



Report 2nd General Assembly and Mid-Term Conference– Zagreb 2015

Authors: Alice Perenzin, Sybe de Vries

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3	Zagreb University	Viktor Koska
9	Goethe University Frankfurt	Sandra Seubert
12	Central European University	Marie-Pierre Granger, Uwe Puetter
15	University of Trento	Elena Ioriatti
22	Zurich University	Francis Cheneval
25	University of Oxford	Sarah Walker, Martin Seeleib-Kaiser

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

From June 29 until July 2 2015, the Faculty of Political Science and Hotel Dubrovnik in Zagreb (Croatia) hosted the 2015 bEUCitizen Annual Conference. This year's Consortium meeting included also a two-day international and interdisciplinary conference on the theme: "Being a citizen in Europe" (29-30 June). During this two day conference, researchers from the bEUCitizen research project and external scholars, participating in panel discussions, which were divided into four streams, talked about different aspects of European citizenship, thereby challenging each other and bringing new input to the project. On Monday June 29 a parallel workshop ("Breaking down barriers: future scenarios on youth and citizenship in 2030 – Youth and access to education, labour and political decision-making") gave the opportunity to twenty students and young professionals to discuss different future scenarios for youth-citizenship. The outcomes were presented during the Conference closing.

The second part of the Conference was dedicated to the Work Package meetings, where researchers discussed the content of their work, the progress made so far and looked ahead, planning the activities for the coming two years. These Work Package meetings were complemented by combined sessions, in which different Work Packages had the opportunity to identify and discuss together potential areas of collaboration and by a Roundtable between the WP2 Core team and the WP Coordinators to plan the final vertical book.

During the four days, participants have been illuminated by four keynote speeches and the Art Exhibition "Circus Europe", an international collaboration of poetry and images, made them reflect on the European Union theme from an alternative, playful and visionary perspective.



THE 2ND CONSORTIUM MEETING AND THE MID-TERM CONFERENCE

The second annual conference was hosted by our partner from Zagreb: dr. Viktor Koska and his team from the Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Citizenship and Migration (CEDIM), Faculty of Political Science, in Zagreb. Two venues were chosen for the Conference: Hotel Dubrovnik hosted the first day, while the other days took place at the Faculty of Political Science. The very good locations and the excellent support offered by the welcoming Zagreb team, helped to make the four-day conference a successful event.

The 2015 bEUCitizen Annual Consortium meeting and Mid-Term Conference took place in Zagreb, from June 29th until July 2nd 2015. This year's Conference was divided into two parts: a two-day international conference open to both researchers from the bEUCitizen consortium and to external scholars, organized into four thematic streams; the Annual Consortium meeting, committed to the Work Package meetings and General Assembly. In total, more than 100 researchers, 5 Advisory Board Members and 3 keynote speakers attended the Conference.

The four days in Zagreb also comprised of plenary meetings, where broader discussions on the topic of European Citizenship took place nourished by inspiring speeches of high-profile scientists, and two side events: a workshop for students and young professional on the theme "Breaking down barriers: Future scenarios on youth and citizenship in 2030 – Youth and access to education, labour and political decision making", in which different future scenarios for youth-citizenship were discussed; an art exhibition with a collected series of works titled "Circus Europe".

The European Commission was represented by the Project Officer, who is responsible for the bEUCitizen project and who was present during the entire Conference, thereby attending a number of research meetings.

THE MID-TERM CONFERENCE: BEING A CITIZEN IN EUROPE (29-30 JUNE 2015)

On Monday morning June 29th, the "Being a citizen in Europe" Conference was officially opened by Prof. Dr. Lidija Kos Stanišić (Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb), Viktor Koska (bEUCitizen researcher, Centre for the study of ethnicity, citizenship and migration CEDIM, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb) and by the academic coordinator of the bEUCitizen project, Prof. Dr. Sybe De Vries (Utrecht University).

In his opening speech, Sybe de Vries referred to the Greek mythological story of the abduction of Europa by Zeus, as illustration for the current state of affairs of the European Union. The various interpretations of the story of Europa and the bull are symbolic for the differences that exist in Europe, which are hard to overcome. However, there is also a lot that Europe binds and on this the bEUCitizen project should focus. Taking as point of departure the more heterogeneous character of citizenship, we will examine the prospect of developing a form of European citizenship true to the EU's own motto: in varietate concordia. In this present-day Europe, characterized by discord and crisis, what does it mean to be a citizen? What does the concept of citizenship actually entail? These and other questions brought us to the theme of this year's conference: being a citizen in Europe.



WORD OF WELCOME BY SYBE DE VRIES

The Conference was divided into four thematic streams addressing different aspects of European citizenship: its historical development, the rights that European citizens have within the present-day European Union and the multiple legal, practical and other barriers they still face in exercising these rights, depending on their capacity and their status. For each stream three panel sessions were organized, with the exception of stream two that had 4 sessions and stream 4 that had only 2 sessions.

The Conference gathered together around 130 scholars from within and outside the bEucitizen consortium and, after a selection procedure based on a Call for Papers announced in December 2014, 34 papers were presented. The papers, upon author's consent, will be published on the project website (<http://beucitizen.eu/>).

On the first day, the Youth Side Event *"Breaking Down Barriers: Future scenarios on youth and citizenship in 2030 – Youth and access to education, labor and political decision making"* saw the participation of a group of 20 students and young professionals from Croatia, Slovenia and the Netherlands who, mediated by Prof. Wieger Bakker (Utrecht University), discussed different future scenarios for youth-citizenship. The participants



YOUTH SIDE EVENT

analysed and discussed the present situation and determined what they regard as important for youth. In addition, they looked at what different ways the European societies, and especially Croatia, might develop and which consequences these would involve. How could the world look in 2030? The outcomes of the workshop were presented to the public during the Conference closing and the report of the event was afterwards published on the project's website: <http://beucitizen.eu/news/> (see Annex III).

The first day ended with a dinner at Restaurant Vinodol, where guests had the opportunity to taste some typical Croatian dishes, followed by a roundtable on *"The challenges of Citizenship in the European Union"*.

The purpose of the roundtable was to address some of the most controversial challenges of and obstacles to citizenship rights and to provide an open forum for the debate on these issues between the conference participants but also the wider audience of the relevant Croatian stakeholders. The roundtable, which was led by our host Viktor Koska, saw the participation of the bEucitizen Advisory Board member Professor Jo Shaw (Salvesen Chair of European Institutions, Director of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh), dr.sc. Paul Stubbs (The Institute of Economics, Zagreb), dr.sc. Dejan Stjepanović (University College Dublin, School of Sociology) and Emina Bužinkić (Centre for Peace Studies, CMS, Zagreb).



ROUNDTABLE

Since the conference was held in Zagreb, the capital of the youngest EU Member State, Croatia, the focus of the discussion was on the challenges that EU membership brings to the citizenship regime on the newly accepted state and vice-versa and on the influence of the effects of the citizenship policies of the new member state on the wider EU community. The debate focused in particular on the following issues: EU welfare system and the member state social policies; the Greek referendum and challenges to direct democracy within the EU; the impact of the recent Scottish referendum on the cohesion of EU citizenship identity; the EU asylum policy and the perception of the “Fortress of Europe”; citizenship constellations within the former Yugoslav space.

On the second day participants moved to the Faculty of Political Science, where the last panels session and the conference closing took place.

There the participants could also visit the art exhibition “Circus Europe”, which was officially opened on Tuesday, June 30th, by Sybe de Vries and Machteld van Buren, and lasted until Thursday evening. During the opening, Hanneke an Eijken (Dutch poet and researcher of the bEUcitizen project), Peter van Lier (Dutch poet) and Ana Brnardic (Croatian poet) read their poems inspired by Europe and the paintings of Europe of the Circus Europe project.

Circus Europe is an art project. It is an international collaboration of poetry and images, by visual artist Machteld van Buren and poet Peter van Lier from the Netherlands. In large collages, Machteld illustrates how the struggle for survival is being waged in various European Union countries. Some countries are depicted as an animal: the body consists of a map onto which the realistic head of an animal has been superimposed. Other countries are the playground for animals, performing their acts. The collages are then interpreted by local poets.



ART EXHIBITION CIRCUS EUROPE

The exhibition, which was open to the public, was very well received not only by those present at the Conference but also by the students and professors of the Faculty of Political Science. More pictures of the Circus Europe exhibition in Zagreb can be found at the following link: <http://circus-europe-exhibitions.blogspot.nl/>.

Overall, the Conference was successful and thought-provoking, in a friendly and open atmosphere. All the participants enjoyed and gained a lot out of the event.

KEYNOTES

The “Being a citizen in Europe” Conference has not only been the place where researchers have met to discuss different aspects of European Citizenship and to share their work in the different panel sessions. Within this two-day event, there have been three moments of plenary discussion, illuminated by the keynotes of outstanding scholars, who approached the theme of European citizenship from different perspectives. A summary of the keynotes is provided below.

Erik Oddvar Eriksen, Director of the ARENA Centre for European Studies and Professor of Political Science at the University of Oslo, addressed the audience with a speech on the concepts of segmentation and differentiation in relation to the European Union and the European citizenship. The European Union is highly differentiated internally: we might talk of a segmented political order, as the States may come to permanently occupy different roles. The main challenge of the EU is that of ensuring uniformity and coherence in the application of its rules. However, a segmented political order excludes overall political coordination and democratic authorization. A systemic effect of differentiated integration is *hegemony* on part of the core EU vis-à-vis the rest (the non-member States). The lack of access to law-making bodies entails lack of influence on the processes that determine the associated state's scope and terms of self-determination. We end up in a situation of *hegemony by default*: by rejecting EU membership, the non-associated states have become subjected to the EU hegemonic dominance. These states have unintentionally turned the EU into a hegemon vis-à-vis themselves.



ERIK ODDVAR ERIKSEN

All this leads to a problem of indeterminacy, which is not possible to solve without a public authority that represents the will of all united. In such a situation, where citizens are not merely voters and taxpayers, but also consumers, clients and users (differentiated citizenship), the risk is that individuals are subject to the discretion of others and while the rights to private autonomy increase, the citizens' right to public, political autonomy is not protected. The only way to prevent dominance when larger orders are needed is to expand the political community and to make it capable of acting.

The PPT presentation can be found [here](#).



NIAMH NIC SHUIBHNE

Niamh Nic Shuibhne, Professor of European Union Law at the University of Edinburgh, discussed how European Union citizenship developed since the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. Undoubtedly, EU citizenship has a *shape*. It is a distinctive legal status conferred on all EU Member State nationals. Building upon the provisions of the Treaty, it can be said that this status has generated distinctive legal rights. In more recent years, however, there has been a marked retrenchment in the evolving story of EU citizenship, in particular on the part of the Court of Justice in its case law. The legislative provisions on deporting citizens have been interpreted in a more State-friendly way than it

would ever have been anticipated. And, increasingly, only citizens who are economically active or can otherwise provide for themselves without seeking any support from a host State's social assistance system will fall within the protective shield of EU equal treatment.

The PPT presentation can be found [here](#)

Finally, the fascinating speech of Dr. **Josephine van Zeben**, fellow of Worcester College at the University of Oxford, brought the participants' attention to a different issue linked to EU Citizenship, i.e. how the legal position of EU citizens changes depending on their physical location within the European Union. As 70% of EU citizens live in urban areas (cities with more than 5.000 inhabitants), while only 30% live in rural areas, cities



JOSEPHINE VAN ZEBEN

are increasingly considered the focus of EU life. Furthermore, regional and local public authorities are considered more trustworthy than their central government or the European Union. However, regional and local influence on the national and European decision-making process is quite low. As these cities grow more powerful, the main question that arose was if and how European citizenship shapes local governance and in particular the type of EU city. Indeed, depending on how we shape the political and social rights that come with European citizenship – particularly those administered at the local level – the nature of cities will change.

The PPT presentation can be found [here](#)



MINUTES OF THE STREAMS' PANEL SESSIONS

STREAM 1 - "EU CITIZENSHIP – TOWARDS NEW FORMS OF BOUNDED OR UNBOUNDED CITIZENSHIP?"

Stream 1 was chaired by Professor Sandra Seubert (Goethe-University Frankfurt, Germany) and Professor Frans van Waarden (Utrecht University, The Netherlands). Distinguished scholars from all over Europe critically explored a key issue of the bEUCitizen project. While EU citizenship shares some features of bounded character of national citizenship (e.g. by being based on national citizenship in a member state), it also shows tendencies towards unbounded forms of citizenship: rights are being granted not qua being members of a political unit but based on their status as individual persons (e.g. citizenship rights based on residency). How does this affect the relation between EU citizenship and national citizenship? And more generally, does a new type of unbounded citizenship constitute a barrier towards EU-citizenship as a democratic citizenship or, conversely, pave the way to a more 'cosmopolitan' citizenship in the EU that mediates between democracy and human rights? The speakers discussed these issues from two angles, they applied a normative-conceptual and a more empirical perspective.

Focusing on EU citizenship in normative-conceptual terms, some speakers stressed the need for reconstructing (national) democratic citizenship in the EU. **Emanuel Richter** (Aachen University, Germany) argued that EU citizenship in its current form, mainly including a right to vote locally and in EP elections, is insufficient from the standpoint of radical democratic theory. While there is a lack of institutional inducement to stimulate a supranational democratic sovereignty of the people in the EU, Richter pointed to the national referenda on EU Treaties and the citizens' initiative as activities of a new kind of spontaneous and volatile supranational demos that needs to be strengthened. **Filippo Corigliano** (Università della Calabria, Italy) stressed the need to overcome the dominant view of citizenship as linked to the notion of the state for involving also minorities in EU citizenship practice, which have been excluded so far. He turned to the Greek and Roman tradition to sketch an alternative form of citizenship for the EU as a "state without a state" based on a wider basis for citizenship rights beyond membership in a (national) political unit. In a similar vein, **Lana Zdravković** (Peace Institute – Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies Ljubljana, Slovenia) drew attention to the fact that, in contrast to EU citizens, more than 20 million third-country nationals and at least 10 million undocumented migrants live in the EU as de facto second-class citizens without proper citizenship rights. She argued in favor of a renewed and desubstantialised EU citizenship that includes the right of entry and residence, work, education and political participation for everyone in order to overcome what she sees as a fundamental inequality in the EU. **Birte Siim** (Aalborg University, Denmark) contributed a gender perspective holding that gendered approaches to nationalism need to evolve beyond notions premised on family values and motherhood in order to understand the exclusionary and inclusionary, bounded and unbounded nationalist policies. This is required, Siim argued, for a reconstruction of citizenship towards a transnational and multilayered citizenship beyond the nation-state that helps fostering social justice.

In a more empirical perspective, other speakers elaborated on the effects of EU citizenship on various (national) citizenship practices. **Davide De Pietri and Raul Rodríguez-Magdaleno** (Oviedo University, Spain) question the success of EU citizenship to establish a special relationship between EU citizens and the Union. To the contrary, focusing on the effect of ECJ rulings they argue many rights entailed in EU citizenship are granted regardless nationality and thus are likewise enjoyed by third-country nationals, blurring the lines between the statuses of EU citizens and third-country nationals. The intersections, interplay and mutual influence of EU-grounded detention of individual citizens and EU citizenship was discussed by **Leandro Mancano** (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna Pisa, Italy). He concluded that many steps forward have been taken in granting detained second-country prisoners EU citizenship rights. However, the ECJ rulings regarding EU-grounded detention



have also developed a concept of residence the further impact of which remains unclear. **Rasa Smaliukiene** (Military Academy of Lithuania) explored new possibilities to foster active citizenship in order to strengthen societal resilience against natural and man-made disasters in the EU. She employed the modern management theory of stakeholders' involvement into value co-operation and applied it to citizen involvement in tackling security issues. Last but not least, **Vedrana Baricevic** (University of Zagreb, Croatia) shed some light on how the Croatian implementation of European requirements in the field of asylum affected the rights and status of asylum seekers and refugees in Croatia. Baricevic concluded that, overall, the import of the European framework on migration and asylum partly enabled the erosion of some basic rights of refugees in Croatia.

STREAM 2 - EU CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS IN LAW AND PRACTICE – COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Martin Seeleib-Kaiser (Oxford University, UK) and Sybe de Vries (Utrecht University, The Netherlands) chaired stream 2 on “EU citizenship rights in law and practice –comparative perspectives” at the bEUcitizen Mid-Term Conference in Zagreb. Distinguished scholars from all over Europe critically explored these key issues of the bEUcitizen-project, more specifically dealt with in Work Packages 5 to 8.

The rights that citizens have on the basis of the free movement of goods, workers, services, the freedom of establishment and the free movement of capital, as set out in the original Treaty of Rome, have been expanded and transformed through various rulings of the European Court of Justice (ECJ). This culminated in the Treaty of Maastricht, which formally introduced the concept of EU citizenship granting also non-economically active citizens' rights.

EU citizenship is not only defined by the Treaty and EU legislation, but also through the implementation, application and day-to-day practices in the Member States. A mapping of citizenship rights and practices in the Member States enables us to obtain a more refined and nuanced understanding of EU Citizenship. The stream addressed the following questions:

- Has EU citizenship over the years developed into more than a bundle of economic, political, fundamental (civil) and social rights, into a coherent and holistic concept? Or are we witnessing increased segmentation?
- Are certain dimensions of citizenship, for instance economic rights, more developed than fundamental (civil) or social rights?
- Is the current citizenship regime in the EU strengthening a market-related model of citizenship?
- To what extent does the realization of citizenship rights vary in and among Member States? If the realization of citizenship rights varies, what are the causal mechanisms?

The papers presented in this stream address these questions mainly from (socio-)legal, political and economic perspectives. Some scholars adopted a comparative perspective, by comparing different citizenship rights in one or more Member States or by comparing one right dimension in a number of Member States.

In the first panel the discussion centred around social rights of EU citizens and third country nationals. **Pauline Phoa** adopted a law and literature approach to the concept of EU citizenship. This approach allowed her to carefully analyse the concept of EU citizenship as developed in the case law of the ECJ. She used the cases of *Grzelczyk* (access to study maintenance grants) and *Dano* (access to social security) as examples, showing how a Law and Literature analysis can be helpful to make the tension between a concept of “deserving citizenship” (market-citizenship) or “citizenship as a fundamental status” more sharp, so as to see more clearly where the actual tension resides.



Rosanna Oomkens then presented a paper on the accessibility of social rights for migrant workers in long-term care markets. She adopted a comparative approach by looking at access to social security rights in the UK, the Netherlands and Italy. She came to the conclusion that the attainment of social security rights strongly relates to the person's position in the labour market and his residence status.

The last speaker in the first panel was **Angelika Schenk**, who also focused on social rights of EU citizens and used the example of student mobility and cross-border access to study finance support schemes. She analysed the evolvement of European Social Citizenship, in which the ECJ has played a major role.

The second panel was divided into two sub-panels. The first sub-panel focused on the (constitutional) protection of economic rights and family-related rights. A more constitutional approach was adopted by the paper written by **Margarita Argüelles**, **Carmen Benavides** and **Silvia Gómez-Ansón**, looking at which economic rights are granted constitutional protection in the 28 Member States of the EU. The panel then turned to the subject of citizens' family life with **Barbara Safradin** as first speaker. She looked at the 'legal jungle' of same-sex relationship recognition at the national and European level. She took a comparative constitutional law approach on the ability of same sex couples to move and reside freely in the European Union, and specifically looked into the situation of Croatia and Italy. In both countries, although not yet recognizing same sex marriages, the legal situation for same sex couples under influence of EU citizenship is improving. **Cinzia Peraro** addressed the concept of family life in EU regulations with respect to property regimes, which is evolving as it includes registered partnerships as well.

The second sub-panel focused on various dimensions related to social policy. **Solange Maslowski** presented on the right of freedom of movement for economically inactive EU citizens. **Katarina Hyltén-Cavallius** discussed the use of personal identity numbers in Denmark and Sweden and to what extent this practice constituted a barrier vis-a-vis access to social rights, but also had an impact on everyday life. **Julija Sardelic** presented on the important issue of freedom of movement of Romani minorities.

In the last panel the attention was drawn to the fundamental rights of European citizens. The presentation of **Orsolya Salat** and **Marie Pierre Granger** explored the possibilities to overcome the weaknesses of European citizenship in this respect. **Cristina Solera** and **Mara Yerkes** adopted a more social scientist approach to European citizenship rights and looked into national attitudes in six different countries to European efforts to converge social, civil and economic rights of EU citizens and presented a cross-national survey held under students. **Nives Mazur Kumric** looked into the relationship between the European Court of Human Rights and the European Court of Justice in further shaping the human rights dimension of European citizenship.



PHOTO IMPRESSION PAPER PRESENTATIONS



STREAM 3 – “THE EUROPEAN UNION’S POLITICAL CITIZENS: RIGHTS, PRACTICES, CHALLENGES AND ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF PARTICIPATION”

Stream 3 was chaired by Professor Francis Cheneval (University of Zurich, Switzerland) and Professor Uwe Puetter (Central European University, Hungary). Under Stream 3 altogether three conference panels focused on the discussion of the exercise of political citizenship in the European Union. The panels provided for a useful discussion between bEucitizen researchers and external conference participants. The discussion contributed to adding new perspectives to the thematic focus of research tasks under the core research project and provided crucial feedback for bEucitizen researchers who work on the implementation of their own case study research. The discussion added especially to the work going on in WP8 of bEucitizen and familiarised outside researchers with the work within the consortium.

The panel discussions focused on reviewing alternative models of political participation and the contestation of political citizenship rights within the European Union. One key theme of several contributions was the evaluation of failed and successful models of political representation and citizenship at the national level with a view to understanding institutional options for the European level and the potential for accommodating European Union citizenship within a context of contested domestic political institutions.

For example, **Viktor Koska** highlighted the contested character of political citizenship rights and practices in Croatia. Though an EU member state and formally committed to diversity and the integration of minorities in political and social life, the country struggles with overcoming the consequences of its war-time past. This may limit the potential to accommodate to European model of political citizenship. **Vít Hloušek** and **Michael Novy** flagged the relevance of party and electoral politics for the exercise of political citizenship in Europe.

The contributions on the European Citizenship Initiative as an alternative institutional device for political participation by **María Peñarrubia Bañón** and **Fernando Mendez** showed mixed results. Though the mechanism as such is not without parallels if compared with similar models in different countries around the globe and could be enhanced through further smaller modifications which would make it easier for citizens to initiate policy change, the overall impact of the European Citizenship Initiative on EU policy-making is expected to remain marginal.

Finally, the panel discussion on the implications of the euro crisis for the exercise of political citizenship in the EU context, revealed substantial challenges to the EU’s ability to adapt to the consequences of crisis politics and economic crises more generally. **Monica Ferrín** discussed the impact of the euro crisis on inner-EU labour mobility as a potential development triggering future demand for greater citizenship rights for migrant workers. **Robert Csehi** and **Uwe Puetter** interpreted the euro crisis management as a challenge to established channels of political participation and control and stressed the importance of analysing the practice of exercising formal citizenship rights under conditions of crisis decision-making.

STREAM 4 – “LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AS A HINDRANCE TO THE REALIZATION OF EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS?”

The stream was focused on Linguistic diversity as a hindrance to the realization of European citizenship rights, and was coordinated by Frans van Waarden and Elena Ioriatti.

The main perspective of the stream was summed up by the (factual) observation about one of the main aspects that distinguishes the United States of America from the United States of Europe: the linguistic diversity of the latter. While USA is characterized by one widely shared dominant language – English – the USE



lacks such a broadly shared language and now has to deal with 24 official EU languages, 6 semi-official ones, 39 minority languages, and 7+ main immigrant languages such as Turkish, Arabic, Chinese, Hindi and Russian. That is, overall 75+ languages.

Early on, the EU recognized and tried to regulate this linguistic diversity through a policy of multilingualism, which identified the official languages of the then still European Economic Community (Art. 217 of the E.C. Treaty and Council Regulation No 1 April 15, 1958) and the introduced at least one European linguistic right: the rule allowing citizens to write to the EU institutions in each of the EU's official languages.

While this linguistic diversity may certainly be a cultural enrichment for Europe, it is also likely to be a practical handicap. It could form a hindrance in common understanding among different residents in the various European territories, maintain linguistic identity segregation, and make for the absence of one common public discourse across Europe: shared mass media channels such as TV-stations and newspapers followed or read by citizens in all the nooks and crannies of Europe. It could also be a practical hindrance for the realization of European citizenship rights by Europeans living in another European country or region where a language is dominant which these mobile citizens cannot master (so well). Thus it is imaginable that linguistic misunderstandings may frustrate first of all the comprehension of relevant documents and secondly, produce misunderstandings in official contacts with administrative and legal authorities, which may be instrumental in providing access to citizenship rights in the country of residence. Furthermore, such alienation due to language barriers could affect some groups in society more than others, thus creating one more source of inequality in Europe.

This linguistic diversity could also be a hindrance to the equality of citizens before the European law. The same rule providing that EU regulations and other documents of general application shall be drafted in all the official languages (art. 4, Council Reg. 1/1958) might lead to different translations of the same rule in the various EU legal languages, hence to misinterpretations and consequently to a patchy application of European citizens' rights from State to State.

The United States of Europe is certainly not the first State that has had to deal with linguistic diversity. Other countries have had to do so before, notably Canada, India, Switzerland, and South Africa. What can be learned from their experiences? What alternative models of managing social, economic, political, and legal multilingualism have been developed elsewhere in time and space?

The interventions were organized as follows:

Session 1; Monday 29th June – 11.30-13.00

Simona Gribulyte - *Contesting citizenship: To what extent do the linguistic challenges of the Polish minority in Lithuania pose a threat to the minority's integration?*

Višeslav Raos - *Linguistic Landscapes in EU Member States: Politics of Visibility and Presence*

Gracy Pelacani - *Pre-language tests: means of integration or barrier to family reunification?*

Session 2; Monday 29th June – 14.30-16.00

Maarten van der Heijden - *United in the Undefined: Balancing Cultural Diversity and Internal Market Goals in European Regulation for State Aid for Films*



Roberta Astolfi - *Value in Law Concept and Applications within the Legal System of the EU*

Leydi Johana Breuls - *Migration intentions of (young) Europeans and the influence of language*

All these papers discussed the issue of EU linguistic diversity, its importance, consequences and problems as well as the solutions attempted to face it and to deal with the linguistic barriers to the realization of citizenship rights.

In particular, all the presented papers were coherent with the topic analysed in the stream, and of good quality; for the contents it is possible to refer to the final drafts that will be available on the bEUcitizen website.

For what is relevant in this report, it is to be noted how the debate concerning the six works presented underlined the complexity of the topic, both for the huge variety of the factual context (with many languages, and therefore the need to manage a complex reality in the EU plurilinguistic context), so as for the multidisciplinary approach that characterized stream 4.

Indeed, the main achievement of the discussion in the stream is the focus on the importance of multidisciplinary in the analysis and in the problem-solving approach to the theme of plurilingualism: all the interventions demonstrated an insufficiency in managing such an open issue, and each participant – both the young researchers, so as the public – recognized that the plurality of profiles needs a strong multidisciplinary effort.



PHOTO IMPRESSION OF THE MID-TERM CONFERENCE

THE 2ND ANNUAL CONSORTIUM MEETING

From the afternoon of Tuesday 30th June until Thursday 2nd July, the second Annual Consortium meeting took place. During these two intense days approximately 90 researchers from the bEUcitizen consortium sat together in the different Work Package meetings, bringing their work forward and receiving the valuable inputs of 5 members of the Advisory Board.

Next to the individual Work Package meetings, several combined sessions were organized to identify areas of potential collaboration and to discuss overlapping themes. A Roundtable brought together the Core team of Work Package 2 and the Work Package Coordinators, with the aim to plan the final vertical book.

This year we had also the pleasure to host two representatives of the SIforAGE -Social Innovation for Active and Healthy Ageing- project, funded by the 7th Framework Programme of the European Commission, with whom we discussed future possible cooperation and exchange of good practices.

The Conference was closed with a General Assembly meeting, during which the Work Package coordinators reported their work in progress and a number of administrative issues were discussed. Room was also reserved to the keynote held by Professor **Catherine Barnard**, who is a member of the Advisory Board and who presented her research project on the *“Enforcement of employment rights by migrant workers in the UK: the case of EU-8 nationals”*. Evidence reveals that some UK employers are taking advantage of migrant workers from EU-8 Member States and denying them rights under UK law. This raises questions about social justice towards (often vulnerable) migrant workers. After analysing the cases brought before the English Tribunal in 2010-2012, Catherine and her assistants found out that the numbers of cases brought by migrant workers from EU-8 Member States is relatively low compared to the number of cases brought by nationals and that EU-8 migrant workers face several barriers in enforcing their employment rights before the English Courts, as the introduction of tribunal fees.



CATHERINE BARNARD

The PPT presentation can be found [here](#).

The consortium meeting was characterised by an atmosphere of friendliness, cooperativity and openness. The enthusiasm of the researchers for the project was even greater than at the last year's conference in Istanbul. Everyone is already looking forward to the 2016 Annual Consortium meeting that will take place in Oviedo, Spain.



EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETINGS

During the conference, one Executive Board meeting was held and one dinner meeting brought together the Executive Board and Advisory Board members.

1 July 2015

The purpose of the Advisory and Executive Board meeting was to enable the Advisory Board members to give strategic advice on the quality and relevance of the project, with a view to improving its usefulness for the EU and its Member States in developing the idea and reality of EU citizenship.

The evening started with a round of introductions from the Work Package coordinators on the progress and key issues/finding of their work package. After these introductions the Advisory Board members present (Prof. Jo Shaw, Prof. Catherine Barnard, Prof. Alice Kessler-Harris, Prof. Chiara Saraceno and Prof. Denis Bouget) were given the chance to comment and reflect on the project. The comments focused in particular on the progress made in the last year; the terminology and methodology used; the work of synthesis that WP2 will do and how to do it; the tensions existing in the project and how to deal with them; the website and the use of social networks.

The full report of the meeting is available upon request.

2 July 2015

This Executive Board meeting was mainly used to briefly evaluate the past days of the conference, the progress that was made, new insights on how to best manage the project. Those attending reflected on and gave suggestions for the 2016 Conference in Oviedo.

- It was proposed for the next Conference in Oviedo to have plenary sessions with discussions on research carried out in the Work Packages and to have keynotes within the project (instead of those by external scholars or Advisory Board members), in order to have an overall perspective and for synthesis purposes.
- Work Packages made great progress during the course of the conference, resulting in better planning and renewed motivation.
- The Open part of the Conference was successful and the project received a lot of inputs from the presentations and discussions held. The art exhibition was positively welcomed and criticized.
- The website is good and updated but the WP coordinators need to be more informed about changes and latest deliverables published.

WORK PACKAGE MEETINGS

WP2: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

WP 2 had a meeting of the core-group and apart from that organized a Round-Table discussion with the WP-coordinators in the consortium in order to prepare the vertical synthesis of the project (the “vertical book”, D.2.4.)

I. WP 2 core-group meeting: Minutes of the meeting and progress report

Planning of Deliverable 2.2: WP2 set up a well-answered call for papers to the mid-term “Being a Citizen in Europe”. Out of the many excellent presentations, each stream-coordinator was asked to select 3 - 5 papers. Right now, the papers are in close review and the stream coordinators each develop an introductory chapter to their stream, framing the discussion and embedding the papers into the closer context of the bEUCitizen research. Deliverable D2.2 will be submitted in M29.

Planning of Deliverable 2.4: As to the ‘vertical’ volume, due in M47, a differentiated table of contents and the responsible authors have been determined. The responsibility of the WP-coordinators for the summary of their research findings was stressed. D 2.4. is to be regarded as a common enterprise. Further to be discussed in the Round-table-session (see below).

Planning of Deliverable 2.3: cross-cutting themes (“horizontal book”). Responsible authors discussed how to continue the communication back and forth with WPs relevant for their theme. Follow-up discussions triggered by D2.1 have led to further progress in hammering out an integrated project-perspective.

II. Round-table discussion

Each WP-coordinator was asked to give a short summary of their research findings so far and point out challenges for a WP- and project-synthesis. The presentation was followed by a discussion of the Table of Content for the “vertical” book set up by the WP 2-Coordinators. The Consortium agreed that the middle part of the book (part 3 and 4, ch. 6-13) is to be provided by the single WPs, while the introductory part 1 and the systematic part 2, but also the comparative and evaluative part 5 is to be provided by the WP 2 core group.

The next general conference in Oviedo shall give the opportunity to confront the different research findings and perspective of the single WPs in order to foster a stimulating discussion on a potential synthesis. The organization of respective panels will be taken up at the EB meeting in November 2015.

Progress report

The major research questions cannot be answered by anyone alone. The Round-Table discussion succeeded in raising the awareness that a joint effort is needed and that the challenge is cooperation and integration. The WP-coordinators have shared but not equal responsibilities for the final product of the vertical synthesis (D. 2.4.)

It also became obvious that D2.1 (the introduction of cross-cutting themes) indirectly already inspired lively exchange among the bEUCitizen researchers and useful feedback from the advisory board members, which led to further progress regarding both WP2-deliverables due at the end of the bEUCitizen project period.

The deliverables of the single WPs submitted so far show a diversity of concepts and terminology (and, accordingly, applied research methods) that appears confusing only at first glance, but in fact provides rich and



fruitful perspectives if it is applied to some core conceptual tensions in the EU citizenship debate. In this regard, WP2 has identified four core tensions:

1. a tension between a worker-model/market-EU citizenship and political EU citizenship;
2. a tension between EU citizenship as an integrated status (as in national citizenship) and EU citizenship as a disaggregated form of citizenship;
3. a tension between citizenship understood as a bundle of rights and citizenship as a social practice;
4. and a tension between EU citizenship as bounded citizenship or, alternatively, an unbounded, cosmopolitan citizenship.

Most of the conceptual and terminological differences can be traced back to differences regarding one or more of the above core tensions, which span across the subjects of all WPs.

WP3: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

During the Annual Consortium meeting in Zagreb, WP3 had three really productive meetings on July 1. The discussions focused on content, progress and future actions for the upcoming deliverables and on the publication plans.

The meetings were attended also by the Advisory Board member Alice Kessler-Harris, who arose a few general observations: a) is WP3 engaging enough with the bigger picture (“rise of capitalism”, “industrialization”, etc.)?; b) how is WP3 engaging with the more recent history of the 19th and 20th centuries?

Overview of the discussions:

Deliverable 3.6: Paper submitted to a referred journal. Deadline: October 2015. Marcel Van Hoogenboom presented the outline of the pre-circulated paper and the deliverable basic requirement. Marcel also proposed a small book (circa September 2016) if viable.

Roadmap:

- a) All partners will provide additional material by country on the development of political rights (voting) at national and local level.
- b) Deadline for submitting the material to Marcel is August 15th 2015. The deadline for submitting the draft of the paper for internal refereeing process is 10 September 2015.

Several issues were raised for consideration in revising the proposal. In particular the group discussed: a) the impact of capitalism; b) the role of unions and employer organizations; c) the Crouch hypothesis; d) how the analysis deals with Germany; e) the definition of political rights; f) the movements in the regulatory mechanism.

Deliverable 3.4: Working paper on “Early exits from apprenticeship”. Deadline: March 2015. Patrick Wallis introduced and discussed the draft proposal (pre-circulated).

As for the task of data collection, the group agreed on the following division:

- i. Germany: Christopher Kissane



- ii. Southern Netherlands: Bert De Munck
- iii. France: Clare Crowston will discuss the material collected with Chris Minns and collaborate on the analysis.
- iv. Northern Netherlands: Maarten Prak.

Questions raised and comments:

- a) what benchmarks for attrition rates exist?
- b) when and why does one register? Registration of apprentices may be tied to the expectation of becoming a master, so biasing conversion rates upwards (seen in Antwerp; Norwich). What was the logic of creating records? How does the contract connect to the guild/other authority?
- c) Christopher Kissane has a link to a Hungarian study producing a database at the Hungarian National Archives.

Deliverable 3.5: Working paper on “Formal and informal characteristics of apprenticeship contracts”. Discussion and revision of the pre-circulated outline.

Points raised in discussion:

- a) Apprenticeship without contracts – oral contracts. What does the existence of formal contracts at all mean?
- b) What is an oral contract? Can the implicit clauses from dispute/legal norms etc. be identified?
- c) What is the function of a written contract – why do you choose written vs oral system?
- d) What is the connection to other institutions (notaries; guild registration)? Can we connect contract to guild enforcement? Contracts grow more specific in the Southern Netherlands as guilds grow weaker.
- e) Should this paper cover the 19th century? It would allow to use the natural experiment of guild abolition. Are contracts an alternative to, an instrument of, a complement to the guilds? (into 3.6?)
- f) Gender is the big gap. Questions may be answered differently for male/female apprentice. Contracts in what juridical system? Local, national? Is there a difference in the 18th century and the 19th century?
- g) Connection to citizenship needs to be considered: contract as basis for qualification (licit/illicit) longitudinal data – how do contracts evolve as institutions change?
- h) What alternative kinds of human capital contracts exist alongside apprenticeship: eg. Allouage: non-guild apprenticeship contracts; Antwerp, specialization contracts; Training schools for girls, drawing schools, hospitals.
- i) Do they have a character of a tenure track? If you do this, you qualify for that. E.g. to pass the masterpiece.

Issues to explore in the paper:

- a) What is in a contract?
- b) With enough evidence to know about gender, change over time, maybe into the 19th century
- c) What are the informal/alternatives arrangements to apprenticeship?
- d) What can we learn from looking at similarities/differences?
- e) But not just about all the ways in which people acquire human capital.
- f) External enforcement bodies, guilds, courts,
- g) Explicitly address certification as an aspect of contracting (so do you gain an entitlement to work, to enter an exam)

Project publication plans

- a) Apprenticeship edited Book
- b) Publication of Working Papers as further articles

Progress report:

- Deliverables due next 12 months:
 - D.3.4 - Deadline: month 36
 - D.3.6 – Deadline: month 30
 - D.3.8 – Deadline: month 36
- Changes: none

WP4: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

With the exception of two (Croatia, Turkey) all the drafts (D4.2-9) had already been discussed at a WP4 workshop in Barcelona, May 8, 2015. In Zagreb all draft deliverables have been submitted to the members (with the exception of Croatia).

The second task besides a discussion of the drafts of D. 4.3-8 in Zagreb was to come up with a rough work plan for the Summary Report (D4.10) and for the common book publication of the findings of WP4 (D.4.11).

Deliverable D4.2 (Switzerland): Presentation and discussion of draft deliverable 4.2 (Switzerland). Historical additions and some new elements of the empirical part are presented, only formal changes are proposed, and the deliverable is judged ready for submission to review.

Deliverable D4.3 (Spain): Presentation and discussion of draft deliverable 4.3. The deliverable focuses exclusively on language. The members commend it as an excellent document. The members propose that in the intro- and outlook-part the authors might want to broaden the scope to other issues of multi-layered citizenship on the basis of their insights. The issues relevant for the EU could be highlighted more.



Deliverable 4.4 (Canada): Presentation and discussion of draft deliverable 4.4. Again the members commend this as an excellent deliverable. Some of the terminology is discussed. The issues relevant for the EU could be highlighted more clearly.

Deliverable 4.5 (Estonia): Presentation and discussion of draft deliverable 4.5. The deliverable gives a very good insight into sensitive issues, mainly regarding the Russian speaking minority. The author is encouraged to highlight problems and possible violations of EU standards more clearly and to offer comparative conclusions for the EU.

Deliverable 4.6 (Czech Republic): Presentation and discussion of draft deliverable 4.6. The draft document meets the full approval of the group. The author is encouraged to highlight the mechanisms that lead to a decrease of saliency of Moravian nationalism.

Deliverable 4.7 (Croatia): Presentation and discussion of the Croatian case study 4.7 presented in a PowerPoint version. The presentation focuses on possible discriminations of property rights of members of the Serb community and highlights intra-national discriminations in the Croatian community due to special rights for ex-combatants of the war. The latter are hard to track down and identify and the regime therefore leads to abuses.

Deliverable 4.8 (Israel): Presentation and discussion of draft deliverable 4.8. The document exclusively focuses on the financial dimension of citizenship. The members find that part of the document very interesting, original, and insightful but encourage the author to bring his document more in line with the overall task of WP4. That means that the document should elaborate more explicitly on the connection between conflicting claims to citizenship on the basis of identity and the findings that are presented on the financial dimension of citizenship.

Deliverable 4.9 (Turkey): Presentation and discussion of draft deliverable 4.9. The document is very well received. It offers a historical and theoretical account of the problematic concepts of communities, rights, and in general the concepts of rights and freedoms in Turkey, placing it in the context of the historical interactions between Turkey and Europe, starting from the decline and collapse of the Ottoman Empire. This part that is still missing will present an account of the recent developments and the present situation in the areas of communities (their numbers, locations, socioeconomic positions) and rights (their legal, constitutional, cultural, religious, linguistic, educational, property rights). Thirdly, it discusses two contemporary issues based on the findings of two nation-wide opinion surveys the author has designed and conducted in 2010 and 2014: first, othering and discrimination in Turkey today; second, the Kurdish question and its possible solutions (missing).

Discussion of time table for finalization of deliverables 4.2-4.9 due month 40. Work plan for deliverable 4.10 and 4.11 (due month 48). The following timetable is approved by the members:

- Deliverables 4.2-4.9 for internal WP4 review (all): November 1, 2015 (31)
- Deliverables 4.2-4.9 for internal consortium review (all): January 31, 2016 (M33)
- Summaries for D4.10 (all): March 1, 2016 (M35)
- Draft Deliverable 4.10 (UZH): June 1 (M38)
- Deliverables 4.2-4.9 to EU Commission: August 1, 2016 (M40)
- Chapters for D4.12 (all): August 1, 2016 (M40)

Progress report:

- With the exception of Croatia, whose members had to dedicate their time to the organization of the Zagreb conference, progress towards the objectives is in line with work plan (or ahead of schedule).
- Deliverables 4.2-9 due to EU Commission by August 2016 (see work-plan above). At this point there is sufficient reason to assume that this deadline will be met without delay.

WP5: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

1. Minutes of the meeting. Main points per deliverable:

The meeting started with a presentation of Deliverable 5.1, which has been approved by the European Commission, and continued with a discussion on the results achieved.

A debate followed on the possible WP5 contribution to the cross cutting themes as provided for by (WP2)Work Package 2. The draft index of the final volume Deliverable 2.4, which had been submitted by the WP2 coordinators Sandra Seubert and Frans van Waarden, was analysed and commented upon. In particular, doubts have been raised about working on a pre-packaged scheme rather than on a continuation of WP5 Deliverables, so as to grant an adequate substantive quality of the results.

Deliverable 5.2: "Transposition of the relevant EU instruments in several Member States". Presentation of the draft and the results collected on the basis of the questionnaires, as well as the work in progress (almost all the country reports have been delivered in time).

As to the content of D.5.2, a possible risk of overlap with the contents of the subsequent questionnaire Deliverable 5.3 (The barriers that professionals face in gaining access to the services market) has been noted: the suggested solution, accepted by all participants, is the formulation of part of the questions in the questionnaire in the form of case studies (factual approach, or case method approach).

The discussion moved on to the methodological approach of the questionnaires: particularly, a suggestion was that the number of questions should be limited to a reasonable quantity, without reducing the quality of the research, as well as the importance of respecting the deadlines, avoiding excessive overruns.

Debate on the responsibility for deliverables and questionnaires, and the deadlines:

Deliverable 5.3 Research paper on Case Study (i): "The barriers that professionals face in gaining access to the services market". The researchers in charge explained the basic idea of the questionnaire, which was divided into a general, more descriptive part and a second operative section (case studies). Particularly, the professions to be analyzed in the case studies have been decided in collaboration with WP9 coordinators, in order to guarantee an interdisciplinary approach, as well as to give a general overview of the different EU and national approaches to professional titles recognition (e.g. regulated or not regulated professions and so on). The professions to be analyzed are: lawyers, touristic guide, midwives, caregiver/in-home nurse, hairdresser.

As to the countries analysis allocation:

- DK, NL, Greece, Spain (Pompeu Fabra), I (Trento unit participates as an additional unit to D5.3 questionnaire)

- In charge: DK
- Deadline: month 37

Deliverable 5.4: Research paper on Case Study (ii): “The capacity of the consumer to process information and make informed choices”:

- B, Spain (IBEI), H, DK.
- In charge: B.
- Deadline: 37 months

Deliverable 5.5: Research paper on Case Study (iii): "Barriers that citizens face regarding their intellectual property rights". During the meeting, the Questionnaire related to Deliverable 5.5 on IPRs has been presented via Skype by Paolo Guarda (Trento Unit), highlighting the need to narrow the analysis to copyright and access to digital content (rectius, barriers) within the Digital Single Market strategy'

- I, UK (Unitn), Germany, Spain (Oviedo).
- In charge: I
- Deadline: month 37

Deliverable 5.6: Research paper (cross-task analysis): “The practical linguistic barriers faced by economically active EU citizens”.

The involvement of all participants is essential to have a complete picture of the cross-cutting issue that could be one of the subject of the final volume. In order not to overload the participants, the questionnaire will be extremely short (3-5 questions to be treated in a limited number of pages) and focused on the topics of D5.3-4-5 in order to collect the language profiles of the three issues, which should, however, be answered by all participant in order to have a clear framework for the final volume.

- In charge: I
- Deadline: month 38

Deliverable 5.7: Final manuscript of an edited volume accepted by a publishing house, requiring peer review. The discussion was held on the general profiles, and will be followed by the draft proposal of the coordinator on the contents of the volume (which will be identified to highlight what has been done during the project); each participant will be invited to write one of the chapter of the volume.

At the end of the meetings WP5 coordinators took part in a meeting organized by the coordinators of WP11 in order to suggest some inputs for the Policy Paper Series Citizenship 2030.

2. Progress report:

- Final draft of the D.5.2 to be closed and sent to the Commission. Questionnaires to be sent to the units before the end of the summer, to be able to complete the answers within the deadlines hereinafter summarized.
- Deliverables due next 12 months:
 - D.5.3 - Deadline: month 37
 - D.5.4 - Deadline: month 37
 - D.5.5 - Deadline: month 37
 - D.5.6 - Deadline: month 38



- Changes: deliverables deadline extension approved by the European Commission. No relevant changes in the team's units were made.

WP6: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

During the meetings in Zagreb, WP6 discussed the progress made so far, the current and the upcoming tasks.

Main points per deliverable:

Deliverable 6.1: Presentation of the final deliverable, which was submitted to the European Commission on April 30th 2015 and subsequently approved.

Deliverable 6.2: it analyses the barriers to have access to social rights (housing, education, social assistance, health care) in relation to EU law. (6.1. has made already an analysis of the barriers, now we confront these with EU law).

The draft national reports were presented; a discussion followed on the first impression by the coordinators of the results and on what still has to be done. Feedback provided; revisions to be delivered until Oct 1, 2015.

Deliverable 6.3: D6.3 makes an analysis of the contrasting ways in which social rights have been and are now socially or ideologically constructed in eight EU countries. Having undertaken a preliminary review of the historical development of social rights in each country, the task now turns to explore how social rights are currently understood or discursively constituted by selected national policy actors.

Anne Marie Brady presented and discussed the draft deliverable (to be completed by September).

Deliverable 6.4: analysis of the possibilities and problems of having one's rights enforced. This can be by going by court, but there are also many alternatives.

The draft national reports were presented; a discussion followed on the first impression by the coordinators of the results and on what still has to be done. Feedback provided; revisions to be delivered until Oct 1, 2015.

Deliverable 6.5: final manuscript. First discussions of the edited book. The group decided that suggestions for chapters will be delivered by the end of August 2015. A first draft chapters will be presented at the bEUcitizen conference in Oviedo, 2016.

Progress report:

- Deliverables due next 12 months:
 - Deliverable 6.3 – month 30
 - Deliverable 6.2 – month 36
 - Deliverable 6.4 – month 36
- Changes: No substantive changes.



WP7: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

1. Minutes of the meeting

Two WP 7 meetings were held during the General Assembly meeting in Zagreb. They took place on Wednesday 1 July 2015, from 8.30 to 10.30 and from 11.00 to 13.00. There was also a joined meeting between WP 5-10, which coordinators of each work package attended, on Wednesday from 15.00 to 16.45. The group discussed progress, changes and plan for action until the next General Assembly meeting. In the joined meeting, previous and forthcoming tasks were presented, in order to identify areas for closer collaboration.

Main points per deliverable:

Deliverable D7.1: Presentation of the report, which was submitted to the European Commission on 3 February 2015 (following an approved extension), and has been approved.

Deliverable 7.2, consists in an *identification of modes of transposition and mechanisms available at European and national levels for granting and enforcing civil rights, with a view to identifying institutional, legal, procedural and practical barriers that EU citizens and third-country nationals face in gaining (cross-border) access to justice*. The first draft of the synthetic report was discussed during the first WP 7 meeting.

The final general report (Report exploring the mechanisms for enforcing civil rights with a view to identifying the barriers), Deliverable 7.2, will be submitted before 31 July 2015 to the European Commission, with the national reports as annexes, like for Deliverable 7.1.

Deliverables D.7.3-7.6 should be submitted to the European Commission before 31 May 2016 (extension from Month 33 to Month 37 approved by the European Commission on 30 June 2015). The narrower selection of countries covered by each case studies has been approved by the European Commission.

- Deliverable 7.3, *Case study exploring obstacles that citizens face in trying to enjoy their core citizenship rights (e.g. right of residence in the EU)*. The draft questionnaire is currently being drafted. The analysis will focus on the following obstacles: Acquiring, keeping and regaining EU citizenship in the light of diverse national nationality/citizenship laws and obtaining residency rights for family members who are third-country nationals, even when the EU citizen has not exercised his or her right to free movement (in the light of national immigration rules and family laws). It will be sent out by the University of Utrecht, the Task Leader, before September 2015 to all WP7 partners covering the countries involved in that case stud (FR, HU, BE, NL, DK, ES, UK?).

- Deliverable 7.4, *Case study exploring difficulties faced by EU citizens when trying to enjoy the freedom of expression in the context of media law and policies*. The draft questionnaire was already discussed during the Spring between the WP leaders. Its scope was felt to be too broad to be able to produce any valuable insights, given the Person-Months allocation. It was therefore decided to narrow its focus to examining the difficulties faced by EU 'citizen-journalists (eg bloggers, persons placing online comments, online forums contributors, whistle-blowers, etc) when exercising freedom of expression. A revised draft questionnaire, reflecting the reorientation, will be circulated for comments by Central European University, the Task leader, in July 2015 to all WP7 partners. Central European University will then integrate the feedback, and possibly organize the questionnaire around scenarios, with the view to circulate the final version at the latest mid-September 2015 to the partners covering the countries involved (HU, BE, IT, DK, NL, ES).



- Deliverable 7.5, *Case study on obstacles that (mobile) EU citizens and their families face in dealing with life events* (e.g. recognition of civil status documents), *in the context of specific national administrative rules or marital/family legislation*. The questionnaire has been released by the University of Oviedo, the Task leader, back in February 2015, to the partners who are covering the following countries (BE, HU, DK, ES, NL).

- Deliverable 7.6, *Case study on obstacles that (mobile) EU citizens and their families face in gaining access to travel documents*. The draft questionnaire was discussed and finally approved during the WP 7 meeting. In July, the University of Antwerp, the Task Leader, will send out the questionnaire to the partners who are covering the Member States included in this task (BE, DK, NL, HU, IT). The national reports (ie answers to the questionnaires) should be submitted to the respective Task Leader before 31 December 2015. These will produce a draft report for internal review by 31 March 2016, and the final reports (Deliverables D.7.3-7.6) should be submitted to the European Commission before 31 May 2016.

- Deliverable 7.7: *Research paper on cross-task analysis of the institutional, procedural, legal and practical (e.g. linguistic) obstacles that exist in exercising civil rights*. It was agreed that the paper will consist in identifying particular issues regarding the barriers which EU citizens and Third Country Nationals faced in exercising their civil rights. Antwerp University will take over from the University of Trento as Task Leader. A core coordinating team for this task will be formed, which will include researchers from Antwerp University, Central European University and the University of Utrecht.

- Deliverable D.7.8 should be submitted on 30 April 2017, as provided in the DoW (Month 48). Discussions focused on the format of the Deliverable. The group agreed that the findings would be better suited for a *peer-reviewed publication as a collective volume with a good standing publishing house*, rather than a special issue.

Publication Plan:

The group discussed also the final publication plan and potential topics for chapters and alternative book structures and contents. The discussion will continue within the core group constituted for Task 7.4, and with all the WP7 partners via e-mails throughout the Academic Year 2015-2016.

The group plans to organize a core group meeting sometime in late Fall 2015 to further elaborate research design for Task 4 and the preparation of the final academic publication.

Cooperation with WP 9 and 10

The group identified areas of collaboration, in particular with regard to the right to family life. There has been a regrettable overlap between a Task in WP 9 and one in WP 7, which both examine in a comparative manner the legal frameworks related to the recognition of children born through surrogacy agreements. Areas for potential collaboration had been discussed by e-mails in January 2015 between WP7 and 9 Task Leaders, and WP 9 leader sent a description of the forthcoming task to the WP7 leader. However, the overlap with the WP7 task, for which another group of researchers within WP7 was taking the lead and drafted the questionnaire, was not identified before the Zagreb meeting.

The WP7 coordinators will send out relevant materials to the WP9 coordinator following the Zagreb meeting.

Summary of changes

- Deliverables D.7.3-7.6, due Month 37 (instead of Month 33): extension approved by the European Commission



- Selection of countries for case studies: approved by the Commission.
- Antwerp University will take over from the University of Trento as Task Leader for Task 7 (cross-task analysis).
- Narrowing the focus of questionnaire for Task 7.3 (ii) to the freedom of expression of citizen-journalists in the EU.

WP8: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

During the conference in Zagreb, Work Package 8 had two meetings during which all deliverables were discussed.

Those present gave 10-15 minutes PowerPoint- presentations on the progress of their specific studies, which were subsequently discussed more or less in depth in the group. Although the degree to which the different subprojects have advanced differed a bit, on the whole the subprojects have progressed sufficiently enough for WP8 to be able to provide mature good quality Deliverables in 2016.

The new author of Deliverable 8.8. (“Experiences with the Existing European Citizens Initiative (ECI)”), Fernando Mendez (University of Zurich), was welcomed. Fernando presented a well-elaborated paper on the ECI, a study which could be a possible candidate for a ‘Policy Brief’ under the responsibility of WP11.

The group discussed also the general structure of the Work Package and the relations between the different deliverables. It was agreed that a document on this will be elaborated and discussed at a following meeting.

Work Package 8 will meet again before March 2016 to discuss the final versions of the different deliverables, both for discussion and correction in view of the submission to the European Commission.

Progress report:

- Deliverables due next 12 months:
 - Deliverable 8.1 – 8.11 – Deadline: month 35
- Changes: none

WP9: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

Work Package 9 had three very productive meetings in Zagreb and several combined sessions with other Work Packages, during which overlapping areas of interest have been discussed .

Overview of the decisions reached:

Deliverable 9.2: Report of Gender and Intergenerational Analysis of Report 6.1 and 6.2 plus 4 country reports.

- WP6, in addition to deliverable 6.1 already submitted, will provide national questionnaires on 6.1 and 6.2; WP9 participants will finalize the 4 missing national questionnaires before autumn. The WP9’s coordinators will analyze and integrate reports and national questionnaires and will deliver a report on month 48.



- Action: discussion with WP6 coordinators about the cross-cutting issues; WP6 coordinators will send the national reports to the WP9 coordinators; finalizing the 4 missing national reports, analyzing from a gender and intergenerational perspective deliverable 6.1 and if needed national questionnaires
- Change: none.

Deliverable 9.3: Report of an integrative seminar on the findings of WP5-8

- Decision: to organize a seminar on the main findings of WP5-8 during next Oviedo's Conference
- Action: to coordinate the integrative seminar with the WPs' coordinators involved
- Change: To postpone the deadline of the deliverable to month 48

Deliverable 9.7: Report of case studies on gender equality as focus point of national and nativist discourses

- Decision: feedback to the case studies received (Denmark, Hungary and Italy) and to postpone the deadline for the coming case studies to autumn 2015. Synthesis report in January 2016. Deliverable will be submitted in April 2016
- Action: WP9 members work on finalizing national cases;
- Change: none.

Deliverable 9.8: Cross-national case studies on family and reproductive rights of men and women living in diverse family forms.

- Decision: to ask WP9 participants to update the questionnaire 9.8 if needed and to coordinate the first results with WP7, task 7.1 (categorization of civil rights) and 7.2 (enforcement of civil rights), in particular with questionnaire on "Case study life events of EU citizens"
- Action: to submit an article to a peer-reviewed journal (International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family) in February 2016
- Change: none.

Deliverable 9.9: "Cross-national case studies on discrepancies between civil, social and economic rights of mobile young EU citizens as family members in Croatia, Israel, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom."

- Decision: project will be continued by Leydi Johanna Breuls
- Action: Postdoc will send questionnaires to national participants
- Change: None

Deliverables 9.1, 9.4, 9.6

Short presentations of the already submitted deliverables to get all participants updated

- Decision:
 - o preparation of article based on 9.1 by Mara Yerkes and Trudie Knijn
 - o preparation of articles based on 9.4 by Mara Yerkes, Christina Solera and other WP9 participants.
 - o preparation of articles based on 9.6 by Matteo Luppi, Rosanne Oomkens and other WP9 participants.
- Change: new action.

Publication and dissemination

- Decision: to prepare a book proposal titled: Gender and Generational Division in EU citizenship for Palgrave; to prepare a Special Journal Issue on 9.7; other publications are in progress
- Action: to collect abstract for the book proposal by fall 2015 and draft chapter to be discussed at the Conference in Oviedo
- Change: new action

Progress report

During the first 24-month Work Package 9 has made good progress. So far, four deliverables have been submitted: deliverable 9.1, 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6. Results from the first deliverable (9.1) has been disseminated at an international conference and will be submitted to an international refereed journal.

- Deliverables due next 12 months:
 - Deliverable 9.7 – Deadline: month 36
 - Deliverable 9.8 – Deadline: month 36
- Changes in schedule: request to postpone Deliverable 9.3 to month 48, since WPs 5-8 are postponing the schedule of some deliverables to be integrate in D 9.3

WP10: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

Deliverable 10.2: Report on the comparative analysis of data pertaining to work, care and welfare is nearing completion. All partners have collected data on access to labour market, welfare, citizenship and state territory on the basis of citizenship. Where necessary, partners also liaised with relevant ministries to access additional data when public data was scarce. WP coordinators have collected data from EUROSTAT LFS, EU-SILC and publicly available migration database. Additionally, partners have documented the process of obtaining data, the limitations of the data and what is/ is not available.

Deadline for submission: August 2015

Discussions and decisions taken:

- Ideas of 'work' to be considered in datasets. Issue of visibility: it is not always the case that visibility is a positive thing. Quite often groups are visualized as considered a problem
- Welfare benefits sanctions data 'work conditionality' imposed on jobseekers
- Report drafted and to be circulated: Sarah Walker
- Partners to comment on it by 10th July 2015
- Deliverable due for internal review end July 2015.

Deliverable 10.3 Report on research and data on hidden populations. Partners have identified the following hidden populations to explore for case studies: EU women, beggars, care workers and the disabled. Partners have elected to lead on a particular case study and drafted an outline of the case study. Case studies will be comparative or stand alone. The key theme threading through case studies will be the concept of work.

Deadline for submission: March 2016



Discussions and decisions taken:

- All lead partners will develop a more concrete proposal and circulate information on case studies by end of August.
- Partners have to decide which they will contribute to.

Deliverable 10.4: Final manuscripts submitted to peer-reviewed journals.

- Journal articles: Consideration of special issue. Potential to do a special issue on the case studies – linkages between them – concept of work?

Impact assessment

Discussions and decisions taken:

- WP10 will focus on care workers (Impact on vulnerable population group).
- Bridget Anderson will circulate the template.

Progress report

Work Package 10 has completed and submitted its first deliverable (D10.1); deliverable 10.2 is close to completion (due to the end of August). The research and design phase has been concluded and partners have submitted and analysed relevant data. WP coordinators are working on analysing the data and drawing out relevant themes, which will feed into deliverable 10.3. Case studies for Deliverable D10.3 have been decided and lead partners established. Work on this deliverable is ongoing. Work Package 10 is currently on track to achieve its objectives in a timely and scientifically substantive manner.

- Deliverables due next 12 months:
 - Deliverable 10.2 – Deadline: month 28
 - Deliverable 10.3 – Deadline: month 36
- Changes in schedule: none.

WP11: MINUTES OF PROGRAMME MEETING, ZAGREB, 30 JUNE – 2 JULY 2015

With regard to the tasks, deliverables and the person-months distributed among the different consortium partners UU, UNIZG and CEU play the central role in WP11. Other participants (GUF, HUJI, UNITN, UNITO, UZH, LSE, UOXF) each have 2 person months in the WP, and their task is mainly to provide information, contribute to the reports and supply policy briefs. The WP started formally December 2014 and tasks are divided up into three different groups: (1) future impact, (2) future development, and (3) future citizens.

On July 1, 2015 the meeting of WP 11, chaired by Uwe Puetter, was attended by coordinators and/or representatives of the other WPs to discuss how the link between the work of the WPs and forward looking activities best can be organized. The preparatory activities have started a little later than planned, but within the time frame of the project.

(1) Future impact: UU proposed a short questionnaire on impact assessment by the end of November with 4 questions concerning the most important rights, barriers identified, etc. by WPs 2, 4, 8, 9, and 10 so far.



The main question is: On what subjects and issues should the focus of an impact assessment tool be looking at the preliminary results of the different work packages within the bEUCitizen project?

Specific questions are:

1. What rights (economic, social, civil and political) are so far identified that tend to be vulnerable for national or EU policies and legislation on what issues and to what extend?
2. What specific groups might be extra vulnerable in exercising citizenship rights, especially in terms of differences related to gender, to different generations, migrants et cetera?
3. How country specific are these risks (rights and groups)?
4. What conflicts are there already or might be expected for the future, between different rights and different levels/policies of government (local, national, European)?

Several of the coordinators were interviewed during the Zagreb conference. The others will give a reaction by e-mail by the end of August. The working paper will be finished by October, 2015.

(2) Future development: it was agreed that a 'flyer on policy briefs' will be produced by September, 2015 by CEU. This would direct prospective contributors with regard to content, word target, structure, etc. of policy briefs. The aim is to have one 'policy brief' ready in November 2015. This should come from one of the WPs that would already have had substantive input based on their deliverables. It was stressed that policy briefs should not simply reflect short summaries of the work conducted in the different WPs, for which the flyer shall have relevant information.

As for the 'scenarios for future development', during the conference a 'Youth side event' was organized as a pilot event (see the report in Annex II). With the policy briefs as an important input, this helped us to explore how to work with structured 'what if?' scenarios with regard to European citizenship. The major task of UU is to identify baseline trends then discuss it with the different WP coordinators (or delegates thereof) and organize a workshop at the third bEUCitizen conference in 2016.

(3) Future citizens: Request of formal revision of the deliverables dates: from August, 2015 (month 28) to August, 2016 (month 40) was accepted.

Progress report

- Deliverables due next 12 months:
 - Deliverable 11.1 – Deadline: month 28
 - Deliverable 11.2 – Deadline: month 32
 - Deliverable 11.3 – Deadline: month 36
- Changes in schedule: none.



PHOTO IMPRESSION ANNUAL CONSORTIUM MEETING



ANNEX I: OPENING SPEECH BY ACADEMIC COORDINATOR PROF. DR. SYBE DE VRIES

I would like to welcome you all very warmly to the conference 'Being a citizen in Europe'.

And a special thanks to the organizers, the Zagreb team, Viktor Koska and Daniela..., who are willing to host this conference in the fascinating town of Zagreb and in the newest MS of the EU.

A long time ago the Greek god Zeus fell in love with a strikingly beautiful young Phoenecian woman. Her name was Europa. Zeus, sly as he was, came up with a plan. Aware of the possible fury of his jealous wife Hera, Zeus transformed himself into a handsome white bull. When Europa who was picking flowers saw the bull, she caressed his flanks, and eventually got onto his back. Zeus took that opportunity and ran to the sea and swam, with her on his back, to the island of Crete. He then revealed his true identity, he raped Europa and Europa became the first queen of Crete. Zeus gave her a necklace made by Hephaestus and three additional gifts.

This narrative from ancient Greek mythology is illustrative for the current state of affairs of the European Union. And not just because in Brussels, in the European district, you can find a statute of Europa riding the bull.

More importantly, and fatefully, we find Europa and the bull on Greek euro coins, which seems to give the current monetary crisis a new dimension. At the time when Greece joined the Eurozone, Europa and the bull stood as symbols for Europe's long tradition, a Europe of continuity, from ancient Greece and onwards.

But these days when the Eurocrisis has come to its high and the Greek parliament decided to hold a referendum on the salvation package, it may well illustrate something else. From a citizenship perspective, the Greeks could regard Europa and the bull as a symbol for the abduction and humiliation of Greece by the EU, particularly now basic civil, political, social and economic rights are under serious threat; whereas others, predominantly northern Europeans, might just argue for the opposite.

The Eurocrisis is not the only issue that puts the very existence of the European Union to the test. Meanwhile thousands of people from outside the EU – at least those who survive the dangerous journey across the Mediterranean sea - try to seek refuge in the EU. But most Member States have so far not revealed any sign of solidarity to help each other in solving this humanitarian crisis. Possibly also due to the hot breath of its citizens, who feel threatened by an increasing influx of migrants. The European Commission, more politicized than ever, against all odds comes up with a rescue plan; to prevent that human dignity, which is one of the key values of the EU and firmly incorporated in the Treaty of Lisbon and the EU Charter of Fundamental rights, becomes an empty, deadpan right.

The Eurocrisis or refugee crisis have a strong impact on citizenship and on the exercise of citizenship rights across Europe. And the barriers that these create for citizens' rights seem almost unsolvable. Against this background, the theme of our conference – being a citizen in Europe - is even more challenging/daring. And then I have not yet mentioned other barriers that we as EU or non-EU citizens face in Europe.

I am therefore very happy to see that you have come here, particularly those from outside the bEUCitizen consortium, to join the debate on European citizenship and to help us understand and further develop a concept of citizenship that does justice to the heterogeneous character of the EU. The high quality papers that you have submitted constitute an excellent base for an exciting discussion.



The conference is centred around four streams. The first stream is coordinated by Sandra Seubert and Frans van Waarden and explores the construction of citizenship: is citizenship (or should it be) still perceived as a bounded concept or do we see tendencies towards unbounded forms of citizenship, possibly stimulated by a rather activist Court of Justice? EU citizenship is all but fixed and certain, and history shows that there are different manifestations of citizenship that could be of inspiration for the EU.

The second stream, which coordinated by Martin Seeleib-Kaiser and me, discusses to what extent the traditional economic rights of European citizens have been expanded and transformed into non-economically active citizens' rights. Here we see contracting movements in the case law of the European Court of Justice and in the policies and legislation of the EU institutions. On the one hand, more rights have been given to all kinds of groups of citizens; yet the recent case of Dano decided by the ECJ shows that citizens who have no work or prospect to get a job, stay at the side-line and have no right to reside and claim social assistance in another Member State. This raises the question of what view do the EU policy makers, the legislator and the Court have of citizenship?

The third stream, coordinated by Uwe Puetter and Francis Cheneval, deals with the political rights of citizens and models of participation. The euro crisis has contested the political rights dimension of EU citizenship as legitimating device and continues to do so. The backing by the Court of Justice of the ECB's unlimited bond-buying has for now saved the EU's monetary policy. But for how long? There is still fierce opposition in Germany, the German constitutional court might consider the plan unconstitutional – although EU law supersedes national law – . And then there is the referendum in Greece and what about the democratic rights of Greek citizens?

The last stream, which is coordinated by Elena Ioriatti and Frans van Waarden, deals with language. Language continues to be a very important factor for the successful exercise of citizens' rights across Europe, by EU citizens and non-EU citizens alike. Language is also a powerful tool to raise barriers for non-EU citizens, but not at all costs.

The fact that, for instance, the Netherlands may require third country nationals with a long term resident status to pass a civic integration examination, does not mean that it can implement a civic integration obligation just like that. It will, according to a recent judgment of the Court, have to take account of the individual circumstances of the citizen; and, furthermore, it cannot simply impose high fines or registration fees, which makes the examination inaccessible for large groups of citizens.

Back to the myth of Europa and the bull. A myth has a symbolic value and can be interpreted in manifold ways. Rather than symbolizing the EU's possible quest for a founding myth, a common identity, the narrative could illustrate the different meanings of 'being a citizen in Europe' and offer citizens a European perspective. Europe's discord is distinct; we should focus on what Europe actually binds.

This brings me to our first keynote speaker, Erik Eriksen, who is a professor of political science and director of the Arena centre.



ANNEX II: REPORT ON THE YOUTH SIDE EVENT

Report on the Youth Side Activity: bEUCitizen 2015 Mid-Term Conference

Zagreb June 29/30 2015

Breaking Down Barriers: Future scenarios on youth and citizenship in 2030

Youth and access to education, labor and political decision making

Madelon Kloosterboer, Marlot van der Kolk and Leon Runje

Moderator: Dr. Wieger Bakker

Citizenship is more than a status, more than a set of civic, political and social rights. It is about being able to participate in society, to develop ones capacities and to contribute to the organization of society. The chances and opportunities for youth to do so differ between countries and in time. Furthermore, economic crisis and national and EU policy responses to these crises, create potentially new inequalities and new barriers for youth. Several trends in our societies may hinder or stimulate the future participation of youth in society. Although the future can't be predicted, it is possible to prepare ourselves for different thinkable futures. And who are better positioned to think about the future than the next generations themselves?

Youth side event

On the 29th of June, a group of 20 students and young professionals from Croatia, Slovenia and the Netherlands discussed different future scenarios for youth-citizenship. They analyzed and discussed the present situation and determined what they regard as important for youth. In addition, they looked at what different ways the European societies, and especially Croatia, might develop and which consequences these would involve. *How could the world look in 2030?*

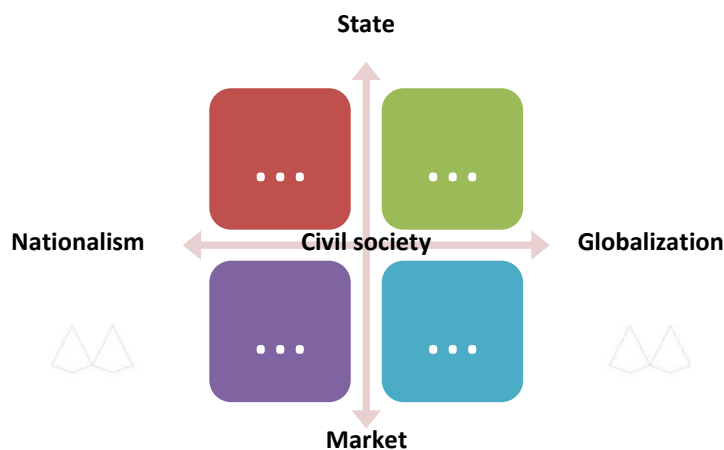
It took five steps to answer this question. First of all, the youth-participants determined six important values for youth citizenship after which they came up with four driving forces in society. Based on these forces, four future-world scenarios were imagined. These extreme, but possible situations were given a name and were assessed based on the aforementioned values. Last but not least, the participants had to think of a possible repertoire of action to make sure that, even in these extreme worlds, the important values be achievable for youth. The following paragraphs will take you through these steps and will show you how the future is imagined by European youth.

Values

In groups of four the students and young professionals thought about the most important values and rights for youth citizenship. Although they came up with quite a range of different values, there were six major outcomes. Firstly, the participants thought of equal chances to exercise freedom of mobility as one of the most important rights. They talked about the Erasmus-scholarship and its undesirable unequal possibilities, saying that €410,- in Croatia is a lot compared to €410,- in the Netherlands. The second value that turned out to be important was access to and provision of high quality civic education due to the fact that this would give youth the knowledge needed to fully participate in society. Next, social rights and protection should be universal for all Europeans, because national differences create inequality in chances between the so called 'core and periphery'. The fourth value, while it requires tolerance and acceptance of different nationalities and cultures throughout Europe, is closely related to the one just mentioned. Another important value concerns the right to a healthy life in a sustainable future world. Finally, considering both the literally and figuratively World Wide Web, the sixth value was named the right to privacy protection.

Forces

In the second step of the scenario thinking process, four driving forces were identified. The students were asked to think about the visible and most important trends in society. On the one hand, nationalism turned out to be a force that every participant recognized as being strengthened due to the problems of our increasingly globalized world. An example of these problems is the fear for one's own culture and religion that strong immigration can cause. On the other hand, the just mentioned globalization was found to be a very important force in its own right; this dichotomy is illustrated by the horizontal shaft. The vertical shaft is formed by the state and privatization as driving forces, with civil society in between. This leads to the following figure:



Scenarios

Step three contained combining the forces shown above in various ways to create a set of different future scenarios. Each group of participants had to imagine one story about how the future *might* unfold. Therefore, the combination of two driving forces had to be taken into extremes, which resulted in the following four worlds:



1. *Allmightya*: state interventionism combined with nationalism

Allmightya is a world in which the forces of nationalism and state interventionism have come together to form an intrusive all encompassing big brother state. In this possible future world, the regime's view of "perfect order" is enforced by an intrusive government seeking to control the life of every citizen. This can only be accomplished by total isolation which is in turn achieved through an autarkic economic policy. Instead of the government using economic prosperity as a source of legitimacy it prefers to rely on propaganda and a strong police force to brutalize the population into submission. . The result is an isolated but sovereign autarchic totalitarian state. The price of this "sovereignty", which is only enjoyed by the political elite, is paid for by the citizens. They are forced to accept sub optimal living standards caused by the lack of trade with other countries as well as due to the extremely high military and police expenditures of the regime. Even though they must foot the bill for an enormous security apparatus they still enjoy very few if any of the rights and freedoms which were determined as fundamental values in the aforementioned text. The strong tendencies in many European societies towards isolation and a growing sense of nationalism, which both come as a backlash to increased European integration and immigration give us clear indications of the worrying fact that for at least part of Europe Allmightya might soon be a reality.

2. *Liberistan*: nationalism combined with market

A close cousin to Allmightya in some respects, Liberistan is, unlike Allmightya, a profit driven, free- market oriented economy. Created by the combination of market forces and a fierce sense of nationalism Liberistan is ruled by elites which display a strong distaste for democracy, which they see as a tool by which the incompetent and the weak are able exploit the capable and the strong. In terms of ideology Social Darwinism comes closest to describing the government's view on what a perfect society should be. While the government does not shy away from cracking down on public dissent in a manner reminiscent of the all encompassing state apparatus of Allmightya, the main methods by which stability is maintained in this starkly unequal society is through the employment of nationalistic and religious based identity politics. In this regard a conservative media and a strict patriotic/religious education policy play the key role in the free market oriented, meritocratic Liberistan. While boasting a strong economy and an effective military on the one hand, but displaying a fundamental lack of regard for the social and political rights of its citizens on the other, Liberistan represents both the best and worst of what the free market and a strong sense of patriotism have to offer. With a rising sense of nationalism going roughly unopposed by political elites on the one hand and free trade being strongly promoted by the same elites on the other it is unsettlingly easy to see how that there are many trends pulling us in the direction of a "Profitopian" future.

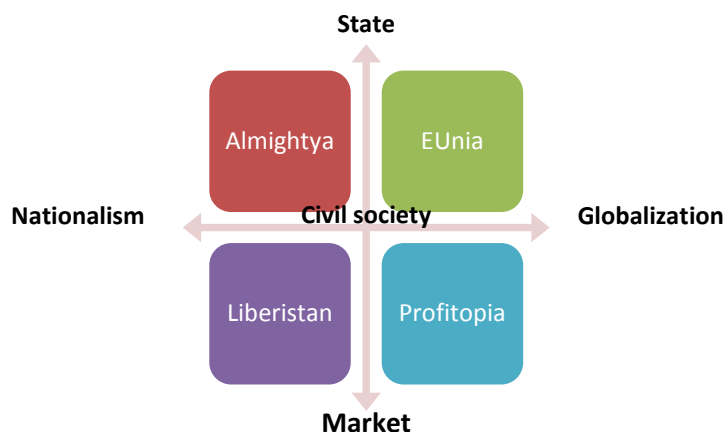
3. *Profitopia*: market combined with globalization

Profitopia represents a world in which the forces of nationalism have been banished in to the annals of history and have successfully been supplanted by an internationalist/globalist worldview. But where one might think this would result in the establishment of some kind of "world federal state" the state has instead died off together with the nations upon which it was based. The main way by which human society is now organized is in individual corporations who compete against each other in the originally "free market". However as the state dies off the job of guaranteeing the openness of the market falls to individual corporations, this fact coupled together with the strengthening of larger corporations at the expense of the lesser ones, will

eventually lead to the de facto abolishment of the free market and the establishment of industry specific monopolies controlled by corporate cartels. While this monopoly will not be able to take care of everything, there will, some day, be renewed pluralism with all kinds of delegated power.

4. *EUnia*: globalization combined with state

In this last possible future world, Europe is imagined as one big welfare state which has successfully obliterated the borders of the old nation states which divide it today. It consists of six administrative regions in which only English is recognized as the official language. This fact also reveals the dark side of this state run welfare paradise. Being a society based on the values of internationalism and heavy state involvement the state of EUnia heavily supports the promotion of EU-nationalism over all other forms of national, ethnic or religious identity. It is also, due to its strong statist tendencies, prone to shutting out outside influences which it sees as disturbances. In this sense this state, which represents the closest imaginable thing to utopia, shares eerie parallels with both Allmyghtia and Liberistan. With that being said the rights and freedoms of peoples which were defined as fundamental values are far better protected by the State of EUnia then they could ever be by the repressive apparatus of Allmyghtia, or the free market of Profitopia and Liberistan. The motto of this state is: "Don't worry; the state will take care of it!"



Assessment

Once they created the possible future worlds, the participants had to imagine what the different scenarios would mean for the earlier mentioned values. They scored all the values on a 1-5 scale in which 1 means 'definitely not respecting value' and 5 means 'definitely respecting value'. As you can see in the figure below, EUnia seems the closest to utopia. However, in each and every possible future world there are (some) values that are vulnerable. That's why the students were asked to think about some kind of repertoire to ensure or stimulate the different kinds of values mentioned.

Values	Almightyia	Liberistan	Profitopia	EUnia
Mobility	1	1	3	5
Civic education	2	3	1	5
Universal rights	1	1	1	3



Tolerance in Europe	1	1	5	3
Healthy life	3	3	3	4
Privacy	1	2	1	2
Total score	9	11	14	22

Repertoires for action

The question the students and young professionals had to ask themselves was: who can do what in the scenarios to realize the chosen important values? For Allmightya it seemed that change could come from within as well as from the outside. Political dissidents would be able to achieve new perspectives on the future status quo. Also student groups could play an important role, with them being a new generation that comes with new innovating ideas. Finally, the totalitarian government of Allmightya could be attacked from outside. This form of action will also come in handy for achieving and defending the aforementioned values in Liberistan. Moreover, the citizens of Liberistan could also effect change from within, but would have to wait for a window of opportunity in which they could capitalize on the internal strife within the regime and play off the various factions within the elites for the benefit of civil society. They will have to use this moment of weakness to make a bottom-up change. This bottom-up change might also be necessary in the case of Profitopia. In addition, the citizens of Profitopia, being customers of all kinds of corporations, will have the option of putting pressure on the market by, for example, organizing strikes or boycotting products of certain suppliers. Finally, even though the citizens of EUnia are free to organize themselves, there is only one kind of national identity that their state sanctions, namely that of EU-nationalism. In order to change this, the citizens must unite and create their own cultures from within.

Despite the fact that the imagined worlds are so varied and depend on different driving forces, the (youth) citizens seem to be the key to achieving change in all possible futures. Regardless of whether their country (or world) will be ruled by one enormous state, by all kinds of corporations, a monopolist or by a totalitarian government, the citizens are able to organize themselves and make a change from within. Everything starts from the civic society and therefore that should be the most important driving force. Since youth represents the next critical and innovative generation, it is essential to provide it with high quality civic education. This will give students and young professionals the opportunity to be able to handle and control the most extreme of the possible futures, something every citizen can benefit from.

Utrecht/Zagreb July 10 2015