Co-creating European Union
Citizenship

Policy review

CO–CREATING EUROPEAN UNION CITIZENSHIP

A POLICY REVIEW

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Contents

Foreword and Acknowledgements

2013 has been designated the 'European Year of Citizens'. It marks the twentieth anniversary of the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty, which first introduced European Union citizenship into the Treaties. In the midst of the socio-economic crisis that Europe finds itself in and in the face of solid trends of declining support for the European integration process and of a resurgence of divisions and narrow nationalisms across the Union, EU citizenship can reinforce citizens' resilience and their appurtenance to a community of Europeans and thus embody a countermodel. Yet, while promising citizens novel opportunities and rights, challenges to the citizenship status in the EU continue to persist.

This Policy Review discusses the advances in the co-creation of European Union citizenship, while highlighting the manifold remaining obstacles to the exercise of citizenship rights in the EU. It draws on the key research findings of fifteen research projects with a bearing for understanding the genesis and evolution of EU citizenship conducted in the area of Social Sciences and Humanities under the 6th and 7th Framework Programmes. On that basis, the Review formulates some of the main policy implications emanating from the projects. This advice speaks to policy-makers in a set of domains, ranging from education policies to social policies, at EU, national and local levels. A standardized overview of all projects is provided in the Annex.

The Policy Review was written by Prof. Dora Kostakopoulou (University of Warwick), based on an analysis of the final reports, working papers and published articles of the research projects covered. Simon Schunz, Philippe Keraudren and Yuri Borgmann-Prebil from the European Commission's DG for Research and Innovation provided input to this Review, whereas Iulia Marcu, Catherine Lemaire and Éva Széll lent editorial assistance.

1.

Introduction

European Union (EU) citizenship is no longer a weak institution in the European Union edifice. It has assumed constitutional importance, has become a fundamental status of EU nationals, matured over time and has apparently been embraced by many European citizens. According to a recent Eurobarometer survey, 81% of the respondents are aware of their status as EU citizens and almost all respondents know that this status is additional to their national citizenship status.[1] 88% of the respondents are familiar with their rights to free movement, 89% of the respondents are aware of their right to petition the EU institutions and 82% are aware of the prohibition of discrimination on the ground of nationality. Across the European Union, just over one third of the respondents feel that they need to know more about it.[2] 24% consider themselves well informed about the actions they need to take when their EU rights are not respected. While citizens thus seem to be increasingly aware of their status under European law, their image of the European Union is in sharp decline. A recent Standard Eurobarometer survey shows that between autumn 2009 and autumn 2012, the number of Europeans holding a positive image of the EU has dropped from 48% to 30%, while the number of those with a negative image has risen from 15% to 29%.[3] The reasons for this degradation of the EU's image can, amongst others, be found in the perception that the recipes it proposed to deal with the economic and financial crisis have not improved citizens' socio-economic conditions over the past few years.

Against this backdrop, and while austerity programmes take hold in several European countries and the debate about how to make public expenditures more controllable and sustainable continues in a lively way, the relevance of European Union citizenship remains undiminished. The latter is epitomised very simply in people's will to 'live in common' and to enjoy equal treatment irrespective of their Member State nationality. It is this radical progressive tendency towards association[4] and the elimination of discrimination on the ground of nationality as far as possible that has made EU citizenship the means of transformative institutional change.

From the era of pre-Maastricht 'market citizenship' to the present day, European Union citizenship has changed significantly. Of central importance are (i) the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and its tactical interventions in-between Treaty revisions and (ii) legislative developments, such as the adoption of Citizenship Directive 2004/38, which entered into force on 1 May 2006,[5] coupled with (iii) the Lisbon Treaty's provisions on Democratic Principles (Title II TEU), the legally binding Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and the adoption of the Stockholm Programme on 9-10 December 2009. The latter, which is subtitled 'An open and secure Europe serving and protecting citizens', set out the priorities for the development of an area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ) for the period 2010-2014. Among these priorities, the building of a Citizens' Europe and the abolition of obstacles to free movement feature centrally.

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1   Flash Eurobarometer 365, EU Citizenship, 2013, European Commission, Brussels. See also the Commission's Press Release, European Citizenship: Awareness growing about EU-guaranteed rights but people want to know more, Brussels, 19 February 2013.

2   36% of the respondents feel that they are well informed about the EU citizenship rights; Flash Eurobarometer 365.

3   The number of respondents with a neutral image of the EU has risen from 35% to 39% over that same period. Standard Eurobarometer 78, Autumn 2012, page 15. European Commission, Brussels.

4   This is borrowed from Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (W. W. Norton and Company, 1957 [1930]), pp. 75-6.

5   European Parliament and Council Directive 2004/38/EC, OJ 2004 L 157/77.

Despite this 'constitutional metamorphosis' of EU citizenship, however, there exist a number of deficits in its implementation and exercise. The 2008 fifth Report on European Union citizenship,[6] examined the legal and institutional obstacles that hinder the full implementation of specific Union citizenship rights, while a number of other important initiatives, such as the conversion of the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia into a Fundamental Rights Agency (1 March 2007)[7], the adoption of a Community action programme to promote active European citizenship[8] or the establishment of the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme 2007-2013[9], have sought to promote the active involvement of citizens in the process of European integration[10]. The 2010 Commission Report under Article 25 TFEU[11] noted the future priorities towards strengthening EU citizenship while the EU Citizenship Report 2010 highlighted a persistent gap between 'the applicable legal rules and the reality confronting citizens in their daily lives, particularly in cross-border situations'.[12] More recently, the Commission has also designated 2013 as the European Year of Citizens.[13] This initiative aims at promoting the visibility and accessibility of European Union citizens' rights and, in particular, at raising awareness about their free movement and residence rights. The European Year of Citizens also forms one of the main rationales for this Policy Review.

In the evolving European political landscape, the European Commission has funded a range of research projects in the fields of citizenship, European identity, political participation and democratic governance, under the ambit of the 6th and 7th Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development (FP6, FP7). The present Policy Review covers 15 of these projects. In the further course of the discussion, reference is made to the project acronyms only, which makes it necessary to briefly introduce them in full. Most of the projects have ended, but two of them are ongoing (*EUCROSS*, *MYPLACE*) and one is just about to start (*beEUcitizens*). The project *beEUcitizens* ('All rights Reserved? Constraints and Contradictions of European Citizenship') will examine *inter alia* the barriers to the exercise of EU citizenship. *EUCROSS* ('The Europeanisation of Everyday Life: Cross-Border Practices and Transnational Identities among EU and Third Country Citizens') draws an exhaustive list of cross-border practices undertaken by EU citizens and residents and investigates their impact on the formation of transnational identities. The project on 'Memory, Youth, Political Legacy and Civic Engagement' (*MYPLACE*), on the other hand, explores how young people's civic engagement today is shaped by the shadows of totalitarianism and populism in Europe. The other FP7 projects are: 'Profane Citizenship in Europe – Testing democratic ownership in hybrid situations' (*PROFACITY*), 'Processes Influencing Democratic Ownership and Participation' (*PIDOP*) and 'Enacting European Citizenship' (*ENACT*). All three projects went beyond juridical accounts of citizenship in attempts to explore the enactment of citizenship by ordinary citizens and residents, including

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6   COM(2008) 85 Final.

7   Council Regulation 168/2007 Establishing a European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [2007] OJ L53/1.

8   Council Decision 2004/100/EC of 26 January 2004 establishing a Community action programme to promote active European citizenship OJ L30, 4/2/2004.

9   Council Decision 2007/252/EC OJ L110, 27.4.2007, p. 33, corrigendum OJ L141 of 2.6.2007, page 83.

10 The main aims of the 'citizens for Europe' programme are to enhance interaction among European citizens and civic participation.

11 Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, and the European Economic and Social Committee on progress towards effective EU Citizenship 2007-2010, COM (2010) 603 final.

12 EU Citizenship Report 2010, Dismantling the obstacles to EU Citizens' Rights, COM (2010) 603 final, Brussels 27.10.2010, page 2.

13 See the official website: http://europa.eu/citizens-2013/en/home.

young people, women, minorities and migrants. The themes of civic engagement, multicultural citizenship and democratic governance characterise also the remaining eight FP6 projects: 'Civil Society and New Forms of Governance in Europe – The Making of European Citizenship (*CINEFOGO*); 'The Determinants of Active Civic Participation' (*CIVICACTIVE*); 'Creating Links and Innovative Overviews for a New History Research Agenda for the Citizens of a Growing Europe' (*CLIOHRES*); 'A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship: Legal, Political and Educational Challenges' (*EMILIE*); 'Diversity and the European Public Sphere: Towards a Citizens' Europe' (*EUROSPHERE*); 'Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: the Impact of Contemporary Women's Movement' (*FEMCIT*); 'Integrated and United: A Quest for Citizenship in an ever closer Europe' (*INTUNE*); and 'New Modes of Governance in Europe' (*NEWGOV*). A complete list of these projects with additional information on their thematic foci can be found in the Annex. As a contribution to debates in the European Year of Citizens, the Review synthesises and discusses some of the projects' most significant findings relevant to EU citizenship, and pre-sents a set of policy recommendations to policy makers and civic society actors at European, national and regional levels.

The structure of the Policy Review is as follows. Section 2 sets the conceptual scene for the Review, while the subsequent discussion unravels the origin of EU citizenship (section 3) and critically reflects on its development (section 4). Subsequently, three main thematic areas, reflecting the participatory, affective and inclusive dimensions of citizenship are identified, namely, a) political participation and civic engagement, b) EU citizenship and European identity and c) unity, diversity and the European public sphere to cluster the 15 projects and their main findings (section 5). The ensuing policy and research implications are discussed in section 6, while section 7 furnishes the concluding remarks on the importance, present challenges and the future of EU citizenship. **It is often said that the future is already contained in the past and this is also true with respect to European Union citizenship. It has been the product of institutional design and co-creation by actors at all levels of governance and is actualised by citizens' formal and informal citizenship practices. In this respect, continuing to encourage practices, dialogues and mechanisms that facilitate its co-creation, and viewing citizens, residents and their families as equal partners in its future development and the delivery of solutions to impediments to its exercise are important. For there is hardly another European institution which captures more clearly and profoundly Jean Monnet's dictum 'we are not forming coalitions of states, we are uniting men [peope]'.**

2.

The Conceptual Terrain

Citizenship may be defined as equal membership in a political community to which rights and duties, participatory practices, benefits and a sense of identity are attached. Having examined the historical development of the concept of citizenship, researchers under the *CLIOHRES* project unravelled **three elements of citizenship which appear to be constantly present, namely, appurtance (the feeling of belonging to the polity), passive citizenship (protection by the polity) and active citizenship (participation in the polity)**.[14] These elements have developed within the framework of national citizenship and have been subject to cross-national variations.

European Union citizenship also has affective, protective and participatory aspects since, like national citizenship, it is the legal and political expression of membership in a larger community, namely, the European Union. But it is neither the mirror image of national citizenships nor a legal status destined to resemble national citizenship statuses. This is because European Union citizenship has been built on different premises. **While national citizenships presuppose peoples' rootedness, EU citizenship has been intimately linked to citizens' mobility and to border crossings. Mobility has personal and collective dimensions.** It helps to promote economic growth, productivity, integration, but also connects societies and peoples. It also impacts upon people's perspectives and frames of mind. Otherwise put, mobility has its own 'sociality' (*ENACT*)[15] in that it leads to potentially more meaningful life options and to transformed subjectivities. Engagement in transnational practices can help to substantially broaden perceptions, change presuppositions, undermine biased beliefs and enable to learn from 'others'. Presuppositions are imposed on us all by national cultures and ideologies, and national publics have often maintained their distinctiveness by drawing lines of separation from, and creating artificial narratives about, other national publics. Yet, one cannot ignore the connectivity that underpins national histories and contemporary realities, and which EU citizenship tries to corroborate.

Processes of migration and settlement, trade relations, communication, policy learning, cultural flows and globalisation have made it enormously difficult to insulate societies and cultures. *CLIOHRES* has highlighted the fact that 'in many cases the efforts of generations have gone into creating a feeling of national unity, of creating symbols and memories, shifting our historical experiences deemed to be worthy of being remembered or to be forgotten. There have been similar attempts to define and organise national languages, often using particular graphic conventions or expunging 'foreign' words to enhance the separateness and distinctiveness of each 'people'. This is such an important level in European consciousness today that it can in no way be ignored: separateness has been created mentally and physically between our countries at enormous human expense' (*CLIOHRES*). And as the Canadian philosopher, Alasdair MacIntyre, has noted, it is only by recognising this connectivity, 'only by learning from such others can we rid ourselves of illusions of self-sufficiency, illusions that stand in the way of our recognising our need for some of the virtues that we need to flourish'.[16]

True, mobility is differential, that is, not all Europeans wish to, and can, exercise their free movement rights, some leading commentators to believe that those who can do so are simply

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14 A.Smirnov-Brkíc, M. Christopoulos, K. Karakosta, S. Martinez Bermejo, and J. Reboton, 'Milestones in the Development of the Concept of Citizenship', in K. Isaaks, *Citizenship and Identities: Inclusion, Exclusion, Participation* (Pisa University Press, 2010) 2-12.

15 C. Aradau et al., 'Mobility interrogating free movement: Roma acts of European citizenship', in E. Isin and M. Saward (eds.), *Enacting European Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Forthcoming).

16 A. Voorhoeve, *Conversations on Ethics* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010) 130.

'privileged' EU citizens. Nevertheless, it remains the case that mobility is actively encouraged and promoted as a source of great strength for the economy and societies and as a resource for human beings (see Table 1). **This explains why the exercise of free movement rights granted by European Union law limits the room for the exercise of Member State autonomy over issues such as the grant of entry and residence rights to EU nationals and their family members; residence rights for third country national parents of children who are EU citizens[17] and who are enrolled at educational establishments irrespective of their economic status;[18] the grant of welfare assistance to both economically active and non-active citizens who can demonstrate a certain degree of integration into the host society or a real link with its labour market;[19] and the payment of war related pensions and allowances.**

Table 1: Intra-EU mobility of EU citizens in 2011

	Total foreign-born		Born in another EU27 Member State	
	000s	**% of total population**	**000s**	**% of total population**
EU27	48 868.6	9.7	16 474.9	3.3
Belgium	1628.8	14.8	773.5	7.0
Bulgaria	78.6	1.1	24.1	0.3
Czech Republic	388.0	3.7	124.1	1.2
Denmark	517.2	9.3	160.8	2.9
Germany	9 807.6	12.0	3 362.6	4.1
Estonia	212.7	16.1	17.7	1.3
Ireland	556.7	12.4	434.3	9.7
Greece	1 255.2	11.1	317.1	2.8
Spain	6 555.9	14.2	2 341.6	5.1
France	7 289.3	11.2	2 127.8	3.3
Italy	5 350.4	8.8	1 721.9	2.8
Cyprus	193.9	23.1	105.2	12.5
Latvia	334.4	15.0	36.6	1.6

17 Case C-413/99 *Baumbast and R v Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2002] ECR I-7091; Case C-200/02 Zhu and Chen [2004] ECR I-9925; Case C-34/09 *Zambrano*, Judgment of the Court of 8 March 2011.

18 See Case C-310/108 *London Borrow of Harrow* v *Nimco Hassan Ibrahim and Secretary of State for the Home Department*, Opinion of AG Mazak delivered on 20 October 2009, Case C-480/08 *Maria Teixeira* v *London Borough of Lambeth and Secretary of State for the Home Department*, Opinion of Advocate General Kokott delivered on 20 October 2009.

19 See, inter alia, Case C-184/99 *Grzelczyk v Centre Public d'Aide Sociale d'Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve* [2001] ECR I-6193; Case C-209/03, *Bidar v London Borough of Ealing*, Judgement of 15 March 2005; C-138/02 *Brian Francis Collins* [2004] ECR I-2703.

Lithuania	207.9	6.4	32.5	1.0
Luxembourg	166.3	32.5	137.7	26.9
Hungary	443.3	4.4	298.1	3.0
Malta	31.2	7.5	16.2	3.9
Netherlands	1 868.7	11.2	449.2	2.7
Austria	1 299.1	15.5	528.0	6.3
Poland	544.5	1.4	232.9	0.6
Portugal	805.2	7.6	208.6	2.0
Romania	–	–	–	–
Slovenia	228.6	11.1	21.2	1.0
Slovakia	–	–	–	**-**
Finland	243.2	4.5	86.3	1.6
Sweden	1 384.1	14.7	483.0	5.1
United Kingdom	7 244.2	11.6	2 334.4	3.7

Source: Eurostat, Statistics in Focus 31/2012, "Nearly two-thirds of the foreigners living in EU Member States are citizens of countries outside the EU-27"

When one looks back upon all these developments from the vantage point of their intended as well as unintended consequences, one can easily discern the distance which humanity in general has traversed. In many instances, past enemies have become close associates and 'foreigners' have been transformed into fellow European citizens. **So while national citizenship is taken to be the political reflection of a pre-existing ethnos or a civic national body, EU citizenship is more about the furnishing of a common political and social space that institutions at the supranational level, governments and EU citizens co-create (*CINEFOGO*). Co-creation entails recognition of the mutual interdependence of institutional actors and legal orders and their co-involvement in the creation of realities that enhance the life prospects of human beings. It is based more on interconnections, multilateral dialogues and relations and less on autonomy and institutional closure.** As Advocate General Maduro at the ECJ has noted, 'Citizenship of the Union must encourage Member States to no longer conceive of the legitimate link of integration only within the narrow bonds of the national community, but also within the wider context of the society of peoples of the Union'.[20] The EU citizen space is thus a social space energised by the creation of an ever closer union of the peoples of Europe and an enlarged public sphere within which particularistic identities can simultaneously co-exist and merge into wider moralities that do not tolerate discrimination on the ground of nationality. In this enlarged space, which reconfigures the ways in which we have been accustomed to think

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20 Point 23 of AG Maduro's opinion in *Nerkowska*, 28 February 2008.

about citizenship and community membership and blends creatively unity with diversity (see section 5 below), equal treatment is translated into an uncompromising legal obligation as well as a moral endeavour. But has this always been the case? In order to answer this question, ample light must be shed onto the origins of European Union citizenship.

3.

The Origin of European Union Citizenship

The legal roots of EU citizenship can be found in the free movement of workers provisions of the Treaties of Paris and Rome. The former established the European Coal and Steal Community while the latter established the European Economic Community. Interestingly, labour mobility was never perceived to be a mere functional prerequisite of the common market. According to Walter Hallstein, the first president of the Commission (1958-67), it was the foundation of a 'European Economic and Social Community'.[21] Since the very beginning it was thus linked with the broader normative vision of establishing a 'European citizenship'; a notion explicitly mentioned by Lionello Levi Sandri, the Vice-President of the Commission at that time.[22]

In the eyes of the European leaders, therefore, free movement of labour would enable European workers to enjoy equal treatment not only in the workplace, but also in the broader social environment of the host Member States and in the political arena. Indeed, the Preamble to Council Regulation 1612/68 explicitly referred to 'the fundamental right of workers to improve their standard of living which must be exercised in freedom and dignity'.[23] And as workers could invoke and exercise their free movement rights without the interference and approval of the host Member States, the EEC Treaty was viewed to establish an incipient form of EU citizenship for certain classes of persons, that is, workers, professionals, service providers and their families.[24]

This incipient form of citizenship began to develop. In the early 1970s, the Member States expressed their intention to build 'a Community of law and democracy which measures up to the needs of the individual and preserves the rich variety of national cultures'[25] by adopting the Declaration on European Identity. Leo Tindemans, the Belgian Prime Minister, who was instructed by the 1974 Paris Summit Conference to examine how citizens' rights could be strengthened, produced a report which advocated the protection of fundamental rights in the EU, consumer rights for European citizens and the protection of the environment.[26] The establishment of common European rights was envisaged to bring 'Europe close to its citizens' and to create a feeling of identification with the Union as a whole.

Further reforms at the turn of that decade[27] - such as the first direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979,[28] the introduction of a uniform passport in 1981, the prospect of the abolition of internal frontier controls coupled with the Commission's draft directive on residence of Community nationals in the territory of host Member States in 1979, and its proposal to grant local electoral rights to Community nationals residing in host Member States[29] - all gave

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21 See his book entitled *Europe in the Making* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1969 [1972]) 173-4.

22 The Free Movement of Workers in the Countries of the European Economic Community, Bull. EC 6/61, pp. 5-10, p. 6.

23 European Council (1968) Regulation 1612/68 on Free Movement of Workers OJ Special Edition 475, OJ L257/2.

24 R. Plender, 'An Incipient Form of European Citizenship', in F.G. Jacobs (ed.), *European Law and the Individual* (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1976).

25 Annex 2 to chapter II, 7th General Report EC, 1973.

26 European Union, Report to the European Council, Supplement 1/76, Bull. EC 1976.

27 This paragraph draws on D. Kostakopoulou, 'Institutional dynamics and the double movement of the co-creation of European Union citizenship', Forthcoming, *Cambridge Yearbook of European Legal Studies*, Vol. 15.

28 OJ EC, 278, 8/10/77, 1-11.

29 Bull. EC. 10-1972.

more impetus to the idea of common European citizenship. In fact, they re-casted established conceptions of community membership and intra-Community migration away from the Member States' regulatory matrix.[30] The Member States opposed the relaxation of the national citizenship requirement for franchise (i.e. the right to vote) in the 1970s, thereby forcing the Commission to shift its attention from political rights to establishing local consultative councils for migrant workers in the host Member States. In the mid-1980s, the Adonnino report[31] advocated the grant of local electoral rights and voting rights in European Parliament elections in the Member State of residence. The Draft Treaty on European Union, which was proposed by the European Parliament in 1984, even recommended the formal establishment of European Union citizenship. This would be based on Member State citizenship. It echoed Spinelli's belief that the Second War II had 'opened the way to the united European transformation'.[32] Although it did not have a formal institutional impact, the Draft Treaty provided important normative and ideational resources, which would be utilised at Maastricht and beyond. Indeed, without the Draft Treaty's provisions on Union citizenship, the Adonnino Committee's work[33], the Commission's determination to expand the personal scope of free movement beyond active economic actors[34] and the formal adoption of the three 1990 Residence Directives,[35] it is highly unlikely that Union citizenship would have been introduced by the Maastricht Treaty. The latter added three more rights to the existing free movement and residence rights, which are discussed below.

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30 The latter term is borrowed from Rogers Brubaker, 'Migration, Membership and the Modern Nation -State: Internal and External Dimensions of Belonging' 2010 XLI:I *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 61-78, 76.

31 Pietro Adonnino chaired the ad hoc Committee for a People's Europe in line with the mandate given to it by the Fontainebleau Council in 1984.

32 A. Spinelli, *The Eurocrats: Conflict and Crisis in the European Community* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1966) 7, cited in W. Maas, *Creating European Citizens* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007) 120.

33 See its second report in June 1985: Bull. EC. Supplement 7, 1985, pp. 9-14.

34 This position was reflected in the 1985 Paper on Completing the Internal Market, COM(85)310.

35 Directives 90/364, 90/365 and 90/366, which was replaced by Directive 93/96. The European Parliament and Council Directive of 29 April 2004 *on the right of citizens of the Union and their Family Members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States* (2004/38/EC), which introduces three separate categories of residence rights and establishes an unqualified right of permanent residence after five years of continuous legal residence in the host Member State; OJ 2004 L 158/77 (30 April 2004).

4.

EU Citizenship in the Treaty on European Union and its Evolution

The Treaty on European Union (known as The Maastricht Treaty, in force 1 November 1993) established the institution of Union citizenship by stating that 'every person holding the nationality of a Member State is a citizen of the Union'. The citizenship rights which were added to the original free movement and residence rights were: (a) electoral rights in the Member State of residence in municipal and European Parliament elections, (b) consular and diplomatic protection offered to EU citizens when travelling abroad and (c) non judicial means of redress, such as the right to petition the European Parliament and to apply to the Ombudsman.

In the process of drafting these provisions, many of the Commission's proposals were omitted from the final text adopted by the 1991 Intergovernmental Conference, including the proposals to establish a duty of solidarity on the part of every Union citizen with other Union citizens and with long-term resident third country nationals in the European Union.[36] Concerns about making 'Europe' a tangible reality in the lives of European citizens, increasing the Union's social legitimacy as well as addressing its democratic deficit, were predominant. Critical voices saw European Union citizenship as the reflection of a narrowly conceived market citizenship centred on pre-existing economic rights (*ENACT*). In addition, a comparison of European Union citizenship with national citizenships, which are characterised by strong national identities, led many to conclude that the former was unlikely to generate feelings of belonging to a larger political entity.

The potential of Union citizenship to strengthen citizens' rights and to enhance democratic practices at all levels of governance was not sufficiently appreciated by policy makers and academics at the time. This was partly due to the fact that EU citizenship was largely conceived of through the lens of national citizenship and partly due to the existence of an erroneous belief that Europe had to be constructed 'on much the same symbolic terrain as the old nation-states of the last two centuries'.[37]

The European Court of Justice initially adopted a cautious approach. But in 1998 it began to display innovative reasoning in the *Martinez Sala* case by planting the seeds for a shift from protecting the rights of active economic actors to affirming the equal treatment of all EU citizens irrespective of their nationality.[38] Soon afterwards, in the *Grzelczyk* case, it stated that 'Union citizenship is destined to be a fundamental status of nationals of the Member States, enabling those who find themselves in the same situation to enjoy the same treatment in law irrespective of their nationality'.[39] In that case, EU national students studying in another Member State and facing temporary economic difficulties could rely on the non-discrimination clause in claiming social advantages, provided that they did not place an unreasonable burden on the welfare system of the host Member State. More frequent judicial interventions in the new millennium aligned EU citizenship more closely with 'a powerful mission of protection of individual rights'.[40] In the *Baumbast* case, the Court explicitly recognised that Article 21(1) TFEU

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36 See Commission, Initial contribution by the Commission to the Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union, Composite Working Paper of 15 May, SEC(91) 500; Union Citizenship, Suppl. 2/11, Bull. EC and Commission Opinion of 21 October 1990, COM(90)600.

37 C. Shore, *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration* (London: Routledge, 2000) p. 50.

38 Case C-85/96 *Maria Martinez Sala v Freistaat Bayern* [1998] ECR I-2691.

39 Case C-184/99 *Grzelczyk v Centre Public d'Aide Sociale d'Ottignes-Louvain-la-Neuve* [2001] ECR I-6913, at para 31.

40 S. Weatherill, *Cases and Materials on EU Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) p. 490.

(formerly 18(1) TEC, right to free movement) is directly effective, that is, it confers individuals rights which are enforceable before national courts.[41] From then on, EU citizenship has had a distinctive rights-based dimension: it has been unable to exist except in the service of EU citizens.

A concrete manifestation of the rights-based and EU citizen-oriented approach that began to take root in the new millennium is the 2004 *Directive on the Right of Citizens and their Family Members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States* (see Table 2).[42] The Directive remedied the piecemeal approach to free movement rights which existed before the Maastricht Treaty by incorporating and revising the existing Directives and amending Council Regulation 1612/68.[43] **It also gave concrete meaning to the principle that the European Union citizens' residence in other Member States gives rise to legitimate expectations and to entitlements. In this respect, it established an unconditional right of permanent residence for Union citizens and their families[44] who have resided in the host Member State for a continuous period of five years.** Shorter periods of residence exceeding three months (residence up to three months is unconditional) entail a right of residence for Union citizens and their family members if they: a) engage in economic activity; b) have sufficient resources and comprehensive sickness insurance cover in the host Member States as non-active economic actors and c) are enrolled at a private or public establishment, have comprehensive sickness insurance cover and are self-sufficient in order to avoid becoming a burden on the social assistance system of the host Member State. As long as the beneficiaries of the right of residence do not become an unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of the host country they should not be expelled.[45]

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41 Case C-413/99 *Baumbast and R v Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2002] ECR I-7091.

42 Directive 2004/38/EC, OJ 2004 L 158/77.

43 Articles 10 and 11 of Council Reg. 1612/68 were repealed with effect from 30 April 2006.

44 The definition of a 'family member' includes a registered partner if the legislation of the host MS treats registered partnership as equivalent to marriage.

45 Directive 2004/38/EC, Article 14.

Table 2: Reforms to EU citizens' rights introduced by Directive 2004/38

Rights	Rules
Right of Exit (Article 4)	– Valid identity card or passport – No exit visa – MS have an obligation to issue and renew travel documents
Right of Entry (Article 5) **NEW**	–No entry visa – MS should give Union citizens and their family members every reasonable opportunity to obtain the necessary documents – Compliance with administrative requirements
Right of Residence for up to 3 months (Article 6)	– No conditions or formalities (–but Union citizens and their families must not become an unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of host Member State; Article 14(1))
Right of Residence for more than 3 months (Article 7) **NEW**	a) workers or self-employed persons b) self-sufficient non-active economic actors who have comprehensive sickness insurance c) students who have sufficient resources and sickness insurance Family members of a Union citizen under (a), (b) or (c) – but only the spouse, the registered partner and dependent children may join students Residence permits are abolished for EU citizens d) 'Residence cards' for non-EU national family members of EU citizens (Article 10)
Right of Permanent Residence (Article 16) **NEW**	– Legal residence for five consecutive years

While the Court's rights-based approach to Union citizenship and the Citizenship Directive have strengthened EU citizens' rights, several projects pinpoint that in practice a number of institutional and structural conditions often place impediments to the exercise of these rights (*EUROSPHERE, CINEFOGO, EMILIE, FEMCIT, ENACT, PROFACITY*). Union citizenship is not a 'de-gendered', 'de-raced' and 'classless' concept. Long-term resident third country nationals are excluded from it. In addition, the rights of residence of non-active economic actors who are not self-sufficient and wish to reside in another Member State for more than three months are limited,[46] be they women engaging in domestic work and care for dependent relatives, unemployed people, young people or persons who have not acquired the necessary skills due to embedded racial discrimination in education and labour markets. Furthermore, differential levels of protection against racial discrimination in national

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46 See the typology of residence rights established by the Directive 2004/38 in Table 2.

legislations often function as a disincentive for the cross-border movement of ethnic migrant citizens.

On its part, the European Court of Justice has sought to outlaw discrimination as far as possible. In addition to direct and indirect discrimination, it has outlawed non-discriminatory restrictions that hinder or make less attractive the exercise of fundamental freedoms by creating 'unjustified burdens'[47] **and 'serious inconveniences'.**[48] More controversially, it has made denationalisation (and naturalisation) decisions taken by the Member States subject to judicial review and the proportionality test.[49] Furthermore, the Court will not hesitate to step in and to protect EU citizen children and their parents from the expulsion from a Member State as well as the Union as a whole if such national measures would have the effect of 'depriving EU citizens of the substance of the rights attached to EU citizenship'.[50] As a result, any European citizen can invoke Advocate General Jacobs' phrase, in the *Konstantinidis* case[51], 'civis europaeus sum' against all Member States, including his or her own, in order to oppose any deprivation of the genuine enjoyment of the substance of the rights conferred by EU citizenship'.[52] **The fact that an EU citizen has not crossed borders within the EU does not appear to be a prerequisite for his or her enjoyment of rights, as the Court clearly stated in *Zambrano* - a landmark case which disassociated the scope of EU law from the need to show cross-border movement.**[53] The evolution of European Union citizenship has thus generated a new ethos of rights protection which shows signs of a generally accepted moral code by all its institutions.

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47 Case C-224/02 *Heikki Antero Pusa v. Osuuspankkien Keskinainen Vakuutusythio* [2004] ECR I-5763; Case C-406/04 G. *De Cuyper v. Office national de l-emploi*, Judgment of the Court of 18 July 2006; Case C-192/05 *K. Tas-Hagen, R.. A. Tas v. Raadskamer WUBO van de Pensioen – en Uitkeringsraad*, Judgment of the Court of 26 October 2006; Joined Cases C-11/06 and C-12/06 *Rhiannon Morgan v Bezirksregierung Köln and Iris Bucher v Landrat des Kreises Düren*, Judgment of the Court of 23 October 2007.

48 See Case C-391/00 *Runevic-Vardyn*, Judgment of the Court of 12 May 2011.

49 Case C-135/*08 Rottmann* [2010] ECR I-0000.

50 Case C-34/09 *Zambrano*, Judgment of the Court of 8 March 2011, para 42. The 'substance of rights test' was reiterated, and distinguished, in *McCarthy* and *Dereci and Others*; Case C-434/09, Judgment of the Court of 5 May 2011 and Case C-256/11, Judgment of the Court of 15 December 2011.

51 Case C-168/91[1993] ECR I-1191 para 46.

52 Lenaerts, 'Civis Europeaus Sum': From the Cross-Border Link to the Status of Citizen of the Union', *Online Journal of Free Movement of Workers Within the EU*, No. 2, European Commission, Publications Office of the EU, 2011, 12. See also D. Kochenov, 'A Real European Citizenship: The Court of Justice Opening a New Chapter in the Development of the Union in Europe' (2012) 18(1) CJEL, 55-109 and M. Hailbronner and S. Iglesias Sanchez, 'The European Court of Justice and Citizenship of the European Union: New Developments Towards a Truly Fundamental Status' (2011) 5 ICLJ, 498.

53 Case C-34/09 *Zambrano*, n 49 above.

5.

Co-creating European Union Citizenship

The foregoing discussion has shown the input of many institutions into the co-creation and evolution of European Union citizenship, which represents an observation highlighted by the research projects discussed in the context of this Policy Review. **However, several projects have also examined the co-creation of EU citizenship from below, that is, at the micro-political and civil society levels, and have teased out, both directly and indirectly, a number of important citizenship dimensions.** They have done so by deploying diverse, and often multidisciplinary, lenses in order to study issues relating to citizenship and political participation (sub-section 5.1), the formation of citizenship identities and a European identity (sub-section 5.2) as well as the co-existence of unity and diversity in the European Union public sphere (sub-section 5.3). By unravelling the complexity as well as the co-involvement of several actors, be they individual or collective, above and below the Member States in the co-creation of the present and future of EU citizenship they have called into question some standard assumptions associated with citizenship policy and research (section 6 below).

5.1. Promoting political participation and civic engagement: political actors and their practices

Without electoral rights European Union citizenship would have been a bloodless institution. Political participation strikes at the core of our conception of citizenship and, more importantly, is one of the indicia of the quality of democracy in political units. It is premised on the principle that everybody who is subject to a polity's jurisdiction should have an input in the process of decision-making that affects him/her. Exceptions to this principle should be rigorously scrutinised and justified on normative grounds. Attempts to limit political participation on the basis of criteria such as wealth, illiteracy and family status would thus clearly fail to pass the normative test.

When citizenship was aligned with nationality, and could not be conceived of separately from it, only nationals, be they autochthonous or naturalised citizens, were eligible to participate in the electoral process. This was not considered as an unacceptable limitation since political communities were viewed to be national communities. But as human mobility made communities more heterogeneous, the need to open up the political system to all those residents who have made the community the hub of their interests and their home became necessary. Making democracy more inclusive and upholding the liberal principle of equal membership resulted in welcoming the participation of 'foreign' residents in public life at the local level (see Table 3) provided that residence requirements are met.[54]

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54 For a discussion of the international legal regime and of electoral rights in the European Union, see J. Shaw, *The Transformation of citizenship in the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Table 3: Categories of citizens with voting rights according to type of election by administrative levels (*EMILIE*)

	First category: voting rights for EU citizens				
	Local	**Provincial**	**Regional**	**National**	**European**
France	EU citizens				EU citizens
Germany	EU citizens				EU citizens
Greece	EU citizens				EU citizens
Latvia	EU citizens				EU citizens
Poland	EU citizens				EU citizens
Second category: voting rights for EU and non-EU citizens					
Denmark	EU and non-EU citizens	EU and non-EU citizens			EU citizens
Belgium	EU and non-EU citizens				EU citizens
Third category: voting rights for EU and former citizens of colonies					
UK	EU and Commonwealth citizens (+ citizens of Cyprus, Malta and Ireland)	EU and Commonwealth citizens (+ citizens of Cyprus, Malta and Ireland)	EU and Commonwealth citizens (+ citizens of Cyprus, Malta and Ireland)	Commonwealth citizens (+ citizens of Cyprus, Malta and Ireland)	EU and Commonwealth citizens (+ citizens of Cyprus, Malta and Ireland)
Fourth category: voting rights for EU citizens + bilateral reciprocal agreements					
Spain	EU and Norwegian citizens				EU citizens

In addition to the requirements of democracy and equality, the need to refrain from condemning mobile EU citizens to political inactivity and marginalisation in the host Member States and respect for equality as a general principle of Union law[55] resulted in the recognition of their rights to participate in municipal elections and in elections to the European Parliament in the Member State of their residence. **EU citizens are thus entitled to vote and to stand as candidates in the municipal elections in the host Member States under the same conditions as nationals of that state and to select their MEPs and to stand as**

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55 Cases C-145/04 *Spain v UK* [2006] ECR I-7917 and C-300/04 *Eman and Sevinger v College van burgemmeester en wethouders van Den Haag* [2006] ECR I-8055.

candidates in elections to the European Parliament (Articles 24 and 20(2)(b) TFEU). Other channels of conventional political participation include the signing of petitions to the European Parliament, complaining to the Ombudsman about 'mal-administration' by Union institutions and writing to Union institutions - channels which are open to all residents in the European Union irrespective of their citizenship status (Articles 24 and 20(2)(d) TFEU). While several of the research projects have highlighted the increase in the political participation of Union citizens in the Member State of their residence (*CIVICACTIVE*, *PIDOP*, *EUROSPHERE*), further limitations have been revealed. **The electoral participation of Union citizens in the Member State of residence is often impeded by national legislation that does not allow Union citizens to become party members and/or to found political parties. For example, only Latvian citizens can be founders of a political party (*EMILIE*). Crucially, the Union citizens' political inclusion at the municipal level is accompanied by their political exclusion from participation in national and regional elections in the Member State of their residence, notwithstanding their long-term resident status and their multifarious contributions to the commonwealth.** This clearly runs counter to the above mentioned principle that all those subject to a polity's laws must also, however indirectly, ultimately be their authors.

Another limitation concerns those who live in the EU, but have no Union citizenship. Long-term resident third country nationals, who are estimated to be about 18 million in the EU, are excluded from the benefits and the protection that EU law affords to Union citizens and thus from political participation. While scepticism still persists in some quarters about the desirability of extending EU citizenship to long-term resident third country nationals in the European Union, there also exists a conviction that all segments of the population affected by legal and political decision-making should have an opportunity to express their views and pursue their interests in the political arena. *PIDOP* researchers have noted that 'participation can help facilitate integration by giving minorities a voice and having their interests heard'. In any case, giving Union citizens the right to vote in municipal elections in the host Member States has prompted the critical examination of the situation of third country nationals and fuelled demands for more parallelism in the grant of voting rights in the EU (*PIDOP, EMILIE*). This, in the future, may revive calls for the conditioning of EU citizenship on the principle of domicile, and not on nationality, thereby ensuring democratic inclusion as well as fairness and uniformity in the interpretation of the personal scope of the Union citizenship across the 27 Member States, whose naturalisation laws presently exhibit variations.[56]

Democratic inclusion remains an unfinished process in many of the Member States, too. Although in certain Member States large segments of the permanent migrant population have been enfranchised through the relatively liberal naturalisation policies that existed until the later 1990s, the *EMILIE* research project diagnosed that partisan decision-making structures remain immune from multicultural politics. In this respect, it recommended attention to inter-party democracy and more sensitivity to the under-representation of minority groups. In the 2008 city council elections in France, for instance, only 2,000 out of 520,000 (0,4%) elected politicians had an ethnic minority background. In the UK, the political participation rates are more promising; in the 2009 local elections, 662 (3%) of 21,498 councillors in all of England and Wales were of ethnic minority background. National executives need to look more closely at the issue of persistent discrimination within the party system particularly since

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56 D. Kostakopoulou, *The Future Governance of Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

there exist suspicions that ethnic minority candidates are only given non-safe, non-winnable seats (*EMILIE*).

Citizenship practices are not only confined to the formal, institutional realm which endows citizens with rights and obligations. Although we tend to believe that human beings can only act as citizens if they are formally connected with a political system that attributes citizenship to them, one can find a myriad of informal citizenship practices. These can be detected in the micropolitical domain, that is, in citizens' everyday lives, as well as in the political realm. For instance, non-citizen residents are often politically active (*PROFACITY*). Examining these practices in detail allows to appreciate the fact that citizenship is closely connected with the recognition of a right to be in a place and to act as a participant in reflexive forms of social cooperation, irrespective of one's legal or social status (*PROFACITY*). After all, 'how actors express themselves (opinion, perception, attitude surveys) is as crucial as what they do' (*ENACT, PIDOP*). In this respect, the *MYPLACE* research project will produce a typology of youth activism at the national and transnational levels. **Studying the enactment of citizenship thus sheds light onto the conditions under which individuals and groups or institutions use the law to make claims to rights of European citizenship, irrespective of their legal status. These rights which emerge as a result of claims-making are unplanned, performed, negotiated and renegotiated. They are generative of the common space of the community as well as of novel forms of citizenship.**

In this context, understanding the experiences of 'vulnerable groups' and taking into account the knowledge produced by them is important. For instance, young people in European societies may not have a fully articulate public voice, but 'young people in the Netherlands, while 80% of them have Dutch citizenship, are twice as likely to be unemployed' (*PROFACITY*). The same applies to their counterparts in Spain, Italy and Greece. Young people with migrant backgrounds in the Netherlands wish to see the official affirmation of their right to be different as well as the recognition that they are an intrinsic part of the Dutch society given their birth there and the reality of their everyday lives (*PROFACITY*). The latter would require policies designed to address their vulnerabilities in the fields of education and the transition from education to work since they tend to have higher school dropout rates and higher unemployment levels (cited by *PROFACITY*). In addition, 'young people need to be treated more attentively and with greater respect by politicians and other adults. Politicians need to show young people that they listen and pay attention to their views about civic and political matters. Politicians and institutions should respond more positively to specific forms of youth participation - such as public protests or student demonstrations - so that young people can feel that their voices are being heard' (*PIDOP*; *MYPLACE*). To give another example, this time from the *ENACT* project, gay and lesbian youth in Latvia and in other EU states will not hesitate to protest against, and to raise awareness about, the homophobia existing in societies and the ways in which it inhibits people from having a normal life and enjoying the opportunities afforded to heterosexual citizens. These constitute examples of demands for access to full citizenship, which also includes sexual and intimate dimensions (*FEMCIT, ENACT*). One can only address these by focusing on the actors' definitions of the problems they experience and their impact on their living conditions (*PROFACITY*). Demands for actualising full citizenship also attest the dynamic and emancipatory dimension inherent in citizenship; actors are keen to utilise formal and informal opportunity structures in order to advance the process of claims-making. For example, one cannot preclude the future activation of the European Citizens' Initiative for the recognition of civil partnership or same sex marriage across the 27 Member states in the

provisions of Directive 2004/38 (the Citizenship Directive) (*ENACT, PIDOP*).[57] Civic protestations and engagement are thus important for triggering processes of evolution in European societies and for sustaining aspirations for a genuinely inclusive European public sphere.

One should neither criticise non-conventional forms of political participation, which range from illegal protest activities to signing petitions and boycotting products (see Figure 1) nor assume that they are monopolised by the same actors. For example, young people in Spain, France, Greece, Luxembourg and Slovenia are more likely to engage in such forms of participation than older residents of the same country, whilst in the UK, the Netherlands and Sweden it is older residents that are more likely to participate (*PIDOP*). Indeed, 'claims to European citizenship and rights are enacted in a range of unexpected and unconventional ways as well as through complex institutional arrangements that exceed the conventional and dominant understandings of citizenship as membership in a contained polity' (*ENACT*).

Figure 1: Non-conventional political participation of citizens by country

Non-conventional participation
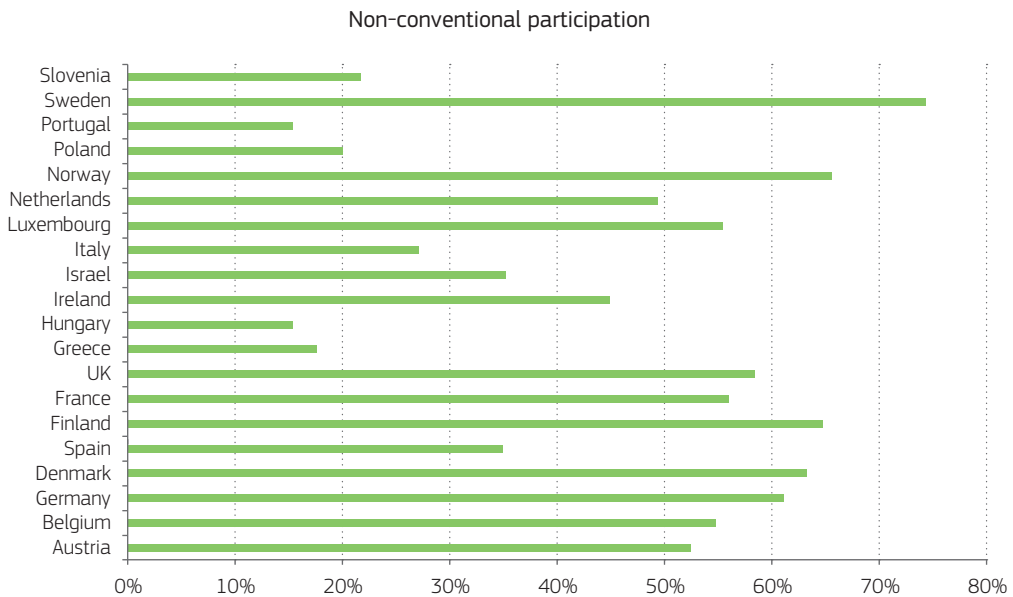
Source: Modeling Existing Survey Data by Ian Brunton-Smith (PIDOP, 2011)

In this respect, the European Citizens' Initiative can function as an important 'polity-activating' device,[58] that is, a device designed to foster active citizenship and democratic participation with a view to improving institutional realities (see Box 1).

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57 Research under the ENACT project has noted that same sex marriage is allowed in Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden. Registration of civil partnerships is facilitated in Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Luxembourg, Slovenia and the UK; I. Indans and K. Kruma, 'Negotiating Otherness: Mozaika and sexual citizenship' in E. Isin and M. Saward (eds.), *Enacting European Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Forthcoming).

58 M. Saward, 'Enacting citizenship and democracy in Europe', in E. Isin and M. Saward (eds.), *Enacting European Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Forthcoming).

BOX 1:

The European Citizens' Initiative

▶ Introduced by the Lisbon Treaty (Art. 11 TEU, Art. 24 TEFEU), the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) enables one million EU citizens from at least seven EU Member States to call on the European Commission to propose legislation in domains in which the EU has the competence to legislate.

▶ The rules and procedures governing the ECI are laid down in Regulation 211/2011 of the European Parliament and the Council of 16 February 2011. To start an initiative, at least seven EU citizens living in at least seven different Member States need to set up a committee and formally register their initiative on the European Commission's website. As soon as this registration has been confirmed, the initiators have one year to collect statements of support. All EU citizens old enough to vote in a European Parliament election can support an ECI.

▶ As of early 2013, fourteen ECIs – on topics as diverse as "Earth Rights", transportation, media pluralism or education – had been registered with the European Commission.

▶ For more details, see http://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/

Recognising the limits of citizenship and imperfections in the existing institutional realities in the Member States and in the EU is the key to acknowledging that there is more to be known and better realities to be achieved. Citizenship, including EU citizenship, has always been a dynamic institution; it is capable of extension, deepening and continuous evolution as a result of its activation by social agents in a variety of situations. These dynamics of extension and assertion of citizenship (*ENACT*) and the uncovering of the performative 'acts of citizenship' (*PROFACITY*) do not only have implications for the construction of identities and public narratives of belonging but also reveal that citizenship is essentially a co-created reality in progress. **They show the incompleteness of European Union citizenship (and of democracy), the creativity of political actors in shaping the social realities that envelop them and the importance of listening to the perspectives of various groups and of taking seriously what they say.** The *PROFACITY*, *PIDOP*, *ENACT* and *EMILIE* research projects recommended that all institutions should thus 'work with', as opposed to simply 'work for', citizens and residents with a view to being attentive to their vulnerabilities and their legitimate claims, be they claims to citizenship or claims of citizenship, and should welcome 'bottom up' solutions onto their policy agendas.

5.2. European Union Citizenship and European Identity: beyond the culturalist model

Another key theme permeating the research conducted by the projects discussed in this Review is the nexus between EU citizenship and identity. The legal provisions on EU citizenship highlighted the EU citizens' capabilities to act in a much broader social and political space and to choose their civic, professional and social homes in any of the Member States of the Union.[59] It would be erroneous to underplay the importance of this by viewing European Union citizens as mere 'consumers' of lifestyle choices and of 'what Europe has to offer'. For the words 'consumer' and 'choice' capture neither their membership status and their concrete life experiences nor the complexity of the social and political relations in which they are enmeshed. Living, working and engaging with the world go beyond the individualised consumption of 'choices', goods and services. In this sense, **the added value of EU citizenship is not confined to creating a new institutional reality which is superimposed on national citizenships. Instead, European Union citizenship contributes to making more enriched life horizons possible.** After all, law has to reflect, and to further enhance, social practices and it borrows its quality from the quality of the practices it makes possible.

In this respect, the *EUCROSS* research project seeks to measure the importance of EU citizenship by 'quality' alongside 'quantity'. Quantity refers to statistics capturing how many people are mobile or how many people vote in European Parliament elections and municipal elections in the Member State of their residence, or the degree of their identification with the EU. Quality, in turn, refers to the nature of the practices people engage in. Ultimately, *EUCROSS*, which is still running, aims at unravelling the Europeanisation of everyday life in all its complexity, irrespective of actual border crossings and voting turn outs. These indicators can reveal the increasing propensity of EU citizens to engage in transnational practices. For there exist opportunities for 'the greatest engagement of the greatest number', to paraphrase the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham, which are not reflected in the varying as well as shifting survey results on European Union identification. *EUCROSS* researchers seek to understand what 'Europe' represents in peoples' minds and what makes people feel more European by examining a wide variety of transnational practices citizens engage in, such as international friendships, family or professional networks, international media and cultural consumption.

This is a bottom up approach in so far as it views transnational interactions as the springboard for the creation of interest affinities and bonds among the participants. In this respect, *EUCROSS* researchers distinguish between the *culturalist* model of identity which conceives of identity as 'the direct outcome of content-specific messages' and the *structuralist* model which puts emphasis on socio-spatial interactions among individuals.[60] So instead of focusing on socialisation, discourses and communication, the key mechanisms underlying the culturalist model of identity formation, which have been the main means of instilling a sense of national identity in national statist contexts, *EUCROSS* research focuses on the amplification of

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59 'The freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU' is the prevalent response to the question 'what does the EU mean to you?'; Eurobarometer 71: Public Opinion in the EU. Full Report, 85, European Commission 2009, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

60 E. Recchi, 'Transnational Practices and European Identity: From Theoretical to Policy Issues', EUCROSS Working Paper 3, April 2012, p. 3 *et seq.*

economic, cultural, social and political exchanges. Such exchanges bring people closer together and enable them to act as co-citizens.

This associative model of collective identity formation does not postulate the existence of a clash between national and European identities (*CINEFOGO*). Nationalist programmes and discourses, in their various manifestations, have always insisted on the primacy, homogeneity and overarching nature of national identity, thereby bracketing individuals' plural identities, be they sub-national, regional, supranational, ethnic, professional and so on. Such beliefs may have cohered with certain political claims and political discourses, including those opposing further European integration, but they tend to rest on a reductionist view of reality. They side-step the fact that 'the same man belongs to many different groups, whose demands are not all one. And he can keep his loyalties to all, their conflict perpetually unresolved and perpetually in balance, because he can identify himself in turn with the model member of each. A full and many-sided modern society draws its strength from the criss-cross of different loyalties'.[61] These loyalties are, in turn, fostered and nurtured by the amplification of economic, social and cultural exchanges across countries and the European citizens' willing participation in them.

As highlighted by the *INTUNE* research project, political opportunity structures that exist in the European Union and the Member States impact on European identity as well as on the symbiosis of European identity with national and subnational identities. The responsiveness of the European Union institutions to citizens' expectations and needs is a necessary, but, by no means, a sufficient determinant of popular attitudes towards European integration. This is because the latter tend to fluctuate and are subject to cross-national variations. Economic considerations, political events and discourses at the national level affect political attitudes thereby making the drawing of indexes of Europeanness of Europe's population contingent upon time as well as context. Quite interestingly, '**the European public's views of integration are now clearly connected to the dynamics of public opinion and political attitudes at the domestic level. Voting behaviour in European elections and referenda is affected by considerations and themes arising in domestic political arenas. Moreover, although it is not yet widely politicized, a growing 'European' ideological cleavage does appear to be emerging among mass publics'** (*INTUNE*). In this respect, in explaining attitudes towards European integration and participation in EU political processes, one should consider not only EU-related civic and political factors but also Member State-related variables, such as the constraining effect of discourses about national identity. Indeed, the extent to which EU institutional processes will affect a person's identity may well depend on domestic discourses about national identity. *INTUNE* researchers studied discourses on EU citizenship and European identity in television news reports and national presses and showed how 'Europe' is 'made' and 'unmade' in national arenas. This led them to conclude that in explaining peoples' orientations towards the EU one needs to consider not only instrumental perspectives focusing on the costs and benefits associated with membership and affective explanations drawing on cultural influences, but also political factors, such as ideological outlook, elite communication, partisan identification, satisfaction with political structures and so on (*INTUNE*).

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61 J. Bronowski, *The Identity of Man* (Penguin Books: Harmondsworth, 1965) p. 92.

Like all collective identities, European identity is both a process and a project.[62] The *EUCROSS*, *CINEFOGO* and *INTUNE* research projects demonstrate that it has to be nourished by institutions, structures and discourses that enable and empower Europeans to act in multifarious subject positions in the knowledge that it is bound to be continuously tested in national arenas by negative representations of Europe in the media, unpredictable events, crises and populist discourses by political parties. This is not surprising. Transformation in Europe has been neither a linear nor a smooth process. Amidst arguments, opposing forces, the threat of fragmentation, however, a stern preoccupation with an improved future and the alignment of unity with diversity has regularly prevailed.

5.3. Unity, Diversity and the European Public Sphere: prerequisites for inclusive citizenship

Citizenship presupposes a public sphere for action, deliberation and political participation.[63] While national public spheres, allegedly, have been, or have aspired to be, homogeneous, the European public sphere is, by definition, quite heterogeneous. Heterogeneity is not simply a manifestation of the empirical fact that European societies display considerable diversity along multiple axes, such as ethnicity, nationality, religion, age, gender and so on. This empirical fact is closely connected with the recognition that diversity is a source of strength in the Member States and in the European Union as a whole (*POLITIS*). The foregoing discussion on political participation and civic engagement showed that the affirmation of diversity has at its heart an 'ethics of listening' to the specific needs of various segments of the population with a view to promoting their well-being and enabling them to flourish (section 5.1.). The importance of recognising plural identities in the EU is equally highlighted (section 5.2.).

The Treaty on European Union explicitly refers to pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between men and women (Article 2) and to respect for Europe's rich cultural and linguistic diversity (Article 3(3)) as well as for national identities (Article 4(2)). The same normative principles feature in the preamble of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, which is legally binding.[64] One finds there explicit provisions concerning the prohibition of discrimination (Article 21), respect for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity (Article 22), equality between men and women (Article 23), recognition of, and respect for, the rights of the child, the elderly and the promotion of integration of people with disabilities (Article 26). Specific policies to promote and implement these rights and principles contribute to the creation of an inclusive public sphere in which all citizens and residents feel protected and recognised as equal and respected members. Indeed, since justice can only be meaningful within specific contexts, 'in any society the more voices heard and represented the greater the safeguard against violations and exclusions', notwithstanding the existence of competing claims (cited in *FEMCIT*).[65] In other words, **an awareness of discrimination in multifarious**

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62 See also D. Kostakopoulou, *Citizenship, Identity and Immigration in the European Union* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) 14-37.

63 On the notion of public sphere, see J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1962).

64 Derogations were obtained by the United Kingdom and Poland, while the Czech Republic is also currently seeking such derogations.

65 F. Anthias, 2002: 285, cited in FEMCIT.

contexts and a willingness to combat it are paths towards affirming difference and creating an inclusive European citizenship (*PROFACITY*).

Although both diversity and inclusivity are praiseworthy goals and aspirations of European Union policy-making, changing individual European and national political actors' perceptions of diversity is not always easy. Certain political parties 'display a restrictive conceptualisation of diversity' and hold Eurosceptic attitudes (*EUROSPHERE*), and a certain kind of nostalgia for an illusionary sense of ethnic or national or religious or sexual homogeneity often spreads in national arenas, making the European social space inhospitable, uncongenial, and disrespectful to the dignity and integrity of Europe's citizens. **The economic crisis has fuelled such expressions of intolerance, prejudice and the hardening and narrowing of human solidarity, leading Europe's ethnic citizens (and residents) to wonder whether the values espoused by the EU and its Member States, such as pluralism, equality, justice and non-discrimination, constitute merely a lustre concealing intolerance, racism and homophobia. A case in point has been the situation of the Roma within the European Union** (see Box 2).

BOX 2:

The situation of the Roma in the European Union

▸ Roma people, including Ashkali, Gypsies, Manouches, Sinti and Travellers, have formed part of European civilisation for over a thousand years. Roughly six million live in the European Union today, and most of them are EU citizens. Many of these latter are permanent residents or mobile only within the territory of a single Member State.

▸ A recent survey of the Fundamental Rights Agency, the United Nations Development Programme and the European Commission of the situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States reveals that a significant number of these EU citizens - over 25% in Romania to around 60% in the Czech Republic, Greece, Italy and Poland - face discrimination on the grounds of their ethnic origin. At the same time, only about half of them are aware of anti-discrimination legislation in Poland, the Czech Republic, Italy and France, with significantly lower levels of awareness in Bulgaria and Greece. Discrimination enhances the risk for social exclusion and poverty, and at least eight out of ten Roma respondents in the survey are at risk of poverty, especially in Portugal, Italy and France.

▸ Despite EU initiatives to improve the situation of these EU citizens, such as the 2011 *EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies*, a May 2012 Commission report notes a 'persistent economic and social marginalisation of the Roma' across the EU.

Sources: EU Fundamental Rights Agency, UNDP, European Commission, *The situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States. Survey results at a glance (Brussels, 2012)*, pp. 25-27; European Commission, *National Roma Integration Strategies: a first step in the implementation of the EU Framework* (Brussels, 21 May 2012).

But it is precisely when the world appears to be rather chaotic and people feel troubled by the presence of circumstances that are uncongenial to them, that leadership and social responsibility must be exercised by political actors at all levels of governance (e.g., at subnational, national and supranational levels) and in civil society. Although it is generally assumed that civil society organisations show this social responsibility, fostering dialogue and creating democratic communicative spaces that respect 'the other', *EUROSPHERE* researchers have found evidence of the contrary, i.e. civil society organisations that promote uncivil narratives of society and prejudice. In other words, for an inclusive and diverse European public sphere, it is not only

important what policies are designed and implemented, but also what kind of debates take place during the policy-making phase and afterwards (*POLITIS*).

When it comes to further prerequisites for inclusive citizenship, education is of key importance. A study by *EMILIE* concludes that democratic civic education requires multicultural curricula and the formal recognition of the economic input and the socio-cultural contributions of migrant groups to European societies. In this respect, enhancing the intercultural training skills of teachers and improving general understandings of diversity in educational institutions are important for improving the educational prospects of pupils (not just) from minority backgrounds (*EMILIE, PIDOP*). Although in some Member States multicultural education is seen with apprehension and is criticised for fostering segmentation and undermining the common values of the polity, promoting monoculturalism (and monolingualism) in contemporary plural societies and bracketing the history of slavery, colonialism, world-migrations and -religions can only build up a world of apparitions. For it is only by learning about societies' troubled pasts, other cultures, religions and faiths and about the discrimination, injustices and exploitation that human beings experience that education can serve its purpose, which is to serve as an instrument for the enrichment of human beings and the promotion of their welfare (*EMILIE*). **Seeing realities from a variety of perspectives and history through the eyes of both the privileged and the underprivileged enables reflectivity in judgments, critical thinking and encourages people to be responsible moral agents drawn towards, and not away from, their fellow compatriots, co-citizens and co-residents.**

Citizenship is not just about formal entitlements and obligations, but it is also about every day practices and 'how it is lived' (*FEMCIT, ENACT, PROFACITY*). **In this respect, gender-related concerns and, more specifically, the intersection of gender, race and religion should also be taken into account in making progress towards creating an inclusive European citizenship.** Several projects have reported that citizenship can only be effectively realised if the policies surrounding it are attentive to how different forms of inequality based on gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, disability and so on interact in complex ways (e.g., *CIVICACTIVE, FEMCIT*). **After all, EU citizenship is not one-dimensional: it integrates a number of different realities and unifies them by containing a strong normative appeal to equality.** Accordingly, concerns about the under-representation of women in political structures need to be accompanied by an awareness of the double discrimination that ethnic minority women face (*FEMCIT*)[66] in the same way that assessments of reversals in policies relating to social citizenship need to take into account their differential impact on the elderly, the disabled or minority groups. Full gender-fair citizenship has yet to be achieved and issues surrounding child and elderly care, quotas for women, the re-skilling of ethnic minority women, abortion rights and diversity mainstreaming need to remain central in policy-making discussions.

Equally important for inclusive citizenship, which is premised on the ideal of equal membership, is the maintenance of a rigorous anti-discrimination policy in the workplace. Although the correct transposition of the relevant EU Directives can be monitored both at the national and European Union levels, the implementation of an effective and successful anti-discrimination policy

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66 According to FEMCIT, 'political parties vary in their positions on gender quotas. While the left parties are divided between seeing gender quotas as a necessary evil (40%) and a good and fair method (58%), the other parties manifest more disparate positions. The overwhelming majority of the right parties, however, see gender quotas as unacceptable (86%), and none sees quotas as a good method'.

remains a long term goal. Research conducted under *EMILIE* with respect to the two Directives pursuant to Article 19 TFEU, namely, the Race and Framework Employment Directives,[67] has found a widespread lack of awareness about the legislative framework by the general public. In addition, the path to litigation is ridden with obstacles, resulting in a very small number of complaints and cases in courts. Moreover, the bodies that have been set up in order to promote equal opportunities in the Member States do not always display sufficient independence from the government (*EMILIE*).

An inclusive European public sphere does not only require differentiated citizenship policies addressing the needs of specific groups and combating discrimination. It also necessitates openness to differentiated modes of governance and to policy experimentation. Policy innovation strikes at the heart of the co-creation of citizenship which relies on the input of many actors. Since the 1990s, European Union governance has become less hierarchical, less controlled and more steered, due to 'the emergence of new actors, new forms of involvement, and innovative forms of decision-making complementary to the traditional articulation of demands via direct and electoral participation, response by legislation and implementation by bureaucratic control' (*NEWGOV, CINEFOGO*). In the present EU policy making arena, hard law instruments and the application of sanctions are often accompanied by softer modes of governance. In the field of socio-economic governance, for instance, the Commission has deployed all three modes in order to promote the European employment agenda (*NEWGOV*) and perhaps all three could be deployed, once again, in promoting an anti-poverty strategy, the mainstreaming of intersectionality and the promotion of European social citizenship in the near future.

In the EU governance system, policy spaces tend to be defined in a functional, rather than jurisdictional way, by the scope and range of the problems to be solved (*NEWGOV*). The understanding of those problems and of the required solutions can become more nuanced, insightful and efficient through deliberative interaction and partnership with multiple stakeholders. Such a flexible approach and a commitment to the orchestration and co-production of policy solutions are not premised on the existence of pre-established ideas about the primacy of hard law or where or how co-production should take place. Instead, they welcome the combination of old and new modes of governance and policy experimentation with a view to upgrading standards, tackling policy gaps, providing solutions and improving administrative capacities. All these are ingredients of reflexive governance and the co-creation of institutional realities. **But reflexive governance can only thrive amidst change and the flux of fused messages, if all the institutions involved in it are not only guarantors of rules and law enforcers but also citizenship capacity builders, facilitators and creators of incentives for civic engagement.**

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67 Directive 2000/43 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial and ethnic origin [2002] OJ L180/22 and Directive 2000/78 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation [2002] OJ 2000 L303/16.

6.

Policy Implications: Co-creating EU Citizenship

The research projects reviewed here have prompted a serious reflection on several presuppositions that have been imposed upon us by the past and conventional thinking about citizenship as a nation-state institution. A summary of the most pertinent findings discussed in this Policy Review of fifteen EU-funded research projects on EU citizenship and related issues will be followed by a discussion of policy-relevant insights.

6.1. Key findings

- **Connections beyond and across national boundaries can generate experience worth having and enriched life-options.** European Union citizens engage in a variety of cross-border practices in the formal, institutional sphere and in their everyday lives. To deny this as well as the reality of European societies' interdependence not only in times of prosperity but also in times of economic crisis would be unfruitful. Equally unfruitful would be the forgetfulness of the Member States' connected pasts and histories. Constructing narratives about mono-national identities, unique national cultures and 'us v. them' polarities, thereby ignoring the plurality, hybridity and connections underpinning national identities and cultures, yields a view of the irresponsible sort (CLIOHRES, FEMCIT, EUROSPHERE).

- Another troubling presupposition that the research projects discussed in this Review have called into question is that national citizenship will continue to exist unchanged or marginally changed by European Union developments and that European Union citizenship will only be secondary and significantly weaker than national citizenships. The importance of EU citizenship has increased significantly in the new millennium due to the Court's important contributions, the adoption of the Citizenship Directive (2004/38) and the Lisbon Treaty's institutional innovations, including the legally binding Charter of Fundamental Rights and the currently negotiated accession of the EU to the European Convention on Human Rights. **EU citizens are no longer simply considered as 'market citizens', that is, economic actors driven by selfish interests, but are also seen as social agents and political actors eager to mobilise EU citizenship in order to advance rights claims and embark upon new citizenship practices. Legal rights and 'acts of citizenship'**[68] **are mutually constitutive and spaces and issues that may be deemed to be apolitical can easily become politicised** (*ENACT, INTUNE, MYPLACE, CINEFOGO, beEUcitizens*).

- **Instead of having preconceptions as to where the proper locus of democracy should be and assuming that an integrated polity by nature is less democratic than its constituent units, it might be more fruitful to examine the various possibilities the European Union offers for decentralised decision-making, novel forms of governance, active participation and the airing and inclusion of differing views and marginalised perspectives. Interestingly enough, *ENACT, PROFACITY, FEMCIT, PIDOP, EUROSPHERE, NEWGOV* revealed that EU citizens, residents in the EU and civil society**

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68 E. Isin, 'Claiming European Citizenship', in E. Isin and M. Saward (eds.), *Enacting European Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Forthcoming).

organisations have grasped the above point more readily than political elites in the Member States.

- Formal and informal citizenship practices in the Member States examined by the research projects discussed in this Review have demonstrated the interaction and cooperation of all levels of governance and civil society in making European Union citizenship a reality. After all, EU citizenship is exercised in state-bounded spaces and simultaneously creates a much broader social and political space that supersedes the former. This realisation should lead us to **re-consider state-centred assumptions about which form of citizenship should be predominant and about the dualism of 'centralism' (supranationalism) versus 'home-rule' (intergovernmentalism) and to embrace a genuinely citizen-centred perspective.** All levels of governance must thus work in tandem in order to enhance the well-being of EU citizens (young and old, mobile and static) and to provide safety nets for all vulnerable individuals and groups.

6.2. Policy-relevant insights and recommendations

The European Union and the Member States have thus key roles to play to make EU citizenship a reality and remedy increasing socio-economic inequalities. Key messages and policy recommendations stemming from the EU funded social sciences and humanities projects are summarised into several thematic clusters.

Strengthening the rights of residence of EU citizens

- The European Union has a duty to protect European Union citizens facing the deprivation or diminution of their rights in the territory of the Union irrespective of whether they have crossed national borders. This duty is heightened when collective expulsion decisions against EU citizens are taken by a Member State, such as in the case of the Roma (see also Box 2, p. 39).

Promoting citizen participation

- The promise of political citizenship remains unfulfilled: the ethnic and gender representation gap of political parties, parliamentary bodies and the exclusion of EU citizens resident in Member States other than their state of origin from participation in national elections remain important issues of political citizenship in the European Union.

- The European Citizens' Initiative should be promoted as a key institutional means of fostering active citizenship and direct democratic participation and a 'polity-activating device' which upgrades the democratic life of the Union (see also Box 1, p. 35).

- In addition to the legal and institutional configuration of European Union citizenship, informal citizenship practices can re-write citizenship from the foundation upwards. Various groups, such as young people, ethnic minorities or Roma EU citizens assert

their right to participate in the public sphere, raise the visibility of their claims and expose the injustices they suffer. Politicians and policymakers should view civic and non-conventional forms of participation as equally important as conventional modes of participation and should address the issues that have been raised by activists. In so doing, they should uphold EU citizenship rights and the values of the European Union.

Protecting and including vulnerable groups

- Various forms and structures of inequality intersect in complex ways and citizenship policies need to be sensitive to the intersectionality of age, gender, race, class, sexuality, disability and so on. Different structures of subordination and marginalisation overlap and can thus be only effectively targeted if policy makers at all levels listen attentively to the voices of specific groups, take seriously their demands and incorporate bottom-up solutions to problems into their policy agendas. All institutions should be aware of the differentiation existing within European societies and within groups and should devise policies that address the needs of different subgroups with specific needs.

- There should be a systematic and consistent implementation of the Citizenship Directive (2004/38) and EU anti-discrimination directives. Politicians and policy makers have a responsibility to refrain from constructing public narratives fostering prejudice, xenophobia and the scapegoating of foreigners, including EU citizens living in their territories. More efforts should also be made to countering the development of feelings of exclusion and alienation among ethnic minority EU and non-EU citizens as a consequence of the prejudice and inequality they suffer.

Educating and informing (European Union) citizens

- Professionals in the education sector should focus on amplifying the political interest of young people. Educational programmes in civic/citizenship education should be aimed primarily at enabling young people to acquire an interest in political and civic affairs; fostering their knowledge and understanding of political and civic matters; and supporting the development of the skills which they require to participate effectively in the political and civic life of their community and country.

- Schools should recognise the fact that minority youth may have a fluid sense of their identities which combines the culture of their parents' homeland, the culture of the country in which they are living, and other cultures specific to youth.

- The role of the media is important in making European Union citizenship a reality. Both national and European identities are made and unmade in the press and media producers and journalists have a responsibility in conveying news in an accurate way and to refrain from depicting European Union developments, the participatory actions of young people, the practices of others actors and the presence of ethnic minorities in a negative way.

Developing rights and duties of EU citizenship

- Article 20(2) TFEU states that 'Citizens of the Union shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties provided for in the Treaties'. Yet, EU citizenship has not been accompanied by any duties or obligations thus far. Debates could be held on what possible EU citizenship obligations might look like. The latter do not have to be confined to EU citizens. EU citizenship provisions could also incorporate duties addressed to the European Union, the Member States and to regional governance in line with the multilayered nature of European Union citizenship.

- Article 25 TFEU constitutes the 'dynamic' clause of EU citizenship; it states that provisions that strengthen or add to the rights listed in Article 20(2) TFEU could be adopted on the basis of a unanimous decision by the Council after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament. A significant limitation of the existing institutional framework of EU citizenship, particularly in comparison to national citizenships, is the absence of a reference to a European social citizenship. In the tradition of T.H. Marshall, social citizenship comprises civil and political but also social rights, including the right to 'live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society'.[69] The EU should embed *European* social citizenship in Part II of TFEU – an issue that becomes increasingly pertinent in view of shrinking welfare budgets and the increase in poverty and homelessness in several Member States.

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69 T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays.* (Cambridge University Press, 1950).

7.

Conclusion: A Citizens' Europe

European Union citizenship has always been an experimental institution premised on visionary ideas. It exists in a crystallised institutional form because political actors imagined it more than fifty years ago (section 3) and worked through the decades in order to make it a reality (section 4). Advances have been made in an incremental way and the European institutions, especially the ECJ, have made essential contributions. And while each stage of Union citizenship's development issues out of the previous one, without negating or suspending it, **there has been one vital constant throughout the decades, namely, the simple, but transformative, belief that equal treatment advances human prospects as well as societal flourishing. EU citizenship thus exists in order to open up options for EU citizens by neutralising restrictions and to meet their needs; this is its sole reality and the foundation of its tendency towards vision.**

In this respect, 'bringing the citizens in', that is, viewing citizens and their families as partners in the design of policies and solutions - and not as recipients of policies, subjects to rules and mere economic actors,[70] **is the key to strengthening EU citizenship's reality and potential.** This message has been highlighted by the European research projects discussed in this Review. True, a considerable number of barriers still exist. Some of these may have to do with the incorrect or incomplete implementation of EU law, administrative practices or simple divergence in regulatory standards. Other may be based on more fundamental structural and ideological substrata. The findings of the research projects pinpoint persistent structural inequalities, dogmatism in mindsets and deep rooted sexism, racism and xenophobia in beliefs and attitudes. But having identified these barriers, European researchers also document the existence of changing conceptions, orientations and new citizenship practices as well as citizens and other actors' propensity to make claims and advance policy recommendations for institutional reform.

So instead of viewing existing limitations as either the result of inherent weaknesses in the institution of EU citizenship or the outcome of imperfect compromises struck during the intergovernmental negotiations accompanying the revision of the Treaties, it might be more promising to adopt a long-term perspective and to view them as part of the restless and continuous development of EU citizenship. In this respect, solutions to impediments to exercising EU citizenship, new citizenship practices, citizenship reform and citizenship - and European identity -related awareness will emerge from continuous multilogues (and not just dialogues between the EU and the Member States) 'up', 'down' and 'sideways' and through policy innovation. Accordingly, **attention should be paid to encouraging multiple conversations among different actors, orchestrating co-creation, building capacity at various levels of governance, advancing new ways of exercising EU citizenship and influencing Member States and their bureaucracies to put EU citizens' needs (including their own mobile citizens' needs) and their everyday realities at the centre of their efforts.**

Like European integration itself, EU citizenship is not simply contained in the present; it is a futuristic constitution in that it looks forward to the future and evolves for a (better) future. Europe's citizens, legal persons, political actors and elites have a common interest to co-create citizenship by removing impediments to its exercise and addressing new challenges, such as increasingly declining living standards, youth unemployment, shrinking welfare budgets and the rise in right-wing extremism and populism. **For it may well be the case that without**

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70 This is influenced by C. Bason, *Leading Public Sector Innovation: Co-creating for a Better Society* (Bristol Policy Press, 2010) 173.

a solid social dimension EU citizenship might be of more limited and relative value in 2020 and beyond. The future always contains a multitude of possibilities and risks, changes as well as chances. There is no linear path on which to progress, nor a fully determined shape to contemplate and, on occasions, unforeseen challenges and crises hamper progress. But herein lie the promise, the excitement as well as the burden of responsibility for all citizens, residents and political actors in the European Union. It is to be hoped that the political elites in the EU Member States avoid the easy route of populism and electoral politics and take clear responsibilities.

ANNEX:

Overview of the covered projects

Project acronym and project coordinator	Full title and thematic focus	Website
beEUcitizen **FP 7** Sybe A. DE VRIES Universiteit Utrecht NETHERLANDS	**All Rights Reserved? Constraints and Contradictions of European Citizenship** Guiding questions: A. What problems do European citizens experience when they try to exercise the rights given – or perform the duties required – by the legal concept of European citizenship? What hindrances or even barriers do they run into? Where, when, and why? B. What are the causes of the existence of these barriers, both directly and indirectly? C. Could these barriers be reduced or even lifted? For which ones is this easier or more difficult, and why? D. Which actors have already taken initiatives to do so? How successful have they been? Who could do what, and under which conditions? E. What could be unintended and perhaps unwanted consequences of some possible solutions to reduce these barriers?	not yet available (project starts in 2013)
CINEFOGO (Network of Excellence) **FP 6** Thomas Peder BOJE Roskilde Universitets-center DENMARK	**Civil Society and New Forms of Governance in Europe – The Making of European Citizenship** Investigated links between multiple identities and channels of participation and their contribution to the exercise of EU citizenship.	http://www.cinefogo.com
CIVICACTIVE **FP 6** Richard SINNOTT National University of Ireland, Dublin IRELAND	**The determinants of active civic participation at European/national level** Focussed on identifying the determinants of civic participation in (a) European Parliament elections, (b) referendums on European integration issues, (c) national elections, and (d) non-electoral political and community action. Determinants examined include gender, age, class and disability; analysed the impact of political parties and the media on civic participation.	http://www.ucd.ie/civicact/

CLIOHRES (Network of Excellence) **FP 6** Katherine ISAACS Università degli Studi di Pisa ITALY	**Creating Links and Innovative Overviews for a New History Research Agenda for the Citizens of a Growing Europe** Examined inter alia citizenship constructions and their link with identities.	http://www. cliohres.net/
EMILIE **FP 6** Anna TRIANDAFYL- LIDOU Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy GREECE	**A European approach to multicultural citizenship: Legal, political and educational challenges** Focussed on links between migration and the exercise of citizenship from legal, political science and pedagogical perspectives.	http://emilie. eliamep.gr/
ENACT **FP 7** Engin ISIN The Open University UNITED KINGDOM	**Enacting European Citizenship** Investigates how citizens, third country nationals, refugees, illegal aliens and states enact claims to citizenship. Acts that articulate claims to citizenship (and produce claimants) create new sites of belonging and identification. These differ from traditional, and still important, sites of citizenship such as voting, social security, and military obligation; expands the focus from what people say (opinions, perceptions, attitudes) to what people do – an important supplement, and sometimes a corrective, to a conventional focus on what people or authorities (EU as well as national courts, agencies, organisations) say about European citizenship and identification.	http://www. enacting- citizenship.eu/

EUCROSS **FP 7** Ettore RECCHI Universita degli Studi Gabriele d'Annunzio di Chieti-Pescara ITALY	**The Europeanisation of Everyday Life: Cross-Border Practices and Trans-national Identities among EU and Third-Country Citizens** Examines the relationship between the manifold activities of EU residents (nationals, mobile EU citizens, and third-country nationals) across the borders of nation states and their collective identities. Which cross-border practices are more likely to foster some form of identification with the EU – e.g., contacts with foreign friends and/or unwanted foreigners, periods of labour mobility abroad, buying property abroad, business and tourist travel, or consumer relations with international companies?	http://www.eucross.eu/cms/
EUROSPHERE **FP 6** Hakan Gurcan SICAKKAN Universitetet i Bergen NORWAY	**Diversity and the European Public Sphere. Towards a Citizens' Europe** Examined the factors that are challenging the fabric of European democracy; identified options relevant to optimizing citizens' involvement in the European democratic processes; assessed different strategies for strengthening of its inclusive democratic, plural institutions.	http://www.eurosphere.uib.no/
FEMCIT **FP 6** Sevil SÜMER Universitetet i Bergen NORWAY	**Gendered Citizenship in** **Multicultural Europe: the Impact of Contemporary Women's Movements** The main aims of the project were: – To produce an interdisciplinary understanding of gendered citizenship in a multicultural and changing Europe, in terms of six dimensions of citizenship: political, social, economic, ethnic/ religious, bodily/sexual, and intimate citizenship – To develop an integrative analysis of the interrelationships between these six dimensions – To investigate how different and changing notions and practices of citizenship have been articulated by contemporary women's movements and to evaluate their impact on citizenship discourses and practices since the 1960s	http://www.femcit.org/

INTUNE **FP 6** Maurizio COTTA Università degli Studi di Siena ITALY	**Integrated and United: A quest for Citizenship in an ever closer Europe** Studied the changes in the scope, nature and characteristics of citizenship as an effect of the process of deepening and enlargement of the European Union; focussed on how integration and decentralization processes, at both the national and European level, are affecting three major dimensions of citizenship: identity, representation, and practice of good governance.	http://www.intune.it/
MYPLACE **FP 7** Hilary PILKINGTON University of Warwick UNITED KINGDOM	**Memory, Youth, Political Legacy and Civic Engagement** Explored how young people's social participation is shaped by the shadows (past, present and future) of totalitarianism and populism in Europe.	http://www.fp7-myplace.eu/
NEWGOV **FP 6** Adrienne HÉRITIER European University Institute ITALY	**New Modes of Governance in Europe** Parts of the project focussed on participation and democracy and the links between citizens and processes of governance.	http://www.eu-newgov.org/
PIDOP **FP 7** Martyn BARRET University of Surrey UNITED KINGDOM	**Processes Influencing Democratic Ownership and Participation** Focussed on the psychology of individual citizens – notably young people, women, minorities and migrants – and the psychological processes through which macro-level contextual factors and proximal social factors exert their effects upon citizens' civic and political engagement and participation.	http://www.fahs.surrey.ac.uk/pidop/

POLITIS **FP 6** Rudolf LEIPRECHT Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg GERMANY	**Building Europe with New Citizens? An inquiry into the civic participation of naturalized citizens and foreign residents in 25 countries** Explored the potential of immigrants for the development of a civicly active European society, starting with foreign students' perceptions of Europe and focusing on sustained social and political activities of immigrants.	http://www.politis-europe.uni-oldenburg.de/
PROFACITY **FP 7** Marc DERYCKE Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique France	**Profane citizenship in Europe – Testing democratic ownership in hybrid situations** Examined practices of ordinary citizens and minority groups and how they are taken into account as alternatives to juridical citizenship.	no longer available

2013 has been designated the "European Year of Citizens". It marks the twentieth anniversary of the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty, which first introduced European Union citizenship. In the midst of a major socio-economic crisis, accompanied by solid trends of declining support for the European Union and the resurgence of nationalisms in many EU member states, EU citizenship offers a countermodel capable of reinforcing citizens' resilience and their feeling of belonging to a community of Europeans. Yet, while the citizenship status promises an important set of rights and opportunities for all EU citizens, challenges continue to persist. This Policy Review critically discusses the advances in the "co-creation" of European Union citizenship over the past twenty years, while highlighting the manifold remaining obstacles to the exercise of citizenship rights in the EU. It draws on the key research findings of fifteen EU-funded Social Sciences and Humanities research projects with a bearing for understanding the genesis and evolution of EU citizenship. On the basis of a sound synthesis of these findings, the Review formulates a set of policy implications highlighting, among others, the need to involve citizens to a larger extent in EU policy-making and to reinforce the social dimension of EU citizenship.

Studies and reports

Publications Office