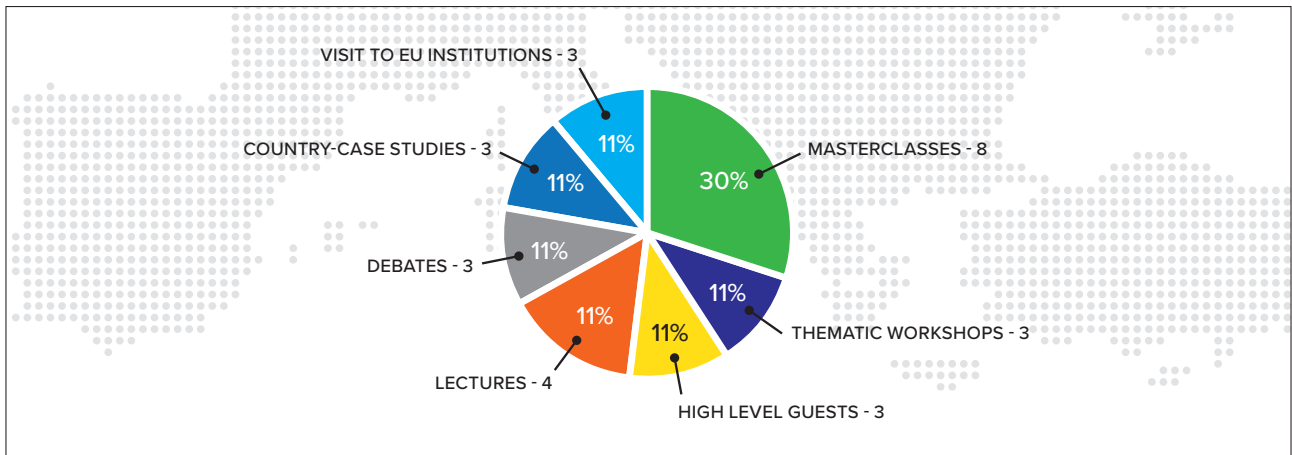
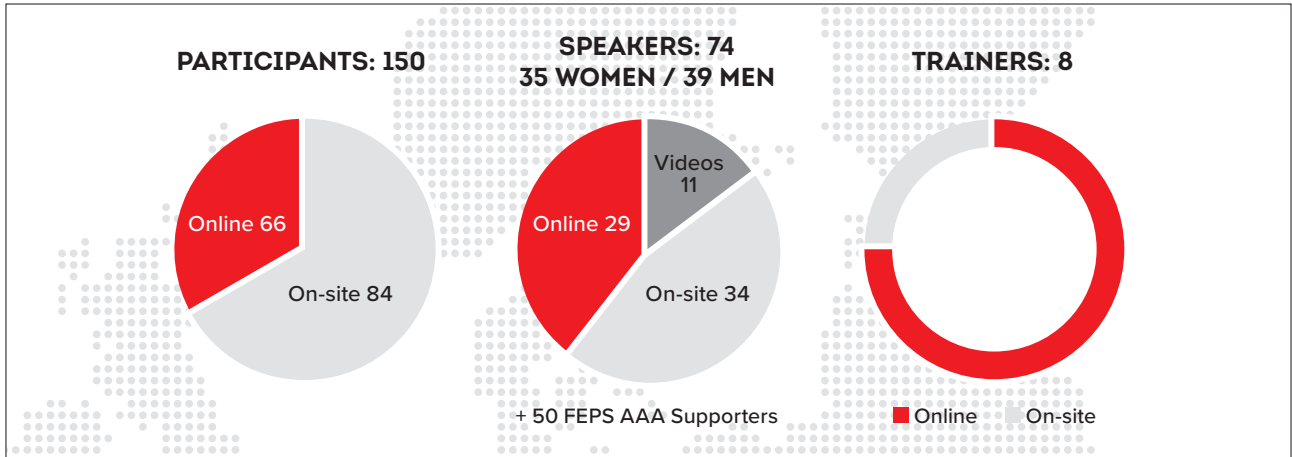
# ANNUAL AUTUMN ACADEMY

In 2021, FEPS has embarked on an effort to build and consolidate a new training strategy. It embraces already existing initiatives, which provide learning and training opportunities, and also aims at creating new ones – among which the Open Progressive University is the most prominent one. The drafting of the strategy was a carefully designed inclusive process, which featured several consultations rounds – during which overall concepts, methodologies and desired outputs were be discussed with member foundations (especially those active in the fields of education), sister organisations and other experts. The finalised document was delivered at the end of the year for further decisions of the FEPS governing bodies.

In the meantime, the engagement in several projects that provide learning and training continued – ensuring in the meantime that though they have already gained a solid reputation, they will always be a subject of perpetual evaluation leading to their qualitative acceleration.

In October 2021, FEPS held the Third edition of its flagship training event "Annual Autumn Academy" (FEPS AAA). The event was the largest ever: a 4 day-long activity, gathering a community of over 250 individuals (speakers, trainers, lecturers and participants). Adding to the challenge was the fact that it was the first true hybrid event organised by FEPS, with participation both via an online platform and in two different locations in Brussels (the FEPS HQ and the PES office). The programme, devoted to the question of deepening and defending democracy), featured very diverse methodologies – lectures, panels, workshops, master-classes, training, videos with testimonies of the time witnesses – as also meetings of drafting committee, interactive competitions, visits to sister organisations and institutions, treasure hunt, pub quiz, teams trivia quiz, drafting of life timelines, letters to democracy session and many others. The event was summarised both in audio-visual material and in a booklet, which was shared with everyone involved – including the FEPS member foundations, who, as always, have been key to the recruitment of the outstanding group of the participants.

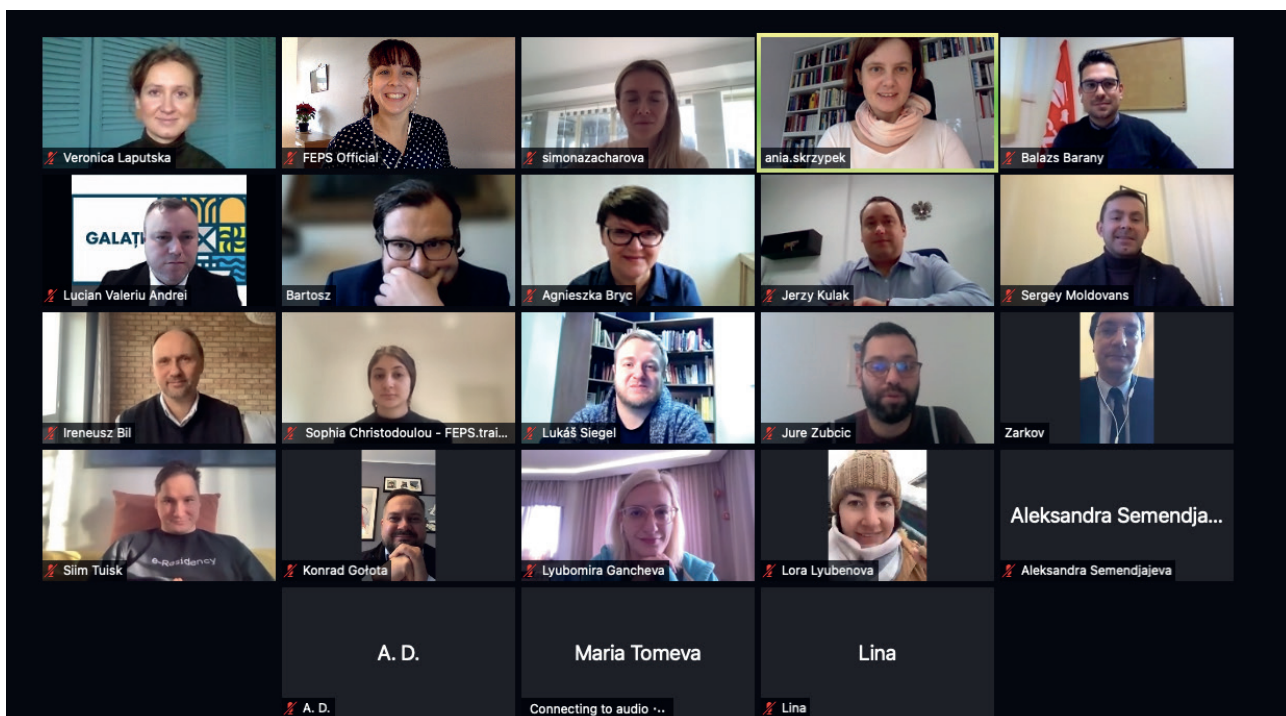
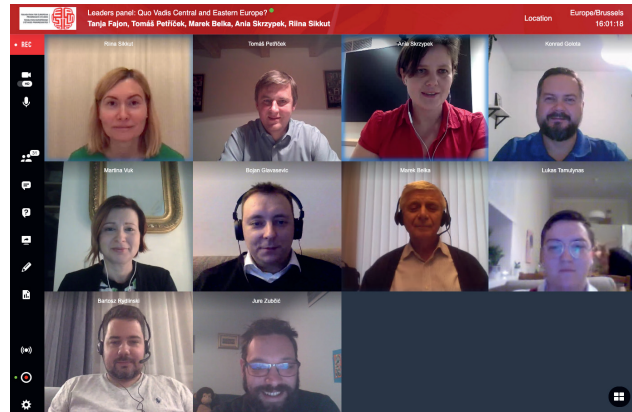




# FEPS AT WORK: TRAINING

# ONES TO WATCH

The "Ones to Watch" programme is an initiative addressed to already elected politicians from the region Central and Eastern Europe, who are 30-45 years of age and who are considered as "the most promising" ones by the nominating FEPS member foundations. In 2021, the pandemic sadly prevented the members of the second cycle to meet in person – however FEPS had ensured that two meetings still took place. The first was a two-day session organised via the online platform with a focus on the impact that modernisation and innovation policies (regarding digitalisation for example) have on the economy, society, and politics in the region. The second (which was held as a quick replacement to a meeting that was originally planned to take place in Warsaw in November and had to be called off because of another wave of the pandemic) was a one-day seminar, with debates on two topics: EU-Russian relations and the Eastern partnership, and on the elections (the recent and the upcoming) and the situation inside of the Social Democratic parties in the CEE. The "Ones to Watch" community continues, therefore, despite the lack of physical meetings, and is involving by now about 40 representatives from ten EU member states.





## FEPS AT WORK: TRAINING

# FEPS YOUNG ACADEMICS NETWORK

FEPS Young Academics Network (FEPS YAN) is a flagship FEPS initiative, which, since it was founded in 2009 by FEPS and Renner Institute, has been a hub for progressive PhD candidates and post-doc scholars. The members of the eighth cycle, which started in June 2020 and finished in November 2021, contributed with their research to the deliberations on the future of Europe.

Although the FEPS YAN as a programme exists for twelve years by now and it can rely on a well-established operational philosophy that comes with solid building blocks and tested modalities for informal learning, still the last cycle of 2020-2021 was incomparably challenging.

The recruitment of the members coincided with the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic. This meant that all the subsequent steps (interviews, abstracts presentations, forming of the working groups and work within them, trainings, exchanges with invited speakers etc.) had to be conducted online. And hence there was a lot of creativity invested in making this unusual format (with lectures by L. Andor, M. Maltznig and M. Belka, but also interactive session – like cooking class while talking politics with A. Schieder). There was just one exception to it – a seminar in Brussels at the end of November 2021, which was the only opportunity for

the members to meet and to see the Steering Committee (A. Skrzypek, E. Gil, A. Striedinger) in real life.

Nevertheless, the FEPS YAN not only persevered, but flourished – thanks to the commitment and passion of the networks' members on one hand, and on the other the engagement and enthusiasm on the side of mentors, trainers and guest speakers. In the end, all the seven Working Groups completed the task of writing innovative, interdisciplinary and relevant papers on Social Europe, EU Basic Income, EIB, Trade Unions, EU Green Deal, Remote Work and the Future of Europe.

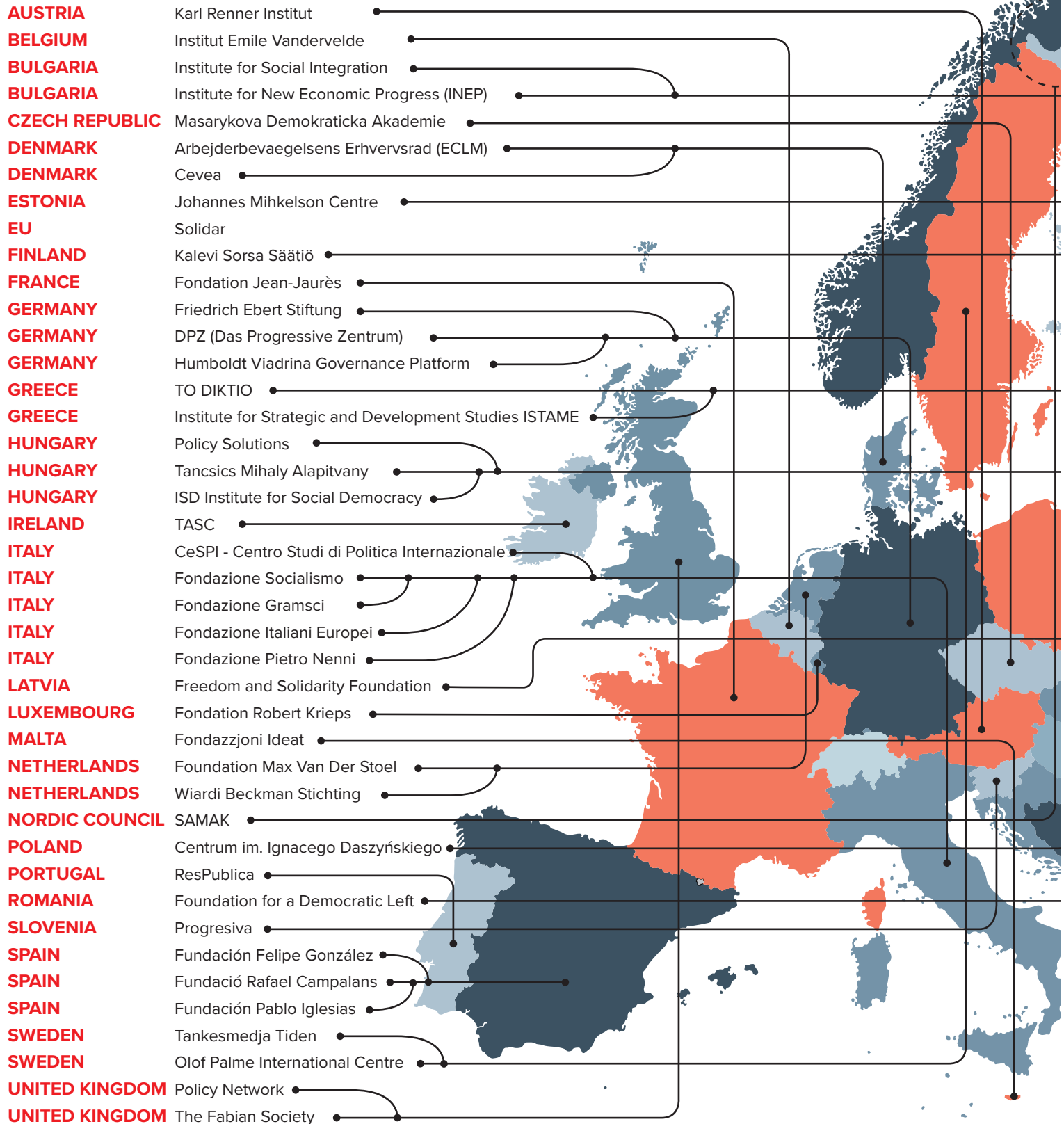
This was a mammoth endeavour, as all Working Groups had been joining forces and getting to know each other only online. The fact that they could count on the peer and mentors' reviews (among whom were: A. Homs, P. Silva Pereira, D. Ruiz Devesa, E. Regner, A. Jongerius, D. Burkhardt and B. Benifei, and L. Lombardozi, M. Holmes, M. Nathtigal, C. D'Ippoliti, S. Wood, D. Bailey and R. Ladrech) alongside with the moments during which their respective thesis could be discussed with invited top level experts, were key to their excellent quality.

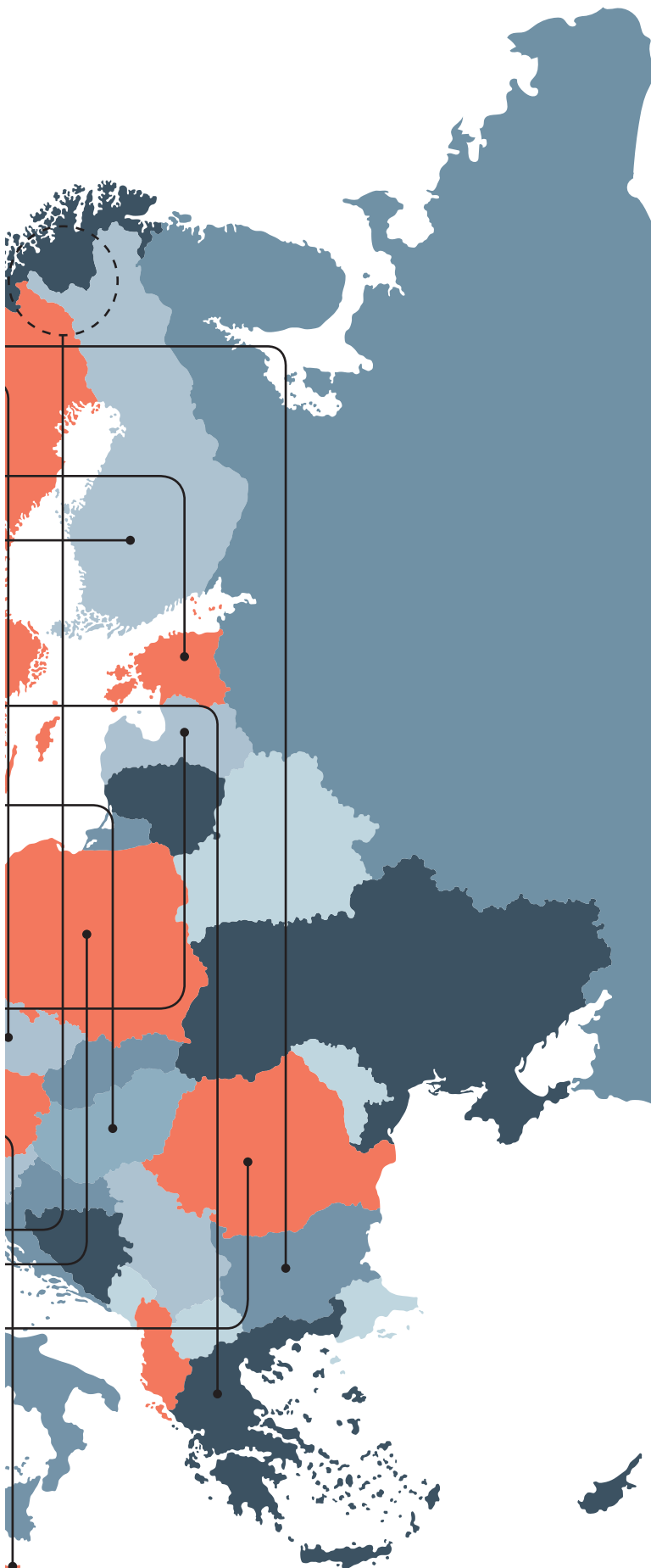




# FEPS NETWORK

## NATIONAL POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS AND THINK TANKS





## OBSERVER NATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

- ALBANIA** / Foundation Qemal Stafa
- AUSTRALIA** / Chifley Research Centre
- CANADA** / Broadbent Institute
- CHILE** / Salvador Allende
- CROATIA** / Novo Društvo
- CROATIA** / CEE Network for Gender Issues
- GREECE** / Institute for the Social Democracy – InSocial
- HUNGARY** / Foundation for a New Republic
- ISRAEL** / The Macro Center for Political Economics
- ITALY** / Istituto Affari Internazionali
- ITALY** / Fondazione Di Vittorio
- MEXICO** / Foundation of Progressive Political,  
Economic and Social Studies
- NETHERLANDS** / European Forum
- NEW ZEALAND** / The Helen Clark Foundation
- NORTH MACEDONIA** / Progress Institute
- PORTUGAL** / Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso
- SERBIA** / Center for Democracy Foundation
- SLOVAKIA** / Progressive Forum – Proforum
- SWITZERLAND** / Anny Klawa Morf Stiftung
- SWITZERLAND** / Social Democratic Party (SP)  
(Observer member of PES)
- TURKEY** / Progressive Thought Institute
- UNITED KINGDOM** / SPERI, University of Sheffield
- UNITED KINGDOM** / Greenwich Political Economy Research  
Centre (GPERC)
- UNITED KINGDOM** / Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)
- UNITED STATES** / Centre for American Progress

## EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

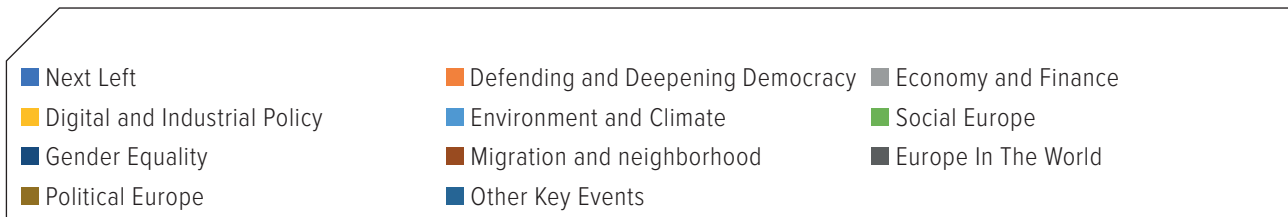
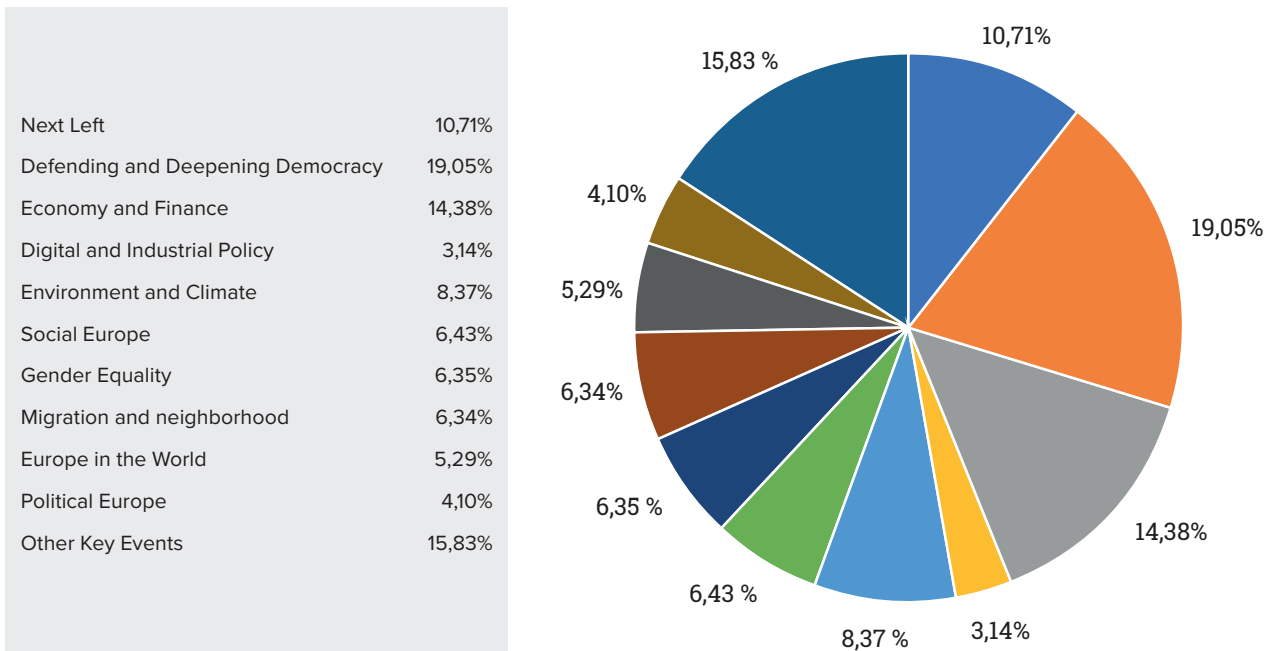
- EU** / Party of European Socialists
- EU** / S&D Group in the European Parliament
- EU** / PES Group in the Committee of the Regions
- EU** / PES Women
- EU** / YES - Young European Socialists

# FEPS AT WORK: FINANCIAL OVERVIEW

COSTS		
Reimbursable costs	Budget	Actual
<b>A.1: Personnel costs</b>	<b>2 487 657,67</b>	<b>2 280 204,21</b>
1. Salaries	2 238 891,90	1 938 940,24
2. Contributions	124 382,89	151 408,87
3. Professional training	31 095,72	2 255,00
4. Staff missions expenses	31 095,72	0,00
5. Other personnel costs	62 191,44	187 600,10
<b>A.2: Infrastructure and operating costs</b>	<b>473 835,25</b>	<b>578 311,02</b>
1. Rent, charges and maintenance costs	209 791,68	228 669,67
2. Costs relating to installation, operation and maintenance of equipment	49 753,16	51 217,61
3. Depreciation of movable and immovable property	152 098,97	177 457,13
4. Stationery and office supplies	18 657,43	10 639,47
5. Postal and telecommunications charges	37 314,87	38 309,32
6. Printing, translation and reproduction costs	2 487,66	0,00
7. Other infrastructure costs	3 731,48	72 017,82
<b>A.3: Administrative costs</b>	<b>1 235 393,83</b>	<b>873 749,29</b>
1. Documentation costs (newspapers, press agencies, databases)	9 328,71	5 986,82
2. Costs of studies and research	1 179 421,55	805 382,29
3. Legal costs	27 986,15	41 011,58
4. Accounting and audit costs	15 547,85	21 368,60
5. Support to third parties	3 109,57	0,00
6. Miscellaneous administrative costs	0,00	0,00
<b>A.4: Meetings and representation costs</b>	<b>1 049 970,65</b>	<b>-697 068,39</b>
1. Costs of meetings	991 510,68	-705 480,12
2. Participation in seminars and conferences	49 753,16	8 411,73
3. Representation costs	2 487,66	0,00
4. Costs of invitations	2 487,66	0,00
5. Other meeting-related costs	3 731,48	0,00
<b>A.5: Information and publication costs</b>	<b>262 239,60</b>	<b>241 793,41</b>
1. Publication costs	233 393,24	174 793,86
2. Creation and operation of Internet sites	2 622,40	4 804,55
3. Publicity costs	20 979,17	62 195,00
4. Communications equipment (gadgets)	5 244,79	0,00
5. Seminar and exhibitions	0,00	0,00
6. Other information-related costs	0,00	0,00
<b>A.6. Allocation to "Provision to cover eligible costs of the first quarter of year N"</b>		<b>1 319 040,00</b>
<b>A. TOTAL ELIGIBLE COSTS</b>	<b>5 509 097,00</b>	<b>4 596 029,54</b>
<b>Ineligible costs</b>		
1. Provisions		
2. Exchange losses		37 895,92
3. Doubtful claims on third parties		0,00
4. Contributions in kind		0,00
5.1 Expenditure from previous years		0,00
5.2 Financial charges		10 535,35
<b>B. TOTAL INELIGIBLE COSTS</b>	<b>0,00</b>	<b>48 431,27</b>
<b>C. TOTAL COSTS</b>	<b>5 509 097,00</b>	<b>4 644 460,81</b>

REVENUE		
	Budget	Actual
<b>D.1. Dissolution of "Provision to cover eligible costs of the first quarter of year N"</b>	<b>789172</b>	<b>789 172,00</b>
<b>D.2. European Parliament funding</b>	<b>4 970 198,00</b>	<b>4 970 189,00</b>
<b>D.3. Membership fees</b>	<b>15 000,00</b>	<b>38 000,00</b>
3.1 from member foundations	15 000,00	38 000,00
3.2 from individual members		
<b>D.4 Donations</b>	<b>0,00</b>	<b>2 897,59</b>
4.1 above 500 EUR		2 897,59
<b>D.5 Other own resources</b>	<b>233 510,00</b>	<b>313 493,75</b>
Support from members of FEPS towards activities	233 510,00	291 275,23
Non-operating revenue		21 980,99
Reserve accumulated in the previous years		237,53
<b>Part of Grant EP to be paid back</b>		<b>-72 226,00</b>
D.6. Interest from pre-financing		
D.7. Contributions in kind		
<b>D. TOTAL REVENUE</b>	<b>6 007 880,00</b>	<b>6 041 526,34</b>
E. profit/loss (D-C)	498 783,00	1 397 065,53
F. Allocation of own resources to the reserve account		1397065,53
G. Profit/loss for verifying compliance with the no-profit rule (E-F)		0,00

### Activities by thematic blocks









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