



BEUCITIZEN
BARRIERS TOWARDS EU CITIZENSHIP

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED? BARRIERS TOWARDS EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP

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OUR APPROACH: CITIZENSHIP IN MULTIPLES

People living in Europe belong to different concentric or overlapping communities: neighbourhoods, cities, nation states and the European Union. They can also belong to various other groups or categories: (extended) families, genders, age groups, ethnic groups, the employed or the unemployed, students or pensioners, the healthy, the sick or the disabled as well as language or religious communities¹. These communities and categories define – multiple – identities, which engender rights, duties and responsibilities. Over time some of these have come to be defined in law.

Membership of *territorially* defined communities is called citizenship. This term – as well as related ones in other European languages (citoyenneté, burgerschap, Bürgerschaft, ciudadanía, cittadinanza, cidadania, cetatenie, medborgarskap) – stems from the term ‘city’, ‘burg’, fortress i.e. a walled and protected territory. Inhabitants of this walled territory had freedom (‘Stadtluft macht frei’), which furthered independence and individualism. This right to freedom and independence was always combined with duties and responsibilities. Walls provided protection, but had to be built, maintained, and defended. Duties such as serving in civic militias, guarding walls and dykes, providing labour, and paying taxes were required in order to guarantee the continued protection of these rights. Such rights and duties stabilised mutual expectations between people and developed into customs. Eventually they became enacted in law, in order to increase transparency and predictability and ensure equality. Citizenship has been (and often still is) portrayed as a distinctive characteristic of European nation states and one of its major legacies to human civilisation.

The project that we propose in the following pages in response to the *FP7 SSH Call 2012 Activity 5 Challenge: Exercise EU citizenship: removing barriers*, seeks to study European citizenship from a set of distinctive perspectives. As the Call stipulates, “the concept of **European Union citizenship** lies at the heart of the EU’s unique polity. The challenges that the EU faces in making EU citizens more aware of their **rights** and **obligations** and in seeking to overcome the persistent **shortcomings** related to the **exercise of EU citizens’ rights** and **obligations** call for this distinctive perspective.

In this project we do not understand citizenship as a merely legal or constitutional category. Instead, citizenship will be studied in its interdependence between rules and practices or between law and society. Legal rights are the outcome of societal and political processes, and, in turn, subsequently structure and influence them.

This brings us to several other distinctive features of our approach. Rather than studying citizenship as a homogeneous concept, our project acknowledges its heterogeneous character, in several respects. In Europe, concepts of local, national and EU citizenship exist side by side. It is a multi-layered phenomenon. This is neither new nor unique. Before the codification of the concept of citizenship after the French revolution, the co-existence of local, regional and national concepts of citizenship was the norm rather than the exception. Federal states display such features to some extent even today. For example, in Switzerland people are still in the first place a citizen of their canton and only secondly of the federation. They derive different rights from these identities or lack of them. Thus lawyers who have done their lawyer’s exam in one canton until recently could not practice in other cantons. Studying such historical and contemporary models of federal states will help us to identify workable solutions to some of the challenges currently faced by the EU in its attempts to further develop a European form of citizenship. We also acknowledge that citizenship is heterogeneous in

¹Some may even be included in corporate citizenship communities, such as that cultivated by the Coca Cola Company (Cf. <http://coca-cola-corporate.com.yeslab.org/citizenship/index.html>).



terms of the domains it applies to. Characteristically, citizenship impacts a whole range of fields, starting with politics and the law, but extending to economic, social and ultimately also cultural rights. Too often, scholars have lumped all these domains together in the container concept of citizenship. Our project, however, assumes that citizenship can develop at a different pace in the various domains and that this variety is another source of the dynamic of citizenship.

Thirdly, citizenship rights and duties affect various categories of citizens differently. Females and males, youngsters and the elderly, insiders (European nationals) and outsiders (e.g. third country nationals) are affected differently by the rules and regulations pertaining to citizenship.

Fourthly, these different categories of citizens may experience multiple barriers to the exercise of citizenship rights, whereby we again make a distinction between legal barriers, such as contradictions and rankings between different kinds of rights, and societal barriers, such as differences in political, administrative, legal and social institutions, financial constraints, administrative or bureaucratic hurdles, linguistic barriers and a lack of solidarity across countries.

To address the dynamics between legal rules and societal practices, the differentiation of citizenship rights across domains and categories of citizens, and the existence and effects of multiple barriers to the exercise of citizenship rights, we have brought together a multi-disciplinary team from all over Europe to combine their expertise. As citizenship has both normative and empirical dimensions - another expression of its multi-dimensional character - this team includes both representatives from normative disciplines such as law and philosophy, and from empirical sciences, such as sociology, political science, history, economics and policy studies.

To sum up: our project claims to be distinctive in its focus on (1) the interaction of rules and practices, as well as a focus on five multiples; (2) the multi-layered and (3) multi-dimensional character of European citizenship; (4) its multitudinous effects on different categories of citizens; (5) the existence of multiple barriers to the exercise of rights; and (6) the endeavour to investigate these with a multidisciplinary team of scholars.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The proposed project sets out to identify, investigate, discuss and ameliorate the barriers to the active use of rights (and knowledge of duties, the concomitant to rights, in so far as there are any) by European citizens. The research tasks set out in the Commission's Call will be taken into consideration. Not only will this project provide a comparative overview and classification of the various **barriers to the exercise of the rights and obligations of EU citizens in the Member States and some candidate countries**, but it will also analyse whether and how such barriers can be overcome and the **future opportunities and challenges** the EU and its Member States face to further develop the idea and reality of **EU citizenship**.

The main research questions are:

- A. What problems do European citizens experience when they try to exercise the rights provided - or perform the duties required - by the legal concept of European citizenship? What hindrances or even barriers do they run into? Where, when, and why?
- B. What are the causes of the existence of these barriers, both direct and indirect?
- C. Could these barriers be reduced or even lifted? Which barriers is this easier or more difficult for and why?



- D. Which actors have already taken initiatives to do so? How successful have they been? Who could do what, and under which conditions?
- E. What could be the unintended and perhaps unwanted consequences of some possible solutions to reducing these barriers?

These main, but general questions can be elaborated by a number of more specific ones:

1. Which problems are caused by the **multi-layered** character of European citizenship? I.e. by European citizens belonging to different concentric and overlapping communities, categories and identities?
2. Which problems are caused by the **multidimensional** character of European citizenship?
3. Do **different categories** of people living in the European territory have varying types of access to European citizenship rights? Do these categories suffer perhaps from different types of barriers and, if so, which ones and why?
4. Are these problems, caused by the multi-layeredness and multidimensionality of rights, and the diversity of citizens, different for the various dimensions of rights: economic, civic, social and political?
5. Have similar or related problems also been experienced before during the long history of state formation and development of the citizenship concept of the European cities and nation states? What was in particular the relationship between membership of economic organisations providing economic rights like the guilds and membership of civic organisations like the cities, that provided civic rights? What could be learned from these historical experiences?
6. Have similar or related problems also been experienced by other (con)federal states or states with significant minorities elsewhere, both inside and outside Europe? How have they handled e.g. the tensions stemming from multiple identities and/or 'citizenship' claims, as well as due to the mobility of people between regions within their territory? Which problems did they experience, what solutions have been tried and which of these were successful? What can be learned from these experiences?
7. What could be the contribution to the lifting of barriers of:
 - a. The European Court of Justice, the European Commission and its European Administration;
 - b. EU Member States (e.g. by streamlining, harmonising and simplifying administrative procedures);
 - c. Organisations of Civil Society such as (public) interest associations, NGOs, think tanks, etc.;
 - d. Commercial market parties, such as lawyers, marketers or providers of commercial services;
 - e. Individual European Citizens, if need be with the aid of associations or commercial service providers.
8. What are the prospects for an EU-specific concept of citizenship true to its own motto: 'In Varietate Concordia' (Unity in Diversity)? That is, what are the opportunities and conditions for the development and nurturing of a multi-layered and multidimensional concept of European citizenship, as distinct from the ones common in nation states as well as the USA? And could, in this respect, the Confoederatio Helvetica in which something like this has developed successfully, serve as a useful example for the EU?



These are mostly open questions. Further down we will formulate a number of hypotheses, by identifying a variety of possible barriers. But before we do so we will elaborate on the characteristics of our approach.

RULES AND PRACTICES, LAW AND SOCIETY

Obviously, legal rules and social practices develop over time in a closely knit interrelationship with one reinforcing the other. Societal needs produce new rules. First, they do so through the political and administrative arenas and institutions, in the form of statutory law; second, through the legal arenas and courts in the form of case law. People bring their needs, interests, ideas and wishes to politicians, and their social conflicts to courts. In turn, the resulting policies and regulations guide and steer people's social behaviour, thereby creating some social order. The practical results may have been intended, but can also be unintended and unforeseen. These may in turn produce new or modified needs, interests and conflicts, which may eventually produce new rules, through the respective institutions. Thus the triangle between subjects - legal officials - the law creates and recreates law in a continuous process. While both institutional paths of legal rule creation - through politics and the courts - exist in most countries, in some one has acquired a greater role than the other. The general trend over the last century has been to give greater power to the courts (Tate and Vallinder 1995). In other words the legal dimension of citizenship has become increasingly important.

Many legal rules formulate the rights as well as the duties of individuals. Originally, these may have been formed through customs and traditions upheld by families and social communities, and as a result they may have been a matter of voluntary mutual understanding before they were eventually codified in law. This process has been going on in Europe for at least one thousand years and a case could be made for a longer prehistory of European citizenship, dating all the way back to the fifth century BC and the debates about Pericles' citizenship law in classical Athens. In turn, the acquisition, establishment and codification of these rights has subsequently often framed, steered and facilitated struggles for yet more rights. And it has been a struggle. Many rights are the result of social and political pressure, and conflict, even sometimes outright revolution. They often had to be wrested away from autocratic rulers, even though the latter may have owed their power and authority originally to the provision of some degree of social and political security to their citizens. Two types of rights can be distinguished in these processes. Some are ends in themselves; others are means to other ends. For example, the right to free speech, free press, freedom of association, voting and universal suffrage can be considered means and instruments to obtain other rights. Two main functions or uses of the law in society have been distinguished in the literature (e.g. Damaska 1986). The first is a more passive role, protecting citizenship rights and resolving or at least adjudicating in conflict, with the courts as the main actors. The role is passive, because the legal officials have to wait for initiatives to come from societal actors claiming rights, bringing conflicts to court (in civil court) or transgressing the law (criminal court). Furthermore, laws are not explicitly changed, but at most reinterpreted somewhat and gradually changed by this process. The second function of the law is its use as a tool for policy implementation and for achieving social change. This is an activist use, because state actors, usually politicians, but also activist supreme courts, reformulate or reinterpret the law in order to achieve policy goals and social change. Some countries, e.g. the UK, have a legal culture emphasising a more passive use of the law, foremostly using it as a means for conflict resolution, whereas others, notably the US, have developed a more activist conception of the law, using it actively to achieve the desired social change e.g. the expropriation of private property to build railroads and foster economic growth; fighting racism using legally backed affirmative action; protecting the environment through the strict enforcement of anti-pollution laws or fighting crime with severe punishment (Damaska 1986, Bardach and Kagan 1982, Kagan 2001).

The European Union is often viewed as following the US example and developing an activist legal culture, with its European Court of Justice (ECJ) being compared to the activist US Supreme Court. The EU's supranational institutions such as the Commission and the ECJ have been active in building a united Europe through the activist use of law (Shapiro and Stone Sweet 2002; Stone Sweet 2000 and 2004; Sandholtz and Stone Sweet; Stone Sweet, Fligstein and Sandholtz 2001). European integration is therefore increasingly



furthered by law and legal officials. Stone Sweet refers to 'governing with judges' (2000) and 'the judicial construction of Europe' (2004). Major changes in EU law are less the result of political decision making than of Court decisions. Basic choices e.g. in treaty texts, may have been decided by politicians, but the judicial interpretations and derivations of these texts have been very important to their further development and application. One example is the very concept of citizenship, which was used by the Court to give all EU nationals access to EU law. Other major principles, such as 'mutual recognition', were established by the Court and in the end were of much greater consequences than those who established these principles may have been able to foresee.

This importance of the Court in integrating Europe was not necessarily a purposeful process. After all, a court is a passive institution. It has to wait until someone brings a case before it, but then it has to come to a decision. Deciding is easier, however, and usually quicker for the European Court of Justice than for a group of politicians each defending the interests of their constituencies. The Court has a small number of members who are all part of an 'epistemic community' (Haas 1992) of lawyers (socialised in a common legal language, shared principles of legal reasoning and the value of basic legal principles) and who identify strongly with the cause of European integration. Hence Scharpf (2001, 2010) has argued that supranational European institutions, like the Commission and the ECJ, have greater 'problem-solving capacity', though less 'democratic legitimacy', while intergovernmental institutions like the Council score lower on 'problem-solving capacity', but higher on 'democratic legitimacy'. Therefore, negative integration, through the setting aside of national regulations hindering mobility, is easier, because it may require only a decision of a supranational institution such as the Commission or the ECJ, while positive integration, the drawing up of new legislation in the Council and the European Parliament, requires lengthy intergovernmental negotiations between representatives defending the interests of their own rather different constituencies. Following a logic of comparison, deduction and derivation, the Commission and in particular the Court, have shaped the process of European integration through a spill-over of one issue onto another one, something which has also been called the 'Community method' or 'integration by stealth' (Prechal et al. 2010).

There have been attempts by European policymakers to use this 'asset' of the courts and of negative integration by engaging in 'regulation through litigation'. Where they had difficulty in succeeding with positive integration, given the interest diversity among Member States, they have brought cases to the Court (as with infringement procedures against individual member states) themselves and have subsequently tried to enlist the aid of private societal actors: by encouraging them to litigate using e.g. liability or tort law. Staunch proponents of this strategy, which has been utilised in the US, are economists, in particular from the public-choice school. The legal scholars Morris, Yandle and Dorchak (2009) have analysed American cases of asbestos, tobacco and heavy-duty diesel engine litigation. Political scientist Kelemen (2006, 2011) conducted similar studies in Europe on, among other things, consumer-rights litigation. Both lawyers and political scientists are quite critical of this practice which reveals that when a broader perspective is applied the pernicious costs do not outweigh any of the advantages. Furthermore, such litigation increases the political power of the judiciary i.e. of experts, to the detriment of democracy and the politicians that it produces.

These processes have also affected the development of the concept of European citizenship (e.g. Shaw 2011). The walled 'city' - source of the citizenship concept - grew into the bordered nation state and subsequently into what has been referred to as Fortress Europe. So has citizenship. Just as negative integration is in principle much easier than positive integration, existing rights - i.e. national citizenship rights - are more easily abolished than new European rights established. Furthermore, these new rights exemplify nicely the process of spill-over - sooner or later one step necessitates others - so often seen in the process of European integration. Market integration and deregulation provided more rights for consumers. It also implied the fundamental right of the 'four freedoms' - free mobility of goods, services and of the production factors capital and labour. These rights constitute what has been called 'market citizenship' (e.g. Shuibhne 2010). Subsequently, the realisation and recognition developed that these economic abstractions of 'factors of production' (entrepreneurs, investors, workers, service providers) are usually real-life human beings with



needs beyond those based on markets. As humans they ought to be given the right to claim other 'human' rights: security and protection by the state (e.g. working conditions), the right to have a family life, to decent housing, healthcare and access to public services, etc. More in general also the right to treatment equal to that of the inhabitants of that other country, according to the so-called non-discrimination principle. In other words, the concept of European citizenship was gradually expanded from 'market citizenship' to rights not directly related to the market, initially only for economically active people. Eventually these rights were - again following the non-discrimination clause - also extended to non-economically active people.

The legal concept of EU citizenship became official with its inclusion in the 1992 Treaty of Maastricht. However, it had been part of the European discourse since the 1970s and had already gradually developed through the case law of the ECJ (Shaw 2011). The concept developed from an interaction between rules and practices. The initial EEC Treaty of Rome confined the right to freedom of movement to economically active citizens such as workers and the self-employed (O'Leary 2011). Subsequently, the four freedoms were used by some Europeans to move to and work in another country, as employees or self-employed service providers. These people experienced problems in practice which they took to national courts and which sometimes led to decisions by the Court of Justice. The ECJ's decisions set precedents, which de facto changed the rules i.e. in response to societal problems and claims.

This process – the initial gradual development of law in ECJ case law and its subsequent codification in new versions of or amendments to the European Treaty - can often be seen in the process of European integration. Kelemen (1995) demonstrated this for environmental policy: first recognised by the ECJ as an important concern for the EU in its famous 'Danish bottle case' (Case 302/86) of 1988, it was subsequently included in the Maastricht Treaty as an explicit EU goal. At the same time, however, this was weakened by the inclusion of 'escape mechanisms' for states with low environmental standards and by requiring unanimity in areas of environmental policymaking. This was done in an attempt by the Member States to curb the courts' judicial activism. It therefore seems fair to say that the EU's citizenship policy is a remarkable example of the distinction made above between the passive and the active use of the law in society: it uses the traditionally passive role of the law – the protection of rights - to achieve an activist goal: to bring about social change in the sense of stimulating the development of a European citizenship identity.

However, the interchange of rules and practices needs further refinement in order for European citizenship to become not only a legal principle, but also a social practice. It is one thing to formulate principles, rules and rights, but quite another for them to be exercised and achieved in society. Just as it is one thing to transpose European directives into national legislation (Berglund, Gange, Van Waarden 2006; Haverland, Steunenbergh, Van Waarden 2011), but quite another to enforce them and to turn them into reality on the streets and in the workplaces of citizens across Europe (Versluis 2003).

Establishing this new identity of European citizenship across Europe and getting citizens to exercise the rights connected to this identity has definitely proven to be a challenge. Indicative for this difficulty is that the European Commission has seen the need to issue a Call for Research into the barriers preventing citizens across Europe from gaining access to the legal rights they have acquired in social practice. It was this Call that 'called up' this project proposal. An initial principal problem is that the EU is trying to reverse the historical sequence. Whereas before - in the medieval city and later in the nation state - social identity, based on locality, shared language and culture developed first and rights were subsequently attached to it, whereas the European Union is attempting to implement this process the other way around by providing rights in the hope that a shared identity may develop out of them.

There are indeed many barriers to achieving this and the current research project aims to identify and investigate a multitude of these. But before we provide an overview of the type of barriers we will study (which we will do in Section 2) we should mention some other specific characteristics of European citizenship.



THE MULTI-LAYEREDNESS OF EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP

A second characteristic of European Citizenship is its multi-layered character. This is the first and the largest barrier or complicating factor for turning European citizenship from a legal formula into a social practice. The European Union has no monopoly on citizenship and experiences strong competition from long established local, regional, national, linguistic, ethnic and religious communities. The apparent hope is that this 'parochialism' could be overcome and a true identity of European citizenry might develop by providing more and more rights. One strategy seems to have been to enter into alliances with some cross-community constructed identity competitors – e.g. gender-based categories, professionals, service providers, academics, consumers and employers, and also with cross-community-based regions, linguistic minorities – against the most powerful competitors: the nation states. But there is also a danger of alienating others: the neoliberal bias of European integration – focusing on the four economic freedoms of goods, services, capital and labour – has a tendency to alienate the working classes as, for example, with the 'Bolkestein' Directive on the liberalisation of the EU services market (Directive 2006/123/EC) which caused considerable uproar.

Not only is there competition for identity: these rival communities and identities by their very nature include, but also exclude people. And those excluded could be citizens of the larger unit: Europe. City walls are intended to separate natives from aliens i.e. insiders from outsiders. Natives were the ones with the status, identity, civil, political, social and economic rights (and the duties) of citizens. This system's modern equivalent is the passport (*passse partout*), a sort of 'club card' that gives citizens access and rights. Aliens lack all these prerogatives. Hence inequality and discrimination constitute the basis of citizenship. Equality exists between those that have the club card; there is inequality between those who do own one and those who do not.

The multiple citizenship of EU citizens as members of the EU and of national communities has implied that those excluded could be non-EU citizens as well as citizens of other EU countries. The EU has insisted on the equal treatment (as much as possible) of those of its 'own' citizens who are considered outsiders in another Member State by overriding national laws with European legislation and the case law of the ECJ. In doing so it has found a major *raison d'être*, as this could enhance its own legitimacy over that of nation states. At the same time, the EU struggles with the rights and duties of non-EU citizens moving in and through European nation states. Fortress Europe enforces strict limitations on these third-country citizens and tends to reach agreement among Member States on the access to and the eligibility of the criteria for reaching full citizenship status.

But due to the greying population, third country citizens are welcomed to solve employment discrepancies in (health)care, seasonal labour, engineering, etc. In addition, human rights discourse and practice obliges the EU and its nation states to protect the social rights (healthcare, education, housing, right to family life) of these third country citizens, resulting in an increasing number of court cases. The insider-outsider dichotomies become all the more problematic since both EU and non-EU citizens are increasingly moving into other communities and/or categories where they may be considered outsiders: as tourists, migrant workers, service providers, consumers, investors, internet consumers, buyers of real estate, immigrants, students, marriage partners, etc. This has become a self-perpetuating process: the easier it becomes to enter and stay in the territory of (other) Member States, the higher the mobility of citizens between Member States.

It is, however, one thing to provide rights, but quite another to have native and non-native citizens actually claim and thereby enforce those European rights. Many don't. This creates a second inequality, unintended and unwanted: between those who know, use, demand and enforce their rights (and know and fulfil their duties) and those who do not. The former have experienced frustrations with claiming these rights and have asked questions or filed complaints with the Commission. In 2009 alone, the Europe Direct Contact Centre received 25,721 enquiries from citizens on cross-border issues (travelling, buying and selling, studying,



working and living in other Member States (EU Citizenship Report 2010:3). This is a major problem for the European Union and its (potential) citizens. Hence the EU Call for research projects to aid in reducing this unwanted inequality. How come European citizens don't sufficiently claim and enforce their rights as European citizens?

THE MULTI-DIMENSIONALITY OF RIGHTS

Citizenship rights and duties pertain to the various roles people have and concern different domains of society. Several dimensions of citizenship can therefore be distinguished. A classic and familiar distinction is that between negative and positive rights. This is linked to the distinction between 'freedom from' and the 'freedom to' (Fromm 1942, Berlin, 1959). Negative rights are for example 'freedom from' something, usually constraints on freedom e.g. from terror, want, insecurity, the burden of corruption. Positive rights refer to the 'freedom to': marry, speak freely, vote, undertake, engage in contracts, invest, sell one's labour, etc. Often, of course, positive freedoms can be redefined into negative ones. This is also the case with the European Union's four freedoms. The freedom of movement of goods, services, capital and labour can be rephrased as a freedom from constraints on these movements. This is why this often isn't such a useful classification.

Another classic distinction is that defined by T.H. Marshall (1950) between ***civil, political and social rights***. The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights uses this typology, but has added the category of ***economic rights*** (which for Marshall were included in the social rights). That is understandable, considering that the European Union started out as an Economic Community, and used to be the main pillar of the three pillars when they were still distinguished. The four EU freedoms refer to economic mobility within and across the borders of Member States: to the traded input and output of economic enterprise: goods, services and to the factors of production: capital and labour. Integration has in the first place been a negative economic one – abolishing all kinds of barriers to trade – and has produced a priority, if not a bias, towards economic liberalism in the EU.

These rights refer to the different roles of European citizens. Civil rights refer to the rights citizens have against each other in interpersonal relations and which, over time, have become recognised, registered, sanctioned and protected by the state, among other things in national civil codes. They concern issues such as birth, marriage, divorce and having children, property rights, inheritance, privacy, speech, behaviour in public places, deception, fraud, theft and aggression. Political rights refer to rights of citizens in their relation to the state. These include the typical political rights such as freedom of speech and of assembly, the right to political representation (voting and being elected), to petition and protection from arbitrary taxation. In a broader sense they may also refer to many issues regulated in public law i.e. in constitutional, administrative and criminal law, such as the rights to privacy of the home, defendants' rights, the right to appeal government decisions, etc.

Marshall defined social rights as 'the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society. The institutions most closely connected with it are the educational system and the social services' (1984 [orig. 1950]: 249). These are usually the rights of citizens vis-à-vis the government, which either provides such services itself (education, welfare state programmes, other forms of social protection) using income from imposed levies or which has compelled societal actors (pension funds, insurers, hospitals, homecare offices, schools, housing associations) to provide such services and has forced citizens to contribute financially to these provisions. Social rights can furthermore be subdivided into substantive and procedural or formal rights. Substantive ones are for instance the right to a minimum wage, to a 40-hour working week, to paid (religious) holidays, to social security, health insurance, a pension, etc. Procedural rights are the rights of workers, patients, tenants, students, etc. to be organised in associations and unions, to strike and to engage in collective bargaining.

Economic rights refer to all rights pertaining to economic transactions that facilitate their conclusion in the interest of the partners as well as the general public (growth, prosperity, income, employment). They include the freedom to exchange property i.e. the buying and selling of goods, services, capital and labour as



well as the freedom to contract. They also provide protection against the opportunistic abuse of information advantages or against abuse of other sources of power on markets, whether based on collusion, dominant market positions or other trade constraints. This is why the freedom to deal and contract is limited by the many conditions for trade and contracting. In general, economic rights aim to create fair trade practices based on relative equality or balance between transaction partners.

The EU has put the emphasis on economic rights in particular. This is understandable given that establishing and maintaining the internal market was a core task of the European (Economic) Community and is one now for the European Union. Not only has it included them in a separate category in the Charter; it also actively protects them - as with competition policy - or actively encourages consumers to claim them, as is the case with airline passengers, who are kindly reminded by the European Commission on billboards at airports that they have the right to (and should) claim damages from airline companies in the event of delays.

Sometimes these categories overlap. For instance, the freedom of movement of labour is also a civil right that allows citizens to stay and seek work in another Member State. The right to medical care in another Member State can be seen as a social (role of patient) as well as an economic (role of consumer) right.

Citizenship not only entails rights, but also duties and obligations. The right to privacy is counterbalanced by the duty to respect the privacy of others, the right to protection against fraud by the obligation not to cheat others, the right to political representation by the duty to pay (taxes) and obey the law, the right to social benefits by the duty to contribute to their financing, etc. Furthermore rights can also differ in who is primarily responsible for providing and/or enforcing them. If the individual has to claim them actively as is the case with for example property rights or the right to have contract partners abide by their contractual obligations; is it the duty of the state to respect or provide them as is the case with for instance the sanctity of the home or the right to security or do both parties bear responsibility. This distinction seems related to another one, made in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, between *rights*, which can be invoked by individuals, and *principles*, which cannot. A distinction, by the way, that has been heavily criticised in legal literature as it can affect various categories of people differently (Craig & de Búrca 2011). An additional, useful distinction is therefore made between categories of subjects entitled to rights, often, but not exclusively, on the basis of ascribed status i.e. personal characteristics that are usually not chosen and/or difficult to change (unlike societal roles) such as: gender, race, place of birth, original nationality, very young or very old age, mother tongue, sexual orientation, religion or the lack thereof, disability and acquired level of education.

People from different categories and in different roles may have different requirements as to rights pertaining to access to various items such as access to: territory/public space, survival, safety and security, family life, healthcare, food, water, employment, income, education, information, respect, privacy, non-discrimination, the practice of religion, be understood in their own language, etc.

THE MULTITUDINOUS EFFECTS OF RIGHTS ON DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF CITIZENS

The very concept of citizenship abolished societal differences. That was one of the French Revolution's major achievements. All people in the city or state were formally equal in the eyes of the law and had equal rights and duties. Privileges for the lucky few were eradicated. In order to make the Revolution's slogan - *liberté, égalité, et fraternité* – a reality all formal status categories were abolished. And so were their organisations, the '*corps intermédiaires*' of the nobility, the clergy and the guild system, nothing, no subcategory of citizens, should henceforth come between the citizen and the state.

Yet citizenship itself created and formalised a new form of inequality. It made a distinction between citizens with rights and non-citizens without them. Furthermore, as pointed out above, there is a difference between law and practice, between having formal rights and having the opportunity to exercise them in practice. The capacity to access such rights is likely to depend on the social and/or the economic position of individuals in society. Thus classic socio-economic distinctions based on ascribed statuses such as gender, race, age or health, or achieved statuses based on education level, mastery of the dominant language, position on the labour market or prosperity are likely to affect the importance of, and access to, specific citizenship rights.



These social and economic characteristics can, on the one hand, create specific barriers to the exercise of these rights. Conversely, in order to correct for inequalities stemming from such different social and economic positions, societies may have created specific rights for these categories. Affirmative action is a common example i.e. socio-economic position affects the translation of rules into practices - the ease of exercising formally given rights - and may raise specific barriers to the exercising of these rights. Conversely this socio-economic position may also have produced privileged access in order to compensate for disadvantages.

MULTIPLE BARRIERS TO THE EXERCISE OF CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

The distinction made above between rules and practices or law and society will also be used to categorise the various types of barriers to the exercising of European citizenship. The main distinction being between Legal or more Principled Barriers and Societal or more Practical Barriers. As the identification of such barriers constitute's the core of the Call as well as of this project's application, we will further develop this in the following main section. There we differentiate the nature of the various barriers into those stemming from the multi-dimensionality of rights, from their multi-layeredness and from their multitudinous effects on different categories of citizens.

MULTI-DISCIPLINARITY

Given this importance of both barriers of legal-principled and of a societal-practical nature, this project demands a multidisciplinary approach. We have therefore assembled a team of scholars from various disciplines. This includes, on the one hand, academics who have concerned themselves and are familiar with legal systems, legal cultures, legal reasoning and legal literature i.e lawyers, philosophers and political theorists. On the other hand, we have also engaged scholars from the empirical sciences, notably the social and political sciences, public administration, economics, policy studies, the new field of regulation and governance, and history. These scholars study the translation of legal rights into empirical reality, which involves questions such as the social definition of rights, practical issues of the availability and social distribution of resources required for access to rights, and social and institutional problems involved in exercising citizenship rights. By including history we will not only examine present-day empirical reality, but also that of the past in various European nation states. Much can be learned from prior experiences with the development and social and legal definition of citizenship rights as well as their use in actual societal practices throughout Europe's rich and very diverse historical past. Our team's scholars come from a wide variety of European countries (and some neighbouring countries under Europe's cultural influence), varying geographically from Ireland to Turkey and Israel and from Estonia and Sweden to Spain. This implies that they are familiar with the diversity of legal rights, legal systems and legal cultures across Europe, as well as its diversity of social practices, social structures, social problems, cultural traditions and political and administrative institutions. Many of our scholars' track records include European Union studies. The team consists of both insiders and newcomers to the academic citizenship literature and debate. Some are very familiar with the research questions, themes, debates, etc. in this academic sub-community and have contributed actively to it or have even played a central role in it. Others are relative newcomers to this academic world and have quite diverse backgrounds - from historians working on medieval cities and guilds to leading scholars from the burgeoning world of regulation and governance studies, and lawyers and social scientists who have worked in specific fields such as social policy and social rights. This fresh input to the academic citizenship community will provide new perspectives, approaches and insights for the academic citizenship debate.

PROGRESS BEYOND THE STATE-OF-THE-ART

POTENTIAL BARRIERS TO THE EXERCISE OF CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

LEGAL BARRIERS



PROBLEMS POSED BY THE MULTI-DIMENSIONALITY OF RIGHTS

Clashes between Rights

Citizenship includes a diversity of rights which introduces the possibility - that happens also to be a reality - that these can and do conflict with each other. So the first and *principal barrier to the exercise of rights* is that *some rights can be barriers to (other) rights*. One cannot have it all. Different rights may be mutually inconsistent or even contradictory. Paradoxes are often also involved.

There can be *basic clashes* between fundamental principles and rights. A classic one is that between liberty and equality. Giving people, who are unequal by nature or nurture, the same freedom might perpetuate or even amplify that inequality. This tension lies at the basis various political conceptions of the welfare state: that of liberals, that emphasises liberty (individual choice to participate or to insure oneself voluntarily) and that of social democrats, that emphasises equality, implying compulsory insurance for all. The slogan of the French revolution, 'liberté, égalité, fraternité' (that inspired the EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights: Chapter 2 Freedom, Chapter 3 Equality, Chapter 4 Solidarity) contains values that can be contradictory. Another basic clash is that between the right to protection *by* the state and the right to protection *against* the state.

Democracy and the rule of law are likewise rights (to political participation and protection by the courts) that can easily contradict each other. These concepts are often considered to be in line, as in the term 'democratic constitutional state'. Yet they harbour a fundamental contradiction. Democracy means literally rule by the *demos*. Yet in a constitutional state, the freedom of choice of the *demos* is limited by the constitution. Hence the real rulers are those who have drafted the constitution in the past and those who interpret it in the present. In the end the question is: who has the last word in political decision making: a democratically elected parliament or a supreme court whose task it is to interpret the constitution. Do we trust the voters and their representatives enough to give them a free hand? Or do we want to constrain their freedom of choice? Being fearful of the possibility that the *demos* might voluntarily choose to abolish democracy and turn it into a dictatorship – as the Germans did in 1933 – it is understandable that post-war Germany has decided to create a very strong system of judicial review for political and administrative decisions to protect its citizens against the state.

Such basic clashes usually manifest themselves in *specific* ones. The tension between protection by the state versus against the state becomes concrete in the tension between the right to protection against the threat of terrorism versus the right to privacy. How far can the state infringe citizens' privacy on the premise that it is in their own interest for the sake of their security?

Other typical concrete clashes of rights include:

- the right to freedom of speech, versus the right not to be insulted
- the right to freedom of religion, versus the right not to be discriminated against
- the right to free enterprise (even if that means exploitation of workers), versus the right to freedom from want
- the right to public benefits on the basis of needs, versus such rights on the basis of merit (including rewards for the performance of citizenship duties).

Furthermore, increased rights for one category of persons can come at the expense of rights for others. We find that in many relationships: between employee and employer, buyer and seller, investor and worker, care worker and care receiver, insulter and the insulted, the religious and the secular, the criminal and the victim, neighbourhood residents with the right to freedom from nuisance versus bar patrons and their right to diversion, and last, but not least between the individual and the collective. The individual has a right to property and income for and from work done. The collective infringes upon this property right when taxing citizens to pay for collective goods. Therefore, rights are often balanced by duties: among other things to respect the rights of others and to contribute to the collective.

Basic as well as concrete clashes are also found between the four categories of rights that we distinguish in line with the EU: civic, economic, social and political rights. Basic economic rights, such as that of free enterprise and free and unrestrained trade and competition on markets, have induced if not forced entrepreneurs to use less noble competitive strategies e.g. cheat consumers with adulterated food, if they see



the opportunity. This infringement of consumer rights could persist if consumers could neither judge product quality immediately, nor identify the supplier to sanction it with a future boycott or damage to its reputation. Such was particularly the case with generic goods without packaging or brand identification as is the case with most agricultural products. Free competition has also produced social injustices and social inequalities that damaged the civic and social rights of workers, the self-employed and even competitors, in particular during industrialisation and during the liberal interlude and economic crisis during the last quarter of the 19th century. This 'social question' of the exploitation of workers led to various social and labour movements that eventually produced the legal protection of workers' rights, starting with the ban on child labour. The history of social law and social rights is hence one of a gradual curtailment of the economic rights of entrepreneurs, correcting the injustices produced by economic relations. This development of social rights - out of, and in contradiction to economic rights - was intertwined with the development of political rights. The social and political unrest of the late 19th and early 20th century led some governments to counter this by giving in to demands for more political participation. This broader democratic participation became an additional force and channel for the development of social rights, albeit at a very different pace and different levels of intensity in various European countries. Thus political rights, like the expansion of suffrage, allowed the working class to use parliamentary channels to enact laws that protected labour, thereby constraining the economic freedom and rights of entrepreneurs. Likewise, the women's movement succeeded in limiting male privileges and rights, in private life as well as on the labour market, not in the least because of EU regulation.

The opposite - constraints on political rights due to economic ones - is also often witnessed. Economic growth is considered to require economic freedom, i.e. fewer regulatory constraints and fewer taxes on business. Economic actors can therefore put pressure on political actors, reducing the freedom of choice in the political arena. Similarly, the need - and almost right - of economic actors to have access to a stable and reliable currency, has induced many nation states to create independent central banks, free from political interference, but at the same time limiting political rights, as has become evident during the latest economic crisis. At the moment we are experiencing the consequences of the freedom of actors on financial markets to engage, unrestrained and instantaneously, in a great variety of financial transactions across the globe - unhindered by rules or a Tobin tax - allowing speculation against countries and currencies, putting serious constraints on the freedom of political choice.

A 'Rights Revolution'

The last two centuries have, starting with the French Revolution and reinforced by the period of industrialisation, social unrest and the creation of some new basic rights such as universal suffrage, created a veritable 'rights revolution', as it has been called in US literature (Epp 1998). Rights have been extended to ever more categories of persons and to ever more roles that they may occupy. The American civil rights movement (where this term emerged) helped extend the rights that whites already had to blacks. Similarly, rights had earlier been extended from the elite to the masses (e.g. democratic rights), from capital to labour, from males to females, from the healthy to the disabled, from adults to children, and from natives to immigrants.

More rights also means more interests, more categories of people who have something to lose or to gain, to protect or to attack. Take the vested interest of pensioners once the right to a universal pension had been established in law and implemented in the social reality of a nation state. It would be political suicide for a party to propose abolishing or even insignificantly reducing this right. The existence of 'outsiders' who do not have access to certain rights yet, but who see others having them, gives the former an incentive to claim similar rights.

It is unclear whether and where this rights revolution may eventually end and if there ever will be an end to it. We have gotten used to the idea that the government can and should protect us from all kinds of risks and evils. 'Pech moet weg' (bad luck should go), was the title of a recent book on this revolution of rising expectations regarding protection against all kinds of risk and evil (Mertens et al, 2003). First we got the protection against threatening foreign armies or nasty criminals, then protection against the ills of



industrialisation and now even protection against the possible threat of bird flu in Asia or compensation for damage caused by the weather. Will we eventually guarantee each other the right to decency, happiness, even the right to be safe from bad luck? Some of these rights exist already informally, in custom, practice and commonly understood and shared norms. However, the tendency is to formalise ever more of these rights and codify them either in statutory or case law. For our argument it is important that the more different rights have been recognised socially, politically and legally, the greater the risk of clashes, contradictions and conflicts between these various rights. The right to protection against terrorism and the right to privacy is a relatively recent example. This plurality of rights - and of the interests connected to them - not only occasions legal clashes, but also offers the potential of social and political conflict.

Clashes between different Priority Rankings: which rights are considered more important?

If non-violently solved - through the institutional channels of the democratic constitutional state referred to above - these clashes between rights, imply trade-offs, require choices to be made and priorities to be set, often through political compromise. Nation states have done so throughout their political and legal history, either in the form of conscious, intentional and explicit choices - enacted in formal legislation - or in the form of a gradually evolved tradition or custom, which developed from small events and cases over a longer period of time. The rankings of rights are a product of each country's specific history of state formation, of the incidences, constraints, emergencies and crises, such as war or revolution, experienced by its national community. Often, rights were not acquired easily. Citizenship is the outcome of social and political struggle and conflict. Lack of certain rights has stimulated the emergence of new political movements, parties and ideologies. Their dominance in crucial periods has also affected the outcome of the choices made in the trade-offs. Social democracy has therefore been dominant in Northern Europe (Scandinavia), Christian democracy in the Germanic countries and Southern Europe, while France is characterised by *étatisme* and the UK by a mild form of liberalism. These differences produced quite distinct patterns of relations between the individual and the state, and hence in citizenship in these countries. The hierarchy of rights that resulted from these histories therefore differs between nation states. Each country's rights rankings tend to become part of its national cultural values and find expression in its national political-legal institutions, such as constitutions, case law, public services, family law or the specific nature of its welfare state programmes.

Traditionally, the Netherlands has given high priority to the freedom of religion. This is understandable, given Dutch religious pluriformity, being located at the mid-range in Europe on one of the axes which Stein Rokkan (1975) used to explain patterns of state formation, societal segmentation and political party formation, namely the distance to Rome. This has resulted in pillarisation, subsidiarity and the proportional distribution of public resources among different societal groups. By contrast, the French live with the republican heritage of the French Revolution, emphasising equality and *étatisme*, and maintaining a strict separation between church and state. This difference regarding the role of religion in state matters surfaces when concrete issues are at stake, such as whether Christian schools can discriminate against homosexuals, Christian political parties against women or whether burqas worn by Muslim women ought to be forbidden.

Countries with a liberal tradition, such as the UK and the US or where liberal parties have ruled for a long time, have emphasised a general right to freedom from constraints, individualism and entrepreneurialism. When it then comes to distributing benefits by the government, allocation and rewards tend to be merit-based, as in the cases of educational scholarships or welfare state provisions. By contrast, countries that have given higher priority to 'freedom from want' for example because they have been ruled by social democrats for a long time, tend to have student scholarships or welfare state provisions which are more often need-based. In another dimension, countries with a familiaristic tradition, such as the Christian democratic ones, tend to prioritise kinship obligations above individual rights for women, have less developed provisions for childcare and lack legal recognition of homosexuality and reproductive rights (abortion).

Of course, the hierarchies of rights, established over time and following fierce conflict, are not fixed once and for all, they can be modified or even turned upside down as incidental crises and scandals increase the importance and priority of various rights. With the rising fear of terrorism (due to new bombing



technologies, but also the concern about individual human lives due to ICT technology providing instantaneous access to footage and reporting concerning terrorism) the importance of privacy has been sidelined somewhat. We seem to trust our states quite a bit now, to allow them to know so much about our individual lives.

PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE MULTI-LAYERED CHARACTER OF EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP

The EU itself adds to the complications. In the first place by creating a more heterogeneous European cultural community, in terms of language, customs, values nurtured and political and legal practices. Enforced or at least strongly promoted nationalism in the 19th century attempted to create relatively homogeneous cultural communities that could serve as the basis for social solidarity. This was always a long shot in most European countries, because of the continent's complex and volatile history, but these conditions have come under even greater strain in recent decades, through economic globalisation and European political integration, both in the individual Member States and in the Union as a whole. Since the 1960s, migration has increased dramatically in Europe. The EU policy of free movement of people has opened up labour markets. This has increased the heterogeneity within Member States. Furthermore, the cooperation of the Member States in the European Union and the abolishment of border controls have created a more or less integrated, but heterogeneous community of European citizens in the territory of the European Union as a whole. Could it be that this increased cultural heterogeneity both within the EU as a whole and within its Member States might make it more difficult to reach and/or maintain shared identities, social solidarity and some consensus concerning the priority of different rights? Related to this is the question whether the various national rights pyramids can be merged harmoniously. This also begs the question whether this is necessary or even desirable and whether this is a value in itself or whether European citizenship could include the acceptance of different rankings or rights in different parts of the European Community. The US could be an example in that respect. Although there are shared and uniform rights in the American federation, such as the freedom of speech, there are also quite important differences between US states. Thus the right to welfare benefits differs between states, as does even the right to life, with some states having capital punishment while others do not. Duties differ as well e.g. there is little tax harmonisation. Sales taxes range from 11% in Alaska to 0% in Nevada.

Secondly, the EU adds to the complications by fuelling the rights revolution in Europe in that it has created new rights. Between the universal declaration of human rights and the different national rankings of rights (and possibly even local ones) a third level has now been squeezed in: that of European civil rights. To the four freedoms distinguished by Roosevelt in his 1941 address to Congress (of speech, of religion, from want, from fear) and the principles of the French Revolution, have now been added the four freedoms of the European Union: the free movement of goods, services, labour and capital. These produce new clash potential. Two types of clashes of rights can and do occur. First horizontally, between the Member States. The exact extent of this is a subject of investigation in this project. Member States also nurture quite different values, in particular when it comes to ethical and aesthetic issues, varying from the (il)legality of drugs, the acceptance of same-sex marriage, abortion or euthanasia, up to the importance and definition of 'good food', including the acceptance of hormones, additives or GMOs. Secondly, there is a vertical clash of rights: between those established by the EU, and those of the Member States.

The multi-layered character of European citizenship is therefore a major source of clashes between (rankings of) rights. Where these clash, the EU seems to be on the winning hand. The European Court of Justice, which early on established the supremacy of European law - and with that its own supremacy as the guardian of that law - has elevated the four freedoms of mobility of goods, services, and the 'production factors' labour and capital, which together with the EU competition rules constitute the cornerstones of Europe's internal market, to the status of fundamental rights. The Treaty of Lisbon may talk of 'A Europe of rights, values, freedom and security', which has been elaborated in the Charter of Fundamental Rights. Yet, throughout its development over the past decades the EU has given high priority to freedom of movement. First of all economic freedom, but that has been extended to include the more 'non-economic' freedom of movement for all EU citizens (O'Leary 2011).



It thereby curtailed the rights - and rankings of rights - of nation states, including the national democratic rights of the citizens of those states. As Wollenschläger (2011: 4) wrote, 'the market citizen's claim to non-discrimination' and the subsequent 'gradual development of the general right of free movement into a fundamental freedom' led to a 'gradual relativisation of national citizenship'. Thus the emphasis on the four freedoms has required the national courts to set aside trade restrictions, even when they serve other values such as security, equality, solidarity or fundamental rights. For example, national measures serving to protect workers' rights, such as the right to strike, have been found to restrict the free movement of services within Europe's internal market as these measures required foreign service providers to sign domestic labour agreements (Case C-438/05, *International Transport Workers' Federation v Viking and Case C-341/05, Laval*; Malmberg & Sigeman 2008; Prechal & De Vries, 2009). The European Court of Justice and national courts have also been forced to apply and balance the EU internal market freedoms with other values and fundamental rights in other cases (De Vries 2006). The right of an environmental interest group to demonstrate i.e. the fundamental right to assembly and the freedom of speech in Austria on the Brenner Motorway for the protection of the environment in the Alps, clashed with the right of a transport company to move its goods from Germany to Italy, which right is guaranteed by the EU free movement of goods (Case C-112/00, *Schmidberger* case). Another example is the right of the Republic of Austria to abolish noble titles, which is inherent in the constitutional identity of the Austrian state, but clashed with the EU citizenship's right of an Austrian national living in Germany to use and register her noble surname in Austria (Case C-208/09, *Sayn-Wittgenstein*; Shuibhne 2009; De Vries 2012). There are numerous other cases revealing the breadth of the freedoms vis-à-vis other values, which the individual states wish to protect. The free movement of goods is partly based on the principle of mutual recognition, meaning that goods that are lawfully produced and marketed in one state, must be recognised and allowed access to the market in another state. This has entailed Germany importing e.g. beer from France and wishing to apply a law stemming from the Middle Ages, prescribing how beer should be brewed before it can be marketed as beer, cannot rely on the argument to protect German consumers against confusion because they cannot be sure how 'foreign' beers are brewed (Case 178/84, *Commission v. Germany (Reinheitsgebot)*). In many countries, the right to practice various professions requires proof of expertise and ability. This can be justified by the interest of physical safety and security of citizens, as with physicians or butchers. Or it can be to ensure more general quality of service provision, as with lawyers who are supposed to know the national law of the country where they practice. Such professionals, wishing to exercise their profession in another Member State, may be required to satisfy the standards for knowledge and expertise of the host state, by gaining the required diplomas first. This can be considered a limitation of their economic mobility rights. Thus the 'four freedoms' may require countries to mutually recognise diplomas from other states before they can ask for any additional tests. Can Member States trust the standards and 'ability certificates' from other Member States? Do they have to recognise them without questioning or setting conditions? In other words, laws that have been well established and acquired strong cultural and institutional roots over time in a nation state, suddenly had to compete with other and different laws from other states, and sometimes even had to be removed.

Patients moving to another Member State, to receive medical care there, have under certain conditions a right under the economic freedoms to get the costs of that treatment reimbursed from the respective insurance organisations of their home state. This may put the social security systems of the Member States requiring prior approval for such treatment abroad under pressure. As a consequence the traditional concept of solidarity, which is inherent in a national system of social security, may be put in jeopardy (Van de Gronden et al 2011). However, although the freedoms have had a 'homogenising effect' as they from the outset did not respect cultural differences between the States, the European Court of Justice has not wholly ignored the different values and rights that citizens in their Member State enjoy. In various ways conflicting rights and principles have been dealt with in the case law. Where rights or principles and values are considered to interfere with the freedoms, they can be justified. The tension, which exists between these conflicting rights and values, needs to be resolved then by the EU courts and the national courts. Here we see a trend, possibly influenced by the binding character of the Charter since Lisbon, that the



EU courts are willing to take differences in values and principles between the Member States into account, for instance in the fields of gambling or fundamental rights, which is referred to as constitutional pluralism (Besselink 2010). And in some cases rights, values, principles or institutions are not always considered to interfere with the economic freedoms and rights. Collective labour agreements between employers and employees, which determine wages and labour conditions, will not be caught by the EU competition rules even though they may have a restrictive effect on competition and could even be considered cartels on the labour market. Or, measures that prohibit so-called coffee shops from selling soft drugs and drinks to citizens from neighbouring states, and that restrict the right to free movement of citizens and of services, cannot be challenged on the basis of the freedoms (Case C-137/09, *Josemans*). Yet there is a basic tension included in the Treaty of Lisbon. On the one hand, it aims for 'a more democratic and transparent Europe'. On the other hand it tries to do so by fuelling a European rights revolution, which has the effect that it increases the power of the judiciary - as this is asked to decide on rights claims - to the detriment of democratically elected institutions. Furthermore, the case law makes the content and development of law more and more complex and hence *less* transparent. The power and intransparency of the EU, coupled with the multi-layered character of rights and duties and the supremacy of EU law is not infrequently used - or perhaps one should say abused - by national politicians to practice blame-shifting. They may try to sell unpopular measures with the argument that it is 'required by the EU', such as the outsourcing of home care to private companies in the Netherlands. The long-term effect of such arguments - the reduced popularity of the EU - may be quite unwanted by those very same national politicians. So while the EU seems set to try to increase its legitimacy by according citizens across the continent similar rights, these rights may be welcomed differently in different countries, both by the masses as well as the elites, and actually achieve the opposite of what is intended: namely a decrease rather than an increase in legitimacy.

This paradoxical proposition will be a central hypothesis, to be investigated and tested in our project. Or: what are the European prospects regarding 'E Pluribus Unum', concerning the issue of citizenship rights?

The thesis of 'rights as constraints and hindrances of (other) rights' makes for three types of study:

1. *Cross-national/cross-cultural* (including some leading countries in the historical experience as well as debate such as the US, with the work on the 'rights revolution'). To what extent are the hierarchies of rights in different nation states congruent, do they overlap or clash with one another?
2. *Historical*: what has been the development of citizenship rights over time in these different countries? Which priorities have been set and which rankings of rights created? Which constraints and contradictions have been built in over time? And why? Which historical events have played a major role in this development of national hierarchies of rights? What has been the role of social movements and associations in creating specific citizenship rights? E.g. the American civil rights movement of the 1960s. Which hindrances did they have to overcome and how did they do so? What can be learned from these past national experiences, in particular by comparing the nature and success of social movements in different countries?
3. *Comparative*: how have other federal states coped with the tension between the existence of diversity and the aim of unity (E Pluribus Unum)? What room have countries both inside Europe - like Switzerland, Spain or Croatia - as well as countries outside of it - like Canada or Israel - left for regional, linguistic or ethnic diversity, including perhaps different rights for categories of citizens regarding e.g. formal citizenship, the workplace, education or the legal system? Why and how did that work out? What could the European Union learn from these experiences?

AUTOPOIESE

The constraints that some rights impose on others is also fiercer, because of the relative inflexibility of the various legal systems, both national and European. These legal systems develop over time into veritable systems of interdependent principles, norms, rules, regulations and decisions, whereby parts of the structure



constrain and limit other parts of that same system. Thus the law acquires and follows to some extent an intrinsic logic of its own. This 'Eigenständigkeit' (autonomy) of the law has been denoted with the system-theoretical concept of 'autopoiesis' (literally 'self-creation'). The term, originally stemming from biology, was integrated by the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann into his system theory and has been applied to law by the legal sociologist Günther Teubner ('Recht als autopoietisches System', 1989). It refers to a network of components, in this case legal principles and rules, which by their interaction and transformation time and again corroborate and regenerate each other and thus further develop the system.

So, while on the one hand rules and practices or law and society, are interrelated, with the law developing through cases in close relation and in response to events in society as well as political choices, the responsiveness of the law also has its limits. In part this is an autonomous process; in part it is also intentional. By fixing basic principles in the legal system - both in terms of substantive supreme rights and standards (like constitutionalism, democracy, the rule of law) as well as procedural rules and norms, like the importance of legality (*nulla poena sine lege*), legal certainty and legal equality - the opportunities for change and adaptation are deliberately limited. This helps to increase the predictability and protectiveness of the law. However, at the same time it limits its responsiveness, forming an additional constraint to solving conflicts and clashes between different rights.

INSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCES

Nation states not only differ in the rankings of different values, but also in the nature and structure of their public institutions, which have a function in guaranteeing and providing these rights: the political system, the public administration, the judiciary. These are expressions of another body of law: constitutional and administrative law.

First of all, different political systems (e.g. electoral rules, party systems, development of civil society organisations, incidence of corruption) may imply differences in the access to politics and in the responsiveness of politics/politicians to voters.

Secondly, legal institutions (duration and complexity of court procedures, importance of written documents versus testimonials in court, rights of defendants, costs of litigation, organisation of the legal profession (advertising and contingency fees allowed? existence of legal aid?) and legal culture (litigiousness, adversarialism and legalism) are likely to affect the access to justice. See for a case study of the major differences between the neighbouring Member States Germany and the Netherlands (Van Waarden and Hildebrand 2009; see also CEPEJ 2006 and European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2011). In order to increase access to justice in economic cases, the ECJ has extended the possibility for (small) companies to obtain legal aid. The case started in Germany where according to German law companies had no right to legal aid in legal proceedings; this was, however, contrary to the Charter of Fundamental Rights (Case C-279/09, *DEB*).

Thirdly, differences in the structure and culture of the public administration will affect the responsiveness and access of the administration to citizens' claims to rights. Relevant variables here could be: the rights of citizens to appeal government decisions (i.e. the development and elaboration of administrative law), the fragmentation of the bureaucracy and cultural values regarding power distance and hierarchy in the various European countries. Greater power distance and respect for hierarchy and titles might make citizens more hesitant to initiate claims.

Fourthly, another important issue is the structure and strength civil society organisations such as trade unions and public interest associations. These can aid citizens in their claims to rights towards politics, the judiciary and the public administration.



Fifthly, some countries have special institutions in or around the state that aid citizens in claiming specific rights. One example is that of the Ombudsman, found in many polities. Another is the Dutch independent 'Equal Treatment Committee' which hears claims of discrimination. It might be useful here to refer to the difference between rights as ends and as means. Some rights are foremostly means of achieving other rights. The freedom of speech, of assembly, the right to petition and voting rights are all means to claim substantive rights. These differ as well, not only and so much in abstract terms, as well as in the concrete expression they have found in different political, legal and administrative institutions in the various EU Member States, which may have been the product of a long and path-dependent historical-institutional development. As noted above, the freedom of speech is much more limited in the UK than in some other countries, namely by the opposite right not to be insulted. These institutions themselves express different social, legal and political values and rights; as well as their rankings. Distrust of the state and/or of political leaders has led some countries to institute more and more checks and balances on central political or legal (or economic) power. In others, the checks and balances remain limited. As a consequence, the opportunities to appeal national government decisions there are more limited. The historical experience of nation states has been important here too. In states where some basic checks and balances were established early on, including (embryonic) forms of democratic participation - such as in the UK (Magna Carta), Switzerland or the Netherlands - the amount and power of checks and balances remained limited. By contrast, countries, which suffered long monocratic or even dictatorial rule, eventually developed lots of them. A classic case is Germany, with both a strong vertical separation of powers (federalism) as well as a well-developed horizontal *trias politica*: a very powerful system of judicial review - both concrete and abstract - and two powerful parliamentary chambers. One of them owes that power to a direct representation of the regional governments, thus giving these a direct say in federal policies. Furthermore, a highly legalistic legal culture (Blankenburg 1989, 1997, 1998; Blankenburg and Bruinsma 1994; Van Waarden and Hildebrand 2009), including a hierarchically structured bureaucracy - which in a way is the translation of legalism into the state organisation - creates a lot of procedural protections for citizens. However, the effect on the protection of rights can be contradictory. The complexity of the legal and bureaucratic systems can be both an opportunity, but can also present a challenge to citizens trying to claim their rights.

SOCIETAL BARRIERS: PROBLEMS POSED BY THE MULTITUDINOUS EFFECTS OF RIGHTS ON DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF CITIZENS: EQUAL RULES FOR UNEQUAL PEOPLE

Barriers to the exercising of rights are not only found in the legal system, but also in society, in the confrontation between rules and practices. Here our third 'multiple' is relevant: the different categories of citizens affected by the rights and rules. Equal formal rights for unequal people may work out differently for these people. The inequality may be merely reproduced. First, hindrances to the exercising of European citizenship rights may be different for different categories of citizens, different for males and females, young and old, insiders or outsiders on the labour market, rich and poor, migrants and natives, the educated and the less educated. Secondly, to overcome possible hindrances to exercising specific rights may depend on the skilfulness, knowledge, relationships, networks and resources available to people. And such skills may be differentially distributed between different categories of people. It has often been noted that the modern protective state, and in particular the welfare state, may be social or even socialistic in design - at least in a number of countries; however, it tends to be liberal in its actual workings (e.g. Schuyt). What this means is that those with the most resources - social relationships and networks, knowledge, information, finance - manage to profit most from the protection of the state and its social programmes. The same might hold true for the capacity to profit from European citizenship rights. In this section we will identify a number of possible barriers to the exercising of rights, barriers that might be differentially high for different categories of citizens.

LINGUISTIC BARRIERS



If there is one thing that makes the European Union stand out from other (con)federations it is the enormous linguistic diversity. Of course, there are also other multilingual federations, such as Canada, Belgium, Switzerland and India, but apart from the latter these have to deal only with two to four different languages. The EU by contrast has recognised 23 official languages: Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish and Swedish, with Croatian soon to be added as the 24th. In addition, several regional languages are also recognised by the EU, such as Basque, Catalan, Galician and Welsh.

These cultural riches can be a practical handicap when it comes to claiming citizenship rights. It reduces the capacity of citizens to communicate directly with each other - including even the members of the European Parliament who have the right to speak in plenary sessions in their officially recognised language - and it makes for the absence of a collective public opinion and shared public forum. Apart from the European Voice, read only by Europeanists in Brussels, there is no newspaper that is read across Europe. That absence does not really contribute to the development of a collective and actively shared identity and hence a joint feeling of solidarity (see below).

It also creates many other practical hindrances. Documents, including rules and regulations specifying rights, duties and responsibilities, are phrased in different common and legal languages and may acquire (slightly) different meanings in these different linguistic contexts. They have to be translated and in that process their meaning may be modified.

EU citizens travelling, working or living in other member states experience difficulty getting precise information about the rights and opportunities they have as consumers, workers, victims of crime, investors or tax payers, the administrative and legal procedures to follow, the documents to fill out, etc. in order to claim their rights in a different linguistic environment. Above all, it may give them a feeling of estrangement elsewhere in our great European 'nation'.

Language skills can be important to overcome barriers to the exercise rights, in particular when one is in a Member State different from one's own. It would already be helpful if one masters at least one of the more important international languages. In the first place of course English, but French or German are also spoken in a large part of the EU's territory and not only in the countries where it is the native language.

Such language skills tend to be differentially distributed among different kinds of people. While it is not necessarily the case that the higher educated have more and better language skills - very mobile labourers might do so as well, perhaps even better - there are certain categories, like the young, the ones active on the labour market, often males, who have more opportunities to acquire such skills.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUREAUCRATIC BARRIERS

The various Member States also have different traditions and procedures in their public administrations which can and do pose problems. These include communication between agencies of different Member States, when needed by a European citizen. In more legalistic countries procedures can be more complicated and cumbersome, involving more paperwork, than in countries with a more pragmatic bureaucratic culture. As a result, European citizens trying to exercise their rights in other Member States may be confronted with less familiar procedures, which furthermore may be more complicated for non-nationals. The EU has made an inventory of some of these practical obstacles citizens experience in their daily lives in other Member States (European Commission 2010). The obstacles identified vary from uncertainty concerning property, marriage and even settling rights of international couples to difficult cross-border access to justice or healthcare, burdensome procedures for the recognition of professional qualifications, delays in the exchange of information between different social security systems, pension and taxation problems in cross-border situations (e.g. registration of cars), incorrect application of EU law, lack of knowledge of consumer rights when suppliers, e.g. of holiday packages, are in default, and more in general there is a lack of awareness of citizens of their rights in other Member States.

Relations between individuals and bureaucratic organisations in everyday life may also be complicated by different conventions of social interaction, such as the importance of and respect expected or due in formal



hierarchical relations. Of course, such problems can get exacerbated if language is also a barrier in the exchange of information. Such hindrances emerge especially in cross-border relations involving tourism, trade, work, marriage, living, buying real estate, taxation, pensions, healthcare or the recognition of professional or student diplomas.

FINANCIAL RESTRAINTS

Financial issues can be another hindrance to the exercise of formally existing citizenship rights. These can be hindrances both on the side of the state and on that of the individual. The provision of many rights involves costs for the supplier. Of course this holds in the first place for public service providers, varying from social security and welfare providers to educational institutions and even transport organisations that receive public subsidies. It can also concern private or semi-private organisations such as housing associations that provide subsidised public housing or health insurance corporations financing healthcare for their clients in other Member States or to citizens from other countries in their own. If such financial burdens become too large, the providers may limit the availability of such services. With some countries raising the tuition fee significantly, their students increasingly apply to study in neighbouring countries with lower fees. This creates an extra financial burden for the host country and some countries have already taken steps to claim reimbursement of such costs from the Member States where the 'foreign' students come from. If this problem cannot be solved, countries may become tempted to reduce the right of students from other Member States to study in their country.

Financial problems may also form burdens for individual citizens in exercising rights. Access to information, language courses and to the courts may be costly thereby stopping people from seeking such facilities and rights. Citizens needing healthcare while in other European countries than their own may be required to pay for these costs up front to the health service provider. Back home they will then have to claim reimbursement from their insurer. However, healthcare costs can quickly spiral and not everyone may have the financial resources to fund these in advance.

LACK OF SOLIDARITY

The EU has paid a lot of political, legislative and administrative attention to achieving *liberté* and *égalité*, but what about the third part of the the French revolutionary slogan, *fraternité*, brother/sisterhood or, in other words, solidarity between people and, in the EU, between peoples? It not only helps provide rights to all, but also directly contributes to a feeling a joint citizenship. The Treaty of Lisbon mentions solidarity, but is that sufficient?

Solidarity requires people to identify with one another, as they did and do in a city. Can it be that the 'European city' is becoming too big to provide such an identity? Well, the US and Russia seem to manage, notwithstanding their size. But then they share a common language, which is not only a dominant symbol of identity, but also allows for easy communication within the community. Some homogeneity in culture may also help. The project will seek to identify when and under which conditions citizens of European Member States develop some sense of solidarity with each other. Does tourism and labour mobility help? What do the different peoples in the European Union think of each other? A considerable amount of research has already been conducted on this topic, among others by Eurostat, which could be used to investigate this question.

Solidarity of one group with another tends to increase when the 'other' experiences disaster. But there seems to be greater willingness to help out in cases of natural disasters than in financial disasters. Why?

Solidarity is also a self-serving strategy in cases of *interdependence* and *reciprocity*. If a natural or financial disaster could also affect 'us', either directly or indirectly through some of its consequences (e.g. less trade, exports, threat to the stability of our currency), then we have seen the inclination to help out tends to increase. Much of what the EU has done has increased interdependence: free trade, free movement of people (including asylum seekers), mobility of people, ideas, information, a common currency. Has this resulted in increased solidarity? To some extent it has. Interdependence through the common currency of the euro forces



the governments of the more prosperous Member States with good credit ratings to provide enormous financial aid to other Member States that have huge public budget problems.

Solidarity tends to be facilitated by a shared identity and/or some greater homogeneity in culture. It could be based on shared values. Those stemming from the European Christian tradition or the Western humanistic and liberal values have been put forward as candidates. Still, such an identity does not seem to suffice to create solidarity. Thrifty North-Western European citizens are not that inclined to bail out the Greeks, Spanish or Italians, whom they accuse of squandering, luxury lifestyles, corruption, etc. Likewise, Dutch, German, French or Austrian workers experience Polish, Hungarian or Latvian workers as 'unfair' competitors, as they are willing to work for lower wages and in worse working conditions, rather than that they see them as colleagues who should also have the right to a good income and life, and who should be welcomed in the spirit of international class solidarity. Conversely, Italians have difficulty identifying with the Dutch who don't value good food and are considered too direct and rude in interpersonal communication. As the saying goes: the Italians live to eat, while the Dutch eat to live. Hence, what are the conditions for the development of a European sense of solidarity? Does this require cultural homogeneity to create solid foundations under a shared identity and European citizenship, as the 19th century nationalists believed? Or is it more economic integration and a more social Europe, allowing for the levelling of differences in life opportunities across Europe? What would constitute the conditions for a European 'unity in diversity'?

ABSENCE OF EASE, INTEREST AND INFORMATION

Practical barriers have been investigated in the extensive literature on explaining low voter turnout at elections, in the US, in European countries and in the EU, which suffers from rather low turnouts. Why do European citizens not use their right to vote in European elections? Sinnott (2003) has made a distinction between absence of 'voter facilitation' and of 'voter mobilisation'. Facilitation should make voting easier in a practical sense and mobilisation should encourage people to want to vote. Kholmovskaya (2011) expanded this distinction into absence of ease, of interest and of information.

'Ease' refers to such practical issues as bureaucratic voter registration requirements, accessibility of polling stations, timing and day (holidays, Sundays) scheduled for the elections, hours of polling, ease of voting procedures, availability of voting by mail, proxy, messenger, in advance or e-voting, being able to vote outside the country of origin, frequency of elections, synchronisation with other national elections. These have furthermore been linked to characteristics of the voters: working people, housewives, youngsters, students, the elderly, etc.

'Interest' refers to the willingness to vote, which is related to the voters' estimation of what is at stake. This is influenced by judgments as to whether one is for or against the EU, has an interest in EU affairs, considers the European Parliament powerful enough to warrant voting, considers it representative enough to be legitimate (the EU has collected survey data on these issues, see Eurobarometer 69.2), the benefit the home country is perceived to derive from the EU, the presence of salient issues on which the European Parliament is considered to have any influence, loyalty to a specific party or political movement or even a sense of civic duty to vote.

'Information', finally, refers to knowledge about the when, where and why of the upcoming elections, what one is voting for, what the European Parliament is and does, what its powers and influence are, whether the parliament in one's own country is powerful (if it is, the EP also tends to be considered more powerful), what the positions of the various parties are on specific policy issues in the EU, whether one agrees with them, etc. Public information from the European Union, Member States and the press, as well as political campaigns, aim to reduce this lack of information and mobilise citizens to go out and vote. However, if interest is lacking, the information may not be absorbed.

Similarly, ease, interest and information could also be relevant to the practical barriers to European citizens claiming and enforcing their rights. However, there is a major distinction between voting and claiming other rights. In the end, voting requires action from the individual European citizen. She or he has to go to the polling booth and mark which candidate they wish to vote for. This can at most be facilitated by the



government. This is different for other rights. Citizens can claim and enforce these rights. But the government can and does also provide them, without citizens having to do anything: respect for privacy, provision of education, safety of food and on the streets, i.e. the right to life, access to justice and fair trial. Citizens may still have to claim their rights occasionally: respect for their human dignity, the right not to be insulted nor to be discriminated, free choice of medical care even if in another Member State, the right to a welfare benefit. Yet, where several parties may be responsible for enforcing rights, lack of clarity about who should take the initiative may constitute an additional hindrance: the individual whose rights are infringed upon, the state who has a duty to protect them, civil society organisations representing individual interests or even market actors like enterprising tort lawyers.

Another distinction is that voting usually does not require much effort. The benefits may be low - the influence of a single vote on the electoral results in such a large unit as the EU is minimal and voters realise that - but so are the costs. It may take a few moments to go to the polling booth, but that is it. By contrast, claiming rights in court involves more effort and higher costs in terms of emotion, time and money spent. Information also has to be acquired about the specific roads to follow and to formulate the demands in sufficient legal terms in order to be considered relevant in court. In return, the benefits may be greater. One might gain personal satisfaction, financial compensation and even eternal fame by having one's name marked in history in the name of a landmark court case: "Joe Blow versus the State of the Netherlands"!

Hence, a practical barrier to claiming rights is that the costs of doing so - emotional, time, financial - may not outweigh the benefits. One example is the cost of engaging a lawyer in order to secure one's right to compensation from an airline for a delay suffered, something the EU encourages us to do on posters in major European airports (Kelemen 2010). Such hindrances could be reduced by allowing class action suits or reducing the costs of litigation. However, it should be realised that this may incur greater societal costs: of Europe following the US in a litigation explosion, implying more power to the judiciary (Van Waarden 2010a, 2010b) thereby reducing the rights of European citizens to influence collective decision making by voting for Parliament.

TRUE TO THE EUROPEAN MOTTO: 'IN VARIETATE CONCORDIA' (UNITY IN DIVERSITY)

In this application we have stressed multiples i.e. diversity, so far mostly in negative terms, as a source of problems, as a hindrance to the exercise of European citizenship rights - albeit in the form of hypotheses: multiple rights that could frustrate or conflict with each other, multiple levels of state and society that compete and dominate each other, multiple categories of people that cause inequality in the actual application of equal rights to different categories of people.

But these sources of problems can also be sources of solutions; the liabilities can also be assets and the challenges of the past and the present may create opportunities for the future. Multiplicity and diversity can be a source of enrichment, aesthetically, but also practically. The varieties of - and confrontations and collaborations between - layers of state and society, of categories of people, cultures, values, languages, supported by a diversity of citizenship rights, could induce and fertilise inspiration, creativity and innovation. They could produce creative solutions to newly emerging problems. Protecting the rights of diverse communities, people and cultures means that non-mainstream ideas might survive more easily, which could offer creative solutions to new problems in the future. As in biology, diversity is a strategy for risk diversification and survival.

This would imply that the EU has an interest to nurture the diversity in communities, peoples, cultures, languages, values, rights, ideas, found within its territory and it seems as if it has achieved just that. With its motto 'In Varietate Concordia' (Unity in Diversity), proclaimed by the European Parliament on May 4, 2000, the European Union has chosen to distinguish itself from the United States of America, which in 1782 chose the motto 'E Pluribus Unum'. While the US wanted to realise 'Out of many, one', the European Parliament chooses to find unity while nurturing diversity. Diversity was immediately respected by choosing a neutral language, Latin, to formulate the original text of the motto. This language, European in origin, but no longer spoken and hence not the cultural property of any community in Europe, was a neutral choice among



the 23 formally recognised EU languages and the 95 different minority languages spoken across the territory of the EU (www.eurominority.eu). A linguistic diversity that is, incidentally, symbolic for the cultural richness of Europe, but also for the practical problems that it experiences and that citizens can experience when they try to exercise their European rights in other Member States.

Yet as a result of the internal dynamic of constitutional and legal systems, discussed above, the direction of the development of citizenship arrangements, nationally and internationally, has been towards greater uniformity. Fundamental European rights such as the four freedoms frequently conflict with the diversity of rights, rules and rankings in the Member States. European directives require uniform transposition and enforcement across Europe, which has not only implied unification of legislative standards, but also of institutional arrangements for enforcement. Haverland (1998) has shown this for the European packaging waste directive, which forced the Dutch government to abolish successful public-private partnerships, closely linked to national institutional traditions. EU citizenship itself is destined to become a sort of largest common denominator of the citizenship arrangements in the Member States. At the same time, it is becoming the most aggressive competitor to those national arrangements. As a result, tensions and outright conflicts emerge over the predominance of one or the other form. Such tensions can be - and often are - seen as the inevitable by-product of a painful but necessary process.

This project takes a different view. We think that Europe's diversity is precisely what makes the EU interesting *and* successful. That diversity ought to be reflected in its citizenship arrangements. Past and present societies - think of the Dutch Republic of the Seven United Provinces in the 17th century or the Swiss Confederacy today - suggest that economic prosperity, social well-being, democratic institutions and indeed citizenship can be combined in more heterogeneous arrangements that respect the multi-dimensionality of citizenship itself, as well as the multi-layered constitution of those states. The Dutch and Swiss examples (others could be added) provide, we think, important clues for an alternative development of EU citizenship, away from uniformity and competition with national citizenship, but instead offering complementarity with the various systems in force in the Member States.

By deconstructing citizenship as such, by concentrating on the interactions between rules and practices and through a combination of historical and comparative methodologies, our proposal hopes to develop a set of alternative scenarios for the future of EU citizenship in the terms defined by the FP7 Call. The four clusters of the project contribute to this goal in different ways.

The first cluster focuses on comparisons over time and 'space'. Within that cluster there is a first work package that focuses on historical experiences in Europe with the original development of the idea of citizenship in close interaction between something akin to 'market citizenship', namely the rights attached to guild membership and those of 'civic citizenship' in early European cities. The subsequent changes are then followed, notably during citizenship-defining periods, such as the French Revolution (which abolished guilds and the related privileges) and the subsequent 19th-century formation of modern states, modern citizenship concepts, symbolised by the development of the idea of the *pass-partout* or passport. A second work package makes comparisons with other countries which have experiences with multi-layered citizenship: (con)federal states as Switzerland, Spain or Canada; and countries that have to deal with sizeable internal minorities or external diasporas, such as Israel or Turkey. The Swiss Confederation is particularly fascinating: linguistic diversity, multi-layered citizenship (cantons and federation), decentralisation, long-time stable democracy and economic prosperity. Could Switzerland be a model for the European Union?

The second cluster focuses on the multidimensionality of citizenship. Work packages will investigate various categories of citizenship rights: economic, civic, social and political. The third cluster is concerned with the multitudinous effects of rights on different categories of citizens. Three categories are distinguished: gender, age and the distinction insiders/outside. Both clusters will investigate in greater detail the barriers to the exercise of citizenship that we have distinguished above, such as the clashes between categories of rights, e.g. between economic and political ones, and whether equal citizenship rights in law nevertheless produce inequalities in societal practice. They also address the reverse question what the effects of European rights have been on pre-existing national citizenship rights; whether, where and how some balances between unity



and equality across Europe, on the one hand and room for national or regional diversity, on the other have been found or investigated.

The fourth cluster contains activities that compare the findings of the different work packages on criteria, variables and hypotheses formulated here and, in connecting these findings to more theoretical debates in legal and political theory and philosophy, develop not only empirical but also normative conclusions.

OUR CONCRETE WORK: INTRODUCTION TO THE WORK PACKAGES

MANAGERIAL

The UU Coordination Team has overall responsibility for consortium management and reporting. They will be assisted by a project manager and the Faculty of Law, Economics and Governance's Grant Office. The main objective of the Work Package Management and Coordination is to administer the entire project and coordinate the on-going work among all partners and with the European Commission services. The objectives are to ensure that the project progresses according to the schedule and within the budgetary constraints set out in the proposal; that all deliverables are finished on time and are of high quality; that the project's scientific and technical objectives are achieved; that cost statements, reports and other necessary documents from all partners are delivered to the Commission in a timely manner; that project meetings are well organised and adequately reported; that project communication channels are effective, efficient and transparent for all concerned.

THE FOUR CLUSTERS

The Work Packages have been divided into four Clusters, which concentrate on the interactions between rules and practices and on a combination of historical and comparative methodologies, described in the following sections.

CLUSTER ONE

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CITIZENSHIP

Guilds and local citizenship have suffered bad press over the last two centuries, as monopolists (or monopsonists) tried to capture rents on protected markets for raw materials, labour and consumer products. This paradigm is now under scrutiny and being revised, not least because there is enough evidence to suggest that the strict rules were not necessarily stringently applied (Epstein & Prak 2008; Minard 2007). The parallels with modern practice come to mind. Historical studies can help us to unravel the underlying mechanisms of such behaviour and weigh the costs and benefits of systems of protected interests, which are an important dimension of citizenship. A systematic and comparative study of who gained access, first to apprenticeship and subsequently to membership of guilds, can build on much important research that has been undertaken over the past 25 years in various European countries, not least by the members of the WP3-team themselves (De Munck, Kaplan & Soly 2007; De Munck 2010; Leunig, Minns & Wallis 2011).

Much of the current debate focuses on the access to rights. One school argues that rights were limited to a relatively constrained group of individuals, who used citizenship and other institutional mechanisms to exclude women, religious minorities and the working classes from the economic means to increase their own welfare (e.g. Ogilvie 2007). Others have argued that rules and regulations that may have looked harsh on paper, were actually poorly enforced. Guild monopolies, for example, were very difficult to monitor, especially in large cities. Preferential treatment of relatives did not prevent outsiders from accessing the guilds. In fact, these 'revisionists' argue, guilds and similar institutions helped to overcome frictions in labour and other markets, and may - on balance - have turned out to be beneficial (Epstein & Prak, 2008). We know, for



example, that migration was substantial long before the rise of industrialisation. It therefore seems, it is argued, as if local citizenship could be combined with larger, indeed European, labour mobility.

So far, much of this debate is waged on the basis of impressions rather than hard evidence. No coherent dataset is available at this point to answer the very basic question of who got access to the benefits of the guilds and, by implication, citizenship. This is what WP3 seeks to address and indeed remedy. Through detailed study of a limited number of countries in Western Europe where the sources permit this kind of study and sufficient groundwork has been done, supplemented by additional information from other countries contributed through workshop papers, WP3 is expected to produce the data (and analyses) that can help move the debate forward.

Through its study of access to guilds and citizenship, WP3 moreover aims to contribute an important new dimension to an on-going debate about the role of civic institutions in economic growth and development. In recent years, the literature has been shaped by political scientists such as Putnam (1993 and 2000), economists such as Besley (2006), and Acemoglu and Robinson (2006). These scholars all try to pinpoint the interplay between the economic and political domains. Historical examples are an important feature of the debate, which is, however, still dogged by the ambiguity of similar institutions: they seem to be positive in one context and negative in another. Our project, by zooming in on one specific, yet crucial point of contact between institutions and the economy, is expected to make a contribution to solving this conundrum.

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OTHER COUNTRIES WITH MULTI-LAYERED CITIZENSHIP AND/OR RIVALLING CITIZENSHIP CLAIMS

In the realm of citizenship, the EU, as a multi-national entity, faces problems that have already been experienced by multi-ethnic and (con)federal states for decades, sometimes centuries. This applies to such barriers as varying (linguistic and ethnic) identities, competing prioritisations of rights and/or practical language problems. Citizens in such countries belonged to two or more communities, from which they derived identities and claims to specific rights. Countries with multiple linguistic communities or minorities, such as Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Spain, Estonia, Latvia and Romania have given these communities specific rights. Or they have been able to claim them - e.g. the right to speak their minority language in court - under



reference to EU citizenship. Special status can also affect property rights, as in Estonia, the right to own real estate.

In this work package, these experiences and the ways in which such countries have dealt with multiple civic identities, will be investigated and compared.

Questions addressed by this work package are:

1. What have been the problems, tensions, contradictions and practical barriers to achieving various citizenship claims in such countries?
2. Which solutions to these problems have been tried? How did these countries manage their internal tensions and hindrances to different and possibly conflicting citizenship claims?
3. Have they managed to solve the problems or to reach stable co-existence?
4. If solutions were not or less successful, what have been stumbling blocks?
5. Which persistent problems or barriers are still being experienced by 'minorities'?
6. What, if anything, could the European Union learn from these experiences elsewhere in different places and times? Which examples should it follow? Which pitfalls should it avoid?

The objectives of this work package are therefore to compare the problems experienced and solutions tried in other (con)federal states - or other states where citizens have multiple identities - with those in the EU. Some of these countries are mentioned in the tasks below.

A conceptual framework for the comparison will be developed, followed by case studies in different countries with citizens with multiple identities. Subsequently, these case studies will be systematically compared and conclusions will be drawn from the experiences they illustrate which may possibly be useful for the EU.

Countries with minorities in them or diasporas abroad to be investigated include: Spain, Canada, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Turkey, Israel and Switzerland. The studies will also delve into the histories of these countries and how the concepts as well as practices of citizenship and citizenship rights have evolved there over time. In particular we will ask the question whether, to what extent and under which conditions the Confoederatio Helvetica, Switzerland, could be a future model for the European Union. Except its size, it has many similarities with the EU: multilingualism, a decentralised federal structure, citizenship both of cantons and the federation, a vibrant economy, etc. Could what seems to have worked on Switzerland's small scale also work on the much larger scale of the European Union? And might perhaps modern transport and communication technologies make this more feasible than it might have been in the past?

CLUSTER TWO: THE MULTI-DIMENSIONALITY OF RIGHTS. THE HORIZONTAL APPROACH

ECONOMIC RIGHTS

The EEC Treaty, although extending to all economic sectors, confined the free movement of persons to individuals participating in the common market. The establishment of the common market - and later, when the Single European Act came into force, the internal market - played a central role in the attainment of the E(E)C Treaty's objectives. The free movement of persons and services, together with the other freedoms (goods and capital), constituted the backbone of the European Community and continues to do so for the European Union. That the original substantive provisions of the Treaty of Rome did not provide for a *general* right to free movement for *all* persons and companies resulted from the requirements that the individual or company should be a national of a Member State and should be engaged in an economic activity as a worker, self-employed person, service provider or service recipient.

Economic rights also include the rights of consumers as purchasers of goods and services. As consumers play a vital role in the market place, consumer policy gradually became more important alongside internal market policy. Consumer rights not only entail that consumers have a right to be informed and a right



to choose different products and services, but also to be protected (Reich and Micklitz 2003; Stuyck 2000; De Vries 2006; Weatherill 1997; Weatherill 2011).

As the economic rights of citizens are 'old rights', the ways in which these rights should be understood and have been developed, particularly in the case law of the CJEU, are well documented in (legal) literature (see for example with regard to goods: Oliver 2004, services and persons: O'Leary 2011, four freedoms in general: Barnard 2010). It appears that from the outset the economic rights of EU citizens based on the four freedoms entail a right to equal treatment i.e. the right not to be discriminated against and the right to freedom of movement (O'Leary 2011). But the CJEU went even further by prohibiting all kinds of restrictions i.e. national rules which restrict market access, thereby offering citizens a right to gain access to the market in another Member State (Snell 2010).

Irrespective of the broad scope of economic rights, there are still obstacles which make the exercising of these rights more difficult or even impossible. This is partly due to the possibility of restricting the freedom of movement for public policy reasons or because civil or social rights take precedence over conflicting economic rights (Barnard 2011; De Vries 2006 & 2011).

As economic rights constitute an indispensable aspect of EU citizenship – they have always been stressed by the EU - a study of the rights and barriers citizens face when exercising their economic rights continues to be of imperative importance for the understanding of obstacles and opportunities for achieving EU citizenship. So far legal literature has focused on the legal barriers to freedom of movement (Ioriatti 2004), on the case law of the CJEU and on the legislative practice of the EU. Systematic research as to which practical barriers can be identified alongside the legal ones – making the exercising of economic rights more difficult or even impossible in practice – is relatively underdeveloped.

The objective of the Work Package on Economic Rights (WP5) is to study the problems EU citizens and third country nationals face in getting access to economic rights, as well as how they can make use of these rights from the perspective of EU citizenship. Against this background, we can identify four different categories of specific substantive economic rights of citizens and the barriers they face:

- a. The rights and barriers citizens experience as producers and users of knowledge to manage, protect and exercise intellectual property rights, partly due to the lack of (adequate) harmonisation of intellectual property rules in the fields of copyright and patents.
- b. The rights and barriers citizens experience when providing or receiving services; here we see significant changes in the scope and character of services, partially due to the adoption of the Services Directive (2006) and due to the liberalisation of services markets together with the increasing relevance of the concept of public service (Van de Gronden 2009; Freedland & Sciarra 1998; Szyszczak 2007).
- c. The rights and barriers citizens experience to exercising their profession.
- d. The rights and barriers citizens experience in their capacity of consumers to choose, to be informed and to be protected while purchasing goods and services on the internal market.

So, for each of the categories (a-d) the typical characteristics are stated which influence their access from outside and their impact on the inside. WP 5 uses a variety of methods, partly building on groundwork already laid (see above), including a systematic legal analysis of EU instruments and their implementation in Member States and the effects on EU nationals and third country nationals; cross-national case studies covering the different categories of economic rights and a cross-task analysis of the factors which have an impact on linguistic barriers (Ioriatti 2010) making the exercising of economic rights more difficult and costly.

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SOCIAL RIGHTS

Social rights constitute an area where the tension between achieving EU citizenship and the interests and fears of national citizens is of paramount importance to understanding the obstacles and opportunities for achieving EU citizenship (Bussemaker 1999; Closa 1996; Magnusson 2004).

Free movement of persons was one of the 'original rights' and has remained one of the pillars of the EEC/EC/EU. The right to freedom of movement for workers and the self-employed has, from 1957 on, been accompanied by coordination regulations, which ensure that they have access to social security in the country they work in. The coordination regulations ensure *inter alia* prohibition of non-discrimination, aggregation of periods, export of benefits and determination of the social security legislation applicable. The Regulation (883/2004) was extended in 2010 to also include people who are not workers or self-employed, but is still limited by a set of statutory schemes. Also third country nationals can now, via Regulation 1231/2010, invoke the coordination rules of Regulation 883/2004, provided the facts of the case include at least two Member States.

This set of rules enables citizens to be insured and to claim benefits in a country other than the one they originate from and is a very important example of the rights individuals can derive from the Treaty. Until 2010, this right was limited to workers and the self-employed, but now all nationals of Member States can



invoke it and, under some conditions, also third country nationals. Since this area is well documented (extensively Pennings 2010) and under the permanent supervision of a special EU network (TRESS), there is no need to study all the rights deriving from these instruments.

Note that the material scope of the Regulation is, as stated, limiting. Therefore the non-discrimination rule (on the grounds of nationality) of Regulation 492/2011 is also important and this Regulation has a much broader material scope than the former one and includes all social advantages. However, it is limited to *workers* who make use of their right to freedom of movement i.e. those with an EU nationality (Pennings 2010).

Finally, the Treaty article on European citizenship, now article 21 TFEU, was interpreted by the Court as giving the right not to be discriminated against on the grounds of nationality in several social security and social advantages cases, e.g. *Martínez Sala* judgment (Case 85/96), a landmark decision for the development of the EU citizenship provision, concerning child-raising allowance, *Grzelczyk* (Case 184/99), a student claiming social assistance, *Trojani* (Case 456/02), concerning a person dependent on doing rehabilitation work for the Salvation Army, and *Förster* (Case C-158/07), claiming student grants. So exactly the provision on EU citizenship expands the opportunity to claim social advantages in another Member State significantly. EU citizenship is limited to persons with an EU nationality. In the *Förster* judgment, the Court of Justice accepted a certain restriction to this right to the extent that Member States can require a certain degree of integration from the person in their community before they are entitled to the social advantage concerned (student grants) (Hailbronner 2005).

There has therefore been an important development of legal rights to claim benefits in the broadest sense of the word in another Member State. However, the development of this right has not been completed yet, as there are still restrictions for some categories under some provisions, such as EU citizenship and they also remain in dispute. It is important to analyse this in further detail, taking into account several very relevant areas of social advantage including housing, healthcare, education and minimum incomes and to conclude which legal barriers there still are when claiming these rights, also at the national level, which justifications exist for doing so and which alternatives exist.

Alongside legal rights and restrictions, it is also important to look at the practical barriers to making use of these rights. For instance language barriers, problems with reimbursement and the absence of mutual recognition of documents may make access to rights difficult. The attitude and practice of the benefit administration or healthcare body, etc. may cause barriers. It is important to study them systematically (Dwyer 2000).

The project will also study the justiciability of social rights related to freedom of movement will be studied: how effective are the rights of redress to arbitration, conciliation, legal assistance bodies or courts for citizens seeking to enforce their social rights? In this respect, the national supporting bodies (e.g. trade unions), NGOs, conciliation/arbitration bodies, national judiciary, supporting bodies, including the European Commission services, are taken into account.

For the studies planned in this Work Package (WP6) we will make use of expert reports from the countries selected for WP6 (the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, the United Kingdom, Poland, Spain, Germany), which each represent a particular type of system of welfare state and cover all regions of the EU and therefore provide the materials on the basis of which we will write a more general report.

The analysis of the rights and barriers will result in a report with a theoretical framework in which the schemes and problems studied are categorised as 'social constructs', e.g. a subdivision of rights for the poor, for migrants, for the middle class, for the rich, for the deserving poor, for rehabilitation purposes, etc. This framework is useful for explaining the barriers encountered and is therefore also important for making recommendations for the adjustment of tools and schemes.

Moreover, it is important to study whether there are differences between categories of the population in their opportunities for making use of EU citizenship rights. It is likely that such differences exist e.g. poor people face greater difficulty advancing the costs of healthcare obtained in another Member State (Dean 2011; Clasen et al 2011).



The barriers may also exist in the tensions between the interests of persons who make use of their EU citizenship rights and national citizens. If persons from other Member States have access to study grants, healthcare, housing, this may cause fears and frictions among national citizens and may make access to these rights more difficult. Practices such as waiting lists can limit the actual access to such rights. See for a description of the dilemmas in the field of patient rights (Pennings 2011; Van de Gronden 2011).

The expansion of the EU with many new Member States over the past eight years has led to new discussions on old rights following on from freedom of movement.

WP9 will analyse the Reports 6.1 and 6.2 from a gender and intergenerational perspective. These cross-rights studies with a view of particular categories will also provide important insights into the barriers to access to social rights and there therefore will be a close cooperation and exchange of materials.

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CIVIL RIGHTS

As civil rights refer to the rights that are necessary for the individual freedom of citizens and therefore belong to the nucleus of rights of citizens, a study into these rights is essential for understanding the obstacles and opportunities for realising EU citizenship. In other words, the enjoyment of - at least certain - civil rights could be qualified as crucial to the enjoyment of European citizenship rights (Azoulai 2011; Van Eijken & De Vries 2011).

Yet it was not until the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty (1992), that established the European Union, that formal recognition was given to human rights as part of EU law. Later a 'EU Bill of Rights' was set up through the adoption of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, solemnly proclaimed in Nice (2000) but without



being granted binding effect. This ‘constitutional coming-of-age’ of human or civil rights at EU level has triggered a number of publications focusing on the status of human rights protection in the European Union, mostly from a constitutional perspective (e.g. Alston, Heenan & Bustelo 1999; Besselink 1998; Von Bogdandy and Bast 2009; De Búrca 2011; Douglas Scott 2004; Lenaerts & de Smijter 2001; O’Leary 1995, Weiler & Lockhart 1995).

Even before the Treaties of Maastricht and Nice, the European (Economic) Community and later the European Union, already engaged in civil rights protection, although in the European Economic Community the focus was on the safeguarding of (economic) rights such as the freedom of movement and residence. Citizens in Europe acquired rights of free movement and residence in the European Union first as *market citizens* and only later as *EU citizens* (Nic Shuibhne 2010). The Treaties did recognise certain rights that were similar to fundamental rights, such as the principle of non-discrimination and the right to equal pay for men and women. Even so, the primarily economic orientation of the European Communities did not appear to be a handicap for the CJEU to develop a European fundamental rights dimension, partially influenced by the discussions in Germany regarding the assumed power of the German constitutional court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*) to assess EU law in the light of the German constitution. In its case law, the CJEU decided that fundamental human rights are enshrined in the general principles of Community law. Furthermore, the Court referred to the constitutional traditions common to the Member States as a source of inspiration (De Búrca 2011).

Recent developments in EU law, however, make new research into the field of civil rights of paramount importance. The coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty (December 2009) marked a new phase in the remarkable expansion of fundamental rights protection at European Union level. Article 6 of the EU Treaty now recognises the binding force of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, it embraces the intention to accede to the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and codifies the European Court of Justice’s case law that fundamental rights shall constitute general principles of the Union’s law. Furthermore, the respect for human rights has been incorporated in the Treaty as one of the EU’s core values. These ‘post-Lisbon’ developments present a number of fresh and intriguing challenges to the EU as an entity committed to the protection and promotion of fundamental rights. So far, research into the consequences of the binding character of the Charter, its scope of application and the accession of the EU to the ECHR, should, according to Article 6(2) TEU not affect the EU’s competences in the Treaties, for the exercising of EU citizens’ rights is still in its infancy (De Búrca 2011, De Vries, Weatherill & Bernitz 2012). Several intriguing and difficult issues relating to these recent developments require close attention.

If civil rights are studied from the perspective of EU citizenship, what will be the position of third country nationals who enjoy derived rights on the basis of EU law (Staples 1999)? Furthermore, the scope of EU citizens’ civil rights on the basis of EU law is limited, as these rights can only be invoked when they implement EU law or, at best, in situations which fall within the scope of EU law. This creates significant uncertainty as to when EU civil rights can be relied upon to challenge domestic restrictive measures or practices. Until recently, the scope of residency rights afforded to EU citizenship was traditionally limited to transnational situations, leading to divergences in the protection afforded by EU citizenship and the EU ‘Bill of Rights’ between mobile EU citizens, who have exercised their rights to freedom of movement and ‘sedentary’ EU citizens (reverse discrimination). Recent CJEU case law, however, suggests that an essential core of citizenship rights may be enjoyed without proving a transnational dimension. It remains to determine what this essential core consists of and how to define the boundaries of EU law. Moreover, there may be significant practical obstacles to EU citizens exercising the civil rights they enjoy under EU law. Further systematic research into the interaction between law and practice in this field is clearly needed.

The Work Package on Civil Rights (WP7) starts with investigating the civil rights citizens should have access to on the basis of a combination of EU citizenship and EU fundamental rights standards. This will be done by studying EU legal provisions and CJEU case law, policy documents and academic commentaries, partly building on current academic research. This will lead to a typology of civil rights to which EU law may give rise and the limitations which exist in this field, followed by a more detailed analysis of the specific civil rights, exploring the various types of legal and practical obstacles which undermine their effective enjoyment. These



are: the right to freedom of movement (migration and residence rights) and equal treatment; the right to effective judicial protection; the freedom of speech/expression, the right to property and the freedom of contract; the right to family life; the protection against loss of nationality and the right to diplomatic and consular protection in third countries.

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POLITICAL RIGHTS

Political rights, the right to participate in the collective decision making of the citizenry - in some countries balanced by a related citizenship *duty* to vote - can be considered the core of citizenship. Yet, paradoxically, many - both in academia and in politics - have seen the EU as a threat to political rights rather than a source of them.

First of all, European integration moved political decision making arenas further away from the average European citizen: away from nearby national capitals such as Tallinn and Lisbon, Dublin and Bucharest, and towards distant Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxemburg, where 'they' tend to speak a different language than the European citizens themselves. 'There', citizens' votes become further diluted into a larger mass of votes.

Secondly, as Scharpf (2001) has argued, the complex intergovernmental and joint decision making modes in the EU may score well for democratic legitimacy, but are low on problem solving capacity. By contrast, the supranational EU institutions such as the Commission and the ECJ, score poorly for democratic legitimacy, but well for problem solving capacity. The greater civic diversity creates problems which can be bypassed by relying on less democratic decision making procedures. As a result, it is claimed that for 'practical' reasons, decision making has moved to distant technocratic arenas where ECJ judges, Eurocrats and Comitology make collective decisions affecting European citizens in non-transparent and diffuse procedures, that lack democratic accountability and legitimacy producing what Majone (2009) has referred to as 'integration by stealth'.



Thirdly, political rights offer a good illustration of our hypothesis that a major, principle hindrance to the exercising of certain citizenship rights is the existence of other rights that intervene in or reduce these rights. The EU is and has been foremostly an economic project. The four economic freedoms - of mobility of goods, services, capital and labour - have liberalised markets and given citizens 'market citizenship rights' above all else. However, free markets - especially where enacted in basic legal documents like treaties, charters and pseudo-constitutions - severely limit political choice. Many options are no longer available, as they contravene these freedoms. This has been criticised by renowned scholars such as Yves Meny, long-time president of the European University Institute in Florence. He wrote: 'What I do not accept is the supremacy of market forces on every dimension of life and the actual incapacity of governments to reconcile through political choices economic and social constraints', the more so as the latter 'has for the past 150 years been at the heart of politics' (in Moravcsik and Meny 2009). And: 'Many social rights are challenged or turned down at the national level because economic regulations permeate and condition them.' The same can be said for many other attempts to constrain markets, e.g. with consumer and worker protection rights or migration regulation. This is all the more a problem, as the destruction of market constraining regulations is a case of negative integration (elimination of economic barriers), which is easily achieved through supranational decision making by the European Commission and Court; while positive integration - the enactment of new market regulations - has to be done through the more complex and slower decision making procedures of inter-governmentalism.

The power of markets and the powerlessness of politics have recently been forcefully brought home by the financial crisis involving the euro. A recent cover of the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (12-12-2011) was particularly symbolic as it depicted the political leaders of the four major nations France, Germany, the US, and China as puppets, being moved and played by invisible actors hidden in the Global Stock Exchange, which these leaders themselves had liberalised.

Paraphrasing Skowronek (1982), who once called the emerging United States of America a 'state of courts and parties', one might argue that an emerging United States of Europe is a 'state of courts and markets'. What is left for politicians to decide? In such a polity, the unwillingness of EU citizens to exercise their political rights may be understandable. If political choice is reduced if not minimised in and by the EU - to overstate it perhaps a bit - why should citizens bother about political participation, elections and actively holding politicians accountable - short of forcing them to recapture the political priority? But by now this would be a major political and legal undertaking, not really facilitated by the inter-governmentalism, between 28 Member States, of European decision making.

This is illustrated by the futile attempts to regain control of the financial markets by regulating them and fighting speculation by a tax on financial transactions - the Tobin-tax. Although Member States tax almost all economic transactions - from labour to food to real estate - financial transactions were untaxed. And although a large majority of Member States would now be willing to introduce such a tax to put a brake on speculation, the unwillingness of one major Member State with a major stake in financial markets - the UK - coupled with free international financial markets, has blocked this initiative, as unanimity is required to prevent financial markets from playing off states against each other.

Whether or not the EU itself has a 'democratic deficit', as is often argued, remains controversial. See, for instance, the debate between Yves Meny and Andrew Moravcsik about Europe's democratic deficit in EUI-Review Summer 2009. Meny argued: 'As Europe has forgotten its political dimension to privilege a rather technical management of more and more issues related to the economy, we have deprived the national democracies of what was their flesh and blood from their very inception: debating and deciding about economic issues. Today everywhere in Europe there is a feeling of powerlessness and frustration. People understand that they can still debate but that it does not matter. The economy is too important to be left to the people.'

Such claims and complaints are increasingly voiced by nationalist anti-European political parties from the right as well as the left, which have seen their electoral appeal rise. The negative referenda on EU Treaties and the subsequent fear among politicians of more of such popular votes, as Greece recently experienced



when it proposed a referendum on its emergency budget policies to help solve Europe's financial crisis. Europe does not seem to trust its citizens enough to respect their national democratic rights to voice their opinions in referenda on Europe-related issues.

The only solution to these problems of legitimacy is a further democratisation of higher levels of political decision making. The EU has attempted to do so by providing new political rights at or from EU level: direct elections for the European Parliament some time ago now, a gradual increase in decision making powers for the EP; a version of the right of petition with the 'citizens' initiative', whereby one million citizens can request the European Commission to come up with legislative proposals in a specific policy area; more national parliament involvement in EU decision making; and new local forms of democratic participation in Euregios crossing national borders. Finally, the whole concept of European citizenship and identity can be seen as a compensation for this loss at national level, including the economic, social and civic rights investigated in other work packages.

Therefore, the **objective** of this WP is first of all to elaborate this tension between economic and the OLD political rights of EU citizens, by investigating whether the hypotheses formulated here can be supported by empirical evidence.

Secondly, the aim is to identify more practical hindrances to the exercising of NEW EXISTING European political rights, created by the EU as compensation for the loss of national political rights. There is already extensive literature dealing with the low voting turnout at elections for the European Parliament in many Member States. Therefore, we will investigate the possible representational biases this may create. Furthermore, we will investigate constraints, opportunities and conditions for other forms of democratic participation, notably the practice of involvement of national parliaments in EU decision making, as well as the options for direct democracy in such a large territory as the EU, borrowing thereby from the extensive experience with referenda in Switzerland, a country that can be considered a microcosm of and a model for the EU (see also WP4).

Thirdly, we will elaborate on NEW FUTURE options for democratic participation and accountability in the EU, borrowing from political theory. Options to be considered are representation of functional categories of citizens, rather than the usual territorial ones and extending the concept of 'market citizenship' by giving European citizens more 'economic voting rights', e.g. by extending the rights that workers have in their organisation through European works councils to other economic stakeholders (e.g. consumers) and the organisations they are economically active in.

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CLUSTER THREE: THE MULTITUDINOUS EFFECTS OF RIGHTS ON DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF CITIZENS: THE VERTICAL APPROACH

BALANCING GENDER AND GENERATIONAL CITIZENSHIP

Discrepancies between civil, political, social and economic citizenship rights and obligations of European and non-European citizens as family members are multiple, within and among Member States, and between the EU and Member States. These discrepancies have important effects on family life, gender equality, young adults and vulnerable elderly people. In addition, in a tendency towards nativism and nationalism, the political discourse constructs a nostalgic 'familiarism' (Duyvendak, 2011) by fixing 'appropriate' ways of gender and generational relations that are inclusive, and by consequence exclusive in hindering citizens to move across borders. These two current tendencies are difficult to integrate. On the one hand, women, young adults, vulnerable elderly people and same-sex couples could so far rely on and benefit from EU's regulations, guidelines and directives that stress gender equality, the right to move (Youth on the Move), the right to family life and reproductive rights, and patients' rights to (health)care services. In many Member States, however, such claims are perverted by nationalistic politicians to exclude non-EU citizens by setting additional cultural and social criteria for gaining full citizenship (Lister et al., 2007; Siim, 2000). For that reason Siim suggests: 'to integrate differences in the language of citizenship' in a context of demobilisation of women's social movements and increasing stress on 'active citizenship' (2000: 169). On the other hand, women, young adults and older people as family members with care responsibilities and care needs have to deal with the EU prioritisation of individualised market citizenship above social citizenship. Lewis (2001; 2004) points to the effects of the 'adult worker model' assuming life-long, full-time employment as a condition for benefits and pensions, and the consequences for women unable to meet this precondition. Knijn and Kremer (1997) addressed the omission to include the right to give and receive care as a citizenship right, and Bonoli (2005) stressed the limited political participation and representation of young people and its consequences for dealing with the new social risks of the post-industrial European knowledge industry. For young adults and even more so for young women, leaving the parental home and forming an autonomous household, finding a steady job and starting a family has become increasingly difficult (Knijn, 2012). Likewise, vulnerable elderly Europeans in need of care, again mainly women, struggle with poverty, lack of care facilities and therefore with a deficient citizenship status. Their care needs are increasingly fulfilled by migrant care workers from non-EU countries. These care workers in their turn lack all the citizenship rights that regularly employed people in the EU can take for granted (Lister et al., 2007; Da Roit, Le Bihan, Oesterle, 2008; Weicht, 2010).

Given this complicated and ambivalent picture, the main focus of WP9 is on family rights and obligations: how are these understood and which practices carry over generations in EU Member States and in



diverse communities. Family law, social security, care and reproductive rights will be investigated as these domains show great diversity in the constitution and execution of citizenship rights between men and women, between the old and the young as family members, even more so if they do not live and work in their home country or are non-EU nationals. In turn, this diversity might affect the valuation of EU citizenship versus nationalism and nativism among populations, and at a political level. In each of these domains national social rights (WP6) might interfere with a) national rights and normative cultural values in other EU countries, b) economic rights of free movement (WP5) and civil and political rights (WP7 - 8).

Gender and generational interdependencies form a crucial framework for understanding the scope and character of the potential effects of EU citizenship. The latter relates directly to the assumption of citizens as free individuals exercising individual citizenship rights. However, the institutional, legal and cultural embedding of individual citizens as family members (both horizontally and vertically) in national social, political and legal systems may constitute an obstacle to exercising these individual rights. Mobile European citizens may experience discrepancies between institutional settings and culturally-defined, family-related civil, social and economic rights. The legal barriers for men and women, the old and the young have to do with clashes between rights and family-related institutional barriers (e.g. reproductive rights, the right to marriage and kin obligations in cash and care). So far, economic rights do not go together easily with social, political and civil rights for mobile youths, caring women – EU citizens and non-EU citizens - and elderly people in need of care. Differences between Member States in family law that until now have determined specific kinship rights and obligations are hard to cover at EU level, although they are debated in all Member States because of the greying population (natalism), increasing divorce and cohabitation rates (prioritising parenthood above partnership), delayed parenthood (reproductive rights), and – migrant – workers' mobility (social protection, the right to family life). In this debate, various normative values in Member States are reflected, such as gay marriage, euthanasia, gender equality, the right to give and receive care. At a legal level, differences between Member States in their political, administrative and legal institutional setting of the family affect the opportunities and provisions for gender equality and intergenerational solidarity (Knijn and Komter, 2004).

WP9 therefore concentrates on the relationships between social, political, civil and economic citizenship rights of gendered and generationally-determined aspects of the family in four domains: 1) the intersection of (elderly) care and migration regimes, 2) gender equality as a focus point of nationalistic and nativist political discourse, 3) marriage and parenthood-related rights, and 4) the right to move for young Europeans. In addition, WP9 examines - in cooperation with WP6 - the awareness among European citizens as family members of their citizenship rights, and the effects of possible and feared a) European efforts to converge social, civil and economic rights for individual citizens versus national family rights and obligations, and b) European mobility on the rights and obligation of Member States' citizens in the realm of family life. In doing so, family-related citizenship rights and mobile market citizenship will be studied in tandem in order to deliver new perspectives on balancing gender and generational relationships.

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BALANCING CITIZENSHIP OF 'INSIDERS' AND 'OUTSIDERS'

Central to the emergence of European citizenship has been the reconstruction of the boundaries of citizenship and its relationship to nation states, welfare states and labour markets. This has involved changing institutional relations at the interstate level with regard to the legal construction of EU citizens (and different categories of EU citizens, including A8 and A2 nationals) and non-EU citizens, and the associated rights of citizenship. At the same time, at the level of individual member states' citizenship policies and immigration controls, there has been a continuing diversification of legal statuses and associated rights, not simply between citizens and non-citizens of those states, but also among non-citizens (such as work permit holders, asylum seekers, students).

There has been some theorising concerning immigration controls and citizenship policies as constructive of certain types of social and employment relations (Anderson, 2010; De Genova, 2002; Bosniak, 2006; Ngai, 2005), but this has not been particularly well developed empirically. There tended to be 'a now you see it, now you don't analysis' of immigration controls, coming to the fore in matters of illegality and vulnerability, when they are used as a critical explanatory variable for abusive and exploitative conditions, but they are often overlooked as structural features impacting legal migrants' relationships to labour markets. As a result, the ways in which migrants are or are not permitted access to labour markets and welfare states, and how this affects their labour market and life choices in the receiving States, can be ignored.

Moreover, while attempts have been undertaken to consider how 'the migrant' is for the most part a legal creation (rather than, as is commonly imagined, regulated by law), 'the worker' is also created in this manner and the law is critical in outlining the boundaries of markets as well as of states (Zatz, 2008). There has been no examination of the ways in which these two work together, though Weicht (2010; 2011) and Anderson (2013 forthcoming) have opened the debate by considering the social relations surrounding work in private households. This could fruitfully be taken forward by comparison with the situation of citizens who are subject to 'workfare', which is not subject to the usual employment protections because it is not constituted as a market relation. In other words, the borders of markets, of welfare and of states, are volatile rather than fixed, and the notion of insiders and outsiders (troubled as they are) are revealed to not merely be a binary national/non-national divide and citizenship is permanently under construction. The blurring of these borders, involving processes of 'marketisation' within European welfare states, have likewise brought to the fore conflicting dynamics in the reconstruction of economic and social rights. These tensions concern, on the one hand, emphasis on the rights of individual 'consumers' of welfare provisions to services that are responsive to their needs and preferences (in the context of market reforms to welfare states), and on the other, the rights and obligations of work for citizens and non-citizens in low-wage labour markets (Shutes 2011; Shutes 2012; Shutes and Walsh 2012). These dynamics point to the importance of the comparative analysis of the interactions between the restructuring of labour markets and welfare states, citizenship and immigration, across and within European states.

WP10 focuses on the construction of the boundaries of the rights to 'work' and 'welfare' for specific categories of citizens and non-citizens who are excluded from the economic and social rights of citizenship. It will examine the increasingly complex institutional framework through which rights (and obligations) within welfare states and labour markets are stratified among formal citizens as well as between citizens and non-citizens. WP10 therefore complements WP 5 (economic rights) and 6 (social rights) by focusing in depth on the interactions between immigration controls and citizenship policies, labour markets and welfare states, the



conflicting processes that those interactions entail and the implications for rethinking rights-based approaches to work and welfare for citizens and non-citizens.

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CLUSTER FOUR: BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER

CONCEPTUAL & SYNTHESIS

The aim of Work Package 'Conceptual & Synthesis' (WP2) is to provide *substantive* coherence and integration to the project by 'bridge building' between theory and empirical work; between the literatures in the disciplines involved in our citizenship debate: law, philosophy, social and political science and history; and between the work done by the various work packages.

At the same time, this WP has an element of a synthesis. The concrete findings of the work in the various other work packages will, in this WP, be integrated at a higher level of abstraction, by taking elements from those WP products to be fed into some of the central philosophical issues in the theoretical debates on citizenship.

The aim is also to build bridges between WPs and participants. We want to avoid the project disintegrating into many different subprojects and scholars each doing their own thing in a little far corner of the project. We therefore aim to further substantive integration and homogeneity by creating a real 'community of scholars'. This task will be *our own forum* where we will practice 'citizenship'. All participants should consider themselves 'citizens' of our project community, each with their own duties, but also rights.

In substantive terms we want to build bridges between the abstract general theoretical work conducted in legal and political theory regarding citizenship and the more concrete and specific cases in legal and empirical studies carried out in the other work packages. After all, the challenge in science is to move back and forth between the abstract and the concrete, translating abstract concepts and arguments into specific cases and events and, vice versa, perceiving the more general and abstract principles, problems and arguments in concrete cases.



We aim to do so by continually further elaborating various theoretical and conceptual issues surrounding Citizenship during the project. These discussions and studies are meant to feed, infuse, and inspire the work conducted in the different work packages and to build cross-connections between them. In turn the conceptual work should also be fed by questions, problems, hypotheses, subjects, ideas and findings from the work carried out in the various work packages. And eventually summarised at a main concluding conference where contributions from the other WPs will also be presented and discussed

This need to respond to input from the other work packages requires a certain flexibility in programming and makes it difficult to plan this work package in detail. There has to be room for modifying the programme in response to issues, needs, questions, ideas or findings from the other WPs.

Nevertheless, there are a number of topics which are central to past and present citizenship debates, which are very relevant to our project and which provide a starting point for the programme of this WP. Some of these are:

- elaboration of the concept of rights, of 'market citizenship' versus 'civic' citizenship, the balance of rights and duties, and the rights and duties of citizens from and to their states, vice versa
- how has the concept of citizenship and rights evolved over the centuries? Which similarities and differences are there between the concept of market citizenship in late medieval guilds and the modern day European Union; as well as between the concept of 'civic' citizenship in medieval cities and modern nation states?
- Citizenship and equality: issues of inclusion (of citizens) and exclusion (of non-citizens). Is the distinction between citizens and non-citizens so black-and-white? Or is there also a grey area of semi-citizenship in between? What about the position of third-country nationals in Europe?
- Citizenship entails a balance of rights from and duties towards the community. Does Europe only provide rights or does it also impose duties? Could it? If not, is this an asymmetry built into European citizenship?
- The effect of shifting borders, overlapping domains and mobility on the coherence of communities and identities, including the possibility of multiple/multi-level identities
- Citizenship rights, the welfare state and the European Union
- Is there also a 'rights' revolution in Europe? What are its causes? What are its consequences? The latter, particularly with regard to the balance between democracy - the rule of the people - and the constitutional state - rule by the judiciary? How should such consequences be evaluated?
- Can European citizenship be a model for other regions in the world?
- European citizenship and the prospects for 'cosmopolitan' citizenship

FORWARD-LOOKING ACTIVITIES

The evolution of European citizenship is a long-term process and changes equally within the legal and institutional framework as within citizenship practice. Stimulating and guiding this development requires concerted actions and lasting attention. Furthermore, these actions take place in a dynamic context and the effects will be influenced by socioeconomic and socio-cultural developments in society. This means that there is a need not only for a shared vision on European citizenship, but also for the extension of a repertoire of policy action and institutional reform to stimulate a development in that direction under different and changing circumstances. In the forward-looking activities (WP11) the research findings will be connected to the main challenge underlying this project: to overcome and remove barriers for the exercising of EU citizenship and to stimulate social change towards active EU citizenship. The objective is therefore to identify and broaden the scope for future policy actions at both EU and member states level and within academia, law, government and civil society.



The comparative analysis of driving and inhibiting forces for exercising citizenship in the different work packages will be an important source for the forward-looking activities. In order to enhance the impact and use of research findings generated within bEUcitizen, it is important to receive feedback from high-level policy makers as well as from opinion leaders in politics, civil society and the media. Special attention will be paid to the relationship between European citizenship and the diversity in citizenship on the national level. Stimulating European citizenship takes place at various levels: At the level of the EU as a whole, at the level of the Member States and, especially, at the level of local communities. Complementary and competitive relations between European and national citizenship are likely to coexist. This implies that in thinking about policies and institutions, the context in which they are implemented matters. 'One size fits all' strategies that work will be rare.

It is therefore necessary to initiate and to work along four parallel lines that ensure impact beyond the end date of bEUcitizen. Important in each of these lines is the involvement of policy makers, citizens' representatives and civil society organisations, both at EU and Member States level, and activities that are directed at and aimed at raising awareness among citizens.

The first line is to safeguard a continuation of attention in academic and applied research, especially in the field of monitoring and forecasting, to the change, evolution of and barriers to European citizenship. Monitoring and forecasting have a longstanding tradition in policy research institutes for the EU and national governments. Development tools based on our findings have to suit their practices. The same applies, as a second line, to the objective of developing practical tools for the assessment of the impact on citizenship of new (EU and national) legislation and policies (Renda 2006; Toner 2006).

A third line will focus more on activating citizens to exercise their rights and engage in different forms of political participation and policymaking. Here a specific age group will be addressed: young people between the ages of 14 and 16. Using the research's outcomes and building on both the vested, mostly national, traditions of education for citizenship and more recent initiatives (e.g. euroacademy online), teaching packages will be developed that focus on European citizenship (Reeher and Cammarano 1997; Lawton, Gairns and Gardner 2000; Ibáñez-Martín and Jover 2002).

The fourth and last line of forward-looking activities will be designing and debating contrasting future scenarios under the heading 'EU citizenship 2030' in relation to national citizenship. Although scenarios for Europe have been drawn up in the past and may function as a source of inspiration, most do not address European citizenship from this perspective (Labohm, Rood and Van Staden 1998; Bertrand, Michalski and Pench 1999; De Mooij and Tang 2003). To this end, this WP will engage representatives from all work packages in a reflection exercise during the final project phase on establishing scenarios for the medium-term development of EU citizenship practice and will involve civil society organisations and policy practitioners in the debate.

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DISSEMINATION

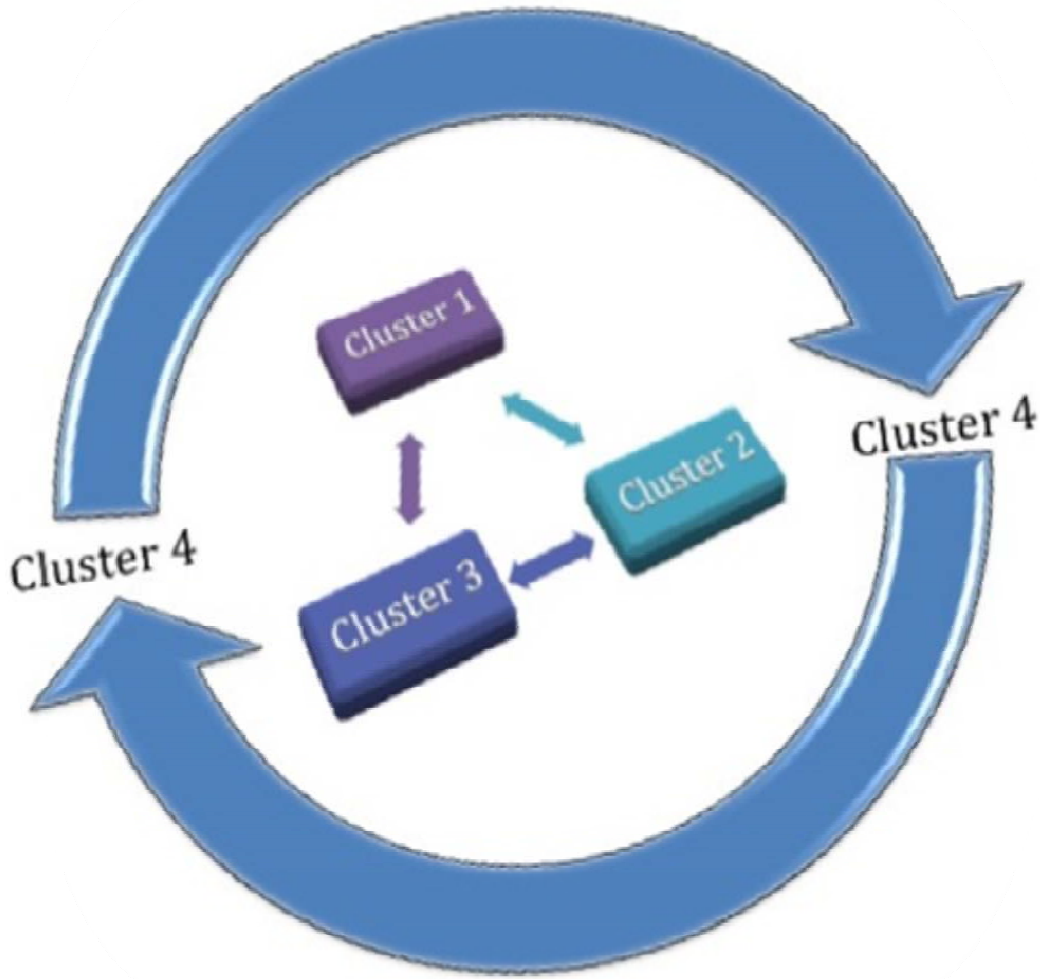
The objectives of the Work Package ‘Dissemination’ (WP12) are to disseminate information about the project, its objectives, the approaches and results using a website, reports, publications and presentations; to promote, where applicable, the use of the output from the project among the target groups; to engage in two-way communication with users and academic communities to disseminate the project deliverables and conclusions; to set up an effective dissemination and exploitation plan and to publish results in academic and professional journals.

CATEGORY of RIGHTS	Possible Oppositions of categories of citizens To be studied		
	Male – Female	Young - Old	Insiders- Outsiders
WP 5: Economic Rights: - (a) intellectual property rights, (b) the rights and barriers of citizens to provide or receive services, (c) exercise profession (d) rights of consumers. -	Included in project	Included in project	Included in project (EU nationals/third country nationals Rich/poor)
WP6: Social rights including - subsistence benefit - housing - health care - education.	Included in project	Included in project	Included in project (EU nationals/third country nationals Rich/poor)
WP7: Civil Rights including Core citizenship rights, such as nationality & residence rights Freedom of speech Life events Consular protection	Included in project	Included in project	Included in project (EU nationals/third country nationals Rich/poor)
WP8: Political Rights of: - Voters - Politicians - Institutions (e.g. National Parliaments)			
WP9 : Case study of care providers	Included in project (Political rights Economic rights Social rights)	Included in project Political rights (Economic rights Social rights)	
WP 10 : Case study of work and non-work relations	Included in project (Social rights)		Included in project (Social rights Workers vs. those outside labour process)

A. OUTLINE GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF CLUSTERS



WORK PACKAGE 1 - MANAGEMENT



WORK PACKAGE 12 - DISSEMINATION



B. COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN THE CASE STUDIES

Country	Belgium	Canada	Croatia	Czech Rep.	Denmark	Estonia	France	Germany	Greece	Hungary	Ireland	Israel	Italy	Latvia	Netherlands	Poland	Spain	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	UK	Country	
Deliverable																						Deliverable	
D3.1	X						X	X							X							X	D3.1
D3.2	X						X	X							X							X	D3.2
D3.3	X						X	X							X							X	D3.3
D3.4	X						X	X							X							X	D3.4
D3.6	X						X	X							X							X	D3.6
D4.2																			X				D4.2
D4.3																	X						D4.3
D4.4		X																					D4.4
D4.6							X																D4.6
D4.8				X																			D4.8
D4.7			X																				D4.7
D4.9												X											D4.9
D4.9																				X			D4.9
D5.2	X				X			X	X	X		X			X		X					X	D5.2
D5.3	X				X			X	X	X		X			X	X	X					X	D5.3
D5.4	X				X			X	X	X		X			X		X					X	D5.4
D5.6	X				X			X	X	X		X			X		X					X	D5.6
D5.8	X				X			X	X	X		X			X		X					X	D5.8
D8.1					X	X		X							X	X	X	X				X	D8.1
D8.2					X	X		X							X	X	X	X				X	D8.2
D8.3					X	X		X							X	X	X	X				X	D8.3
D8.4					X	X		X							X	X	X	X				X	D8.4
D7.1	X		X	X	X		X	X		X		X			X		X					X	D7.1
U7.2	X		X	X	X		X	X		X		X			X		X					X	U7.2
D7.3	X		X	X	X		X	X		X		X			X		X					X	D7.3
D7.4	X		X	X	X		X	X		X		X			X		X					X	D7.4
D7.6	X		X	X	X		X	X		X		X			X		X					X	D7.6
D7.8	X		X	X	X		X	X		X		X			X		X					X	D7.8
D7.7	X		X	X	X		X	X		X		X			X		X					X	D7.7
D8.1										X					X		X						D8.1
D8.3							X	X		X					X			X				X	D8.3
D8.4				X			X	X							X			X				X	D8.4
D8.6							X	X	X						X		X						D8.6
D8.8	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	D8.8
D8.10			X	X				X		X					X		X	X					D8.10
D8.2			X		X		X	X		X		X	X		X	X	X	X				X	D8.2
D8.4			X		X					X		X	X		X		X					X	D8.4
D8.8			X		X					X		X	X		X		X					X	D8.8
D8.7			X		X					X		X	X		X		X					X	D8.7
D8.9			X		X					X		X	X		X		X					X	D8.9
D10.1			X								X	X			X		X					X	D10.1
D10.2			X								X	X			X		X					X	D10.2
D10.3			X								X	X			X		X					X	D10.3
D10.4			X								X	X			X		X					X	D10.4
D11.1			X	X				X			X	X			X		X	X				X	D11.1
Country	Belgium	Canada	Croatia	Czech Rep.	Denmark	Estonia	France	Germany	Greece	Hungary	Ireland	Israel	Italy	Latvia	Netherlands	Poland	Spain	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	UK	Country	



C. OVERVIEW TABLE OF ALL PUBLICATIONS (FORESEEN)

Deliverable	Title
D2.3	'All Rights Reserved? Constraints and Contradictions of European Citizenship'. Final manuscript to appear with a peer-reviewed publisher, containing 11 final book chapters on the themes that are central in past and present citizenship debates.
D3.7	Manuscript of edited volume on apprenticeships, guilds and citizenship in the 16 th -19 th centuries, to be submitted to Ashgate Publishers
D3.2	Research paper to be submitted to a refereed journal on "formal and informal barriers to citizenship and trades"
D3.3	Research paper to be submitted to a refereed journal on "social and geographical backgrounds of citizens and aspirants in selected towns"
D3.6	Research paper to be submitted to a refereed journal on regulatory mechanisms replacing the guilds after they were abolished
D.4.11	Manuscript of an edited volume 'Comparing a European Heritage of Multi-Layered Citizenship....' to be submitted to a publisher that requires peer review
D5.7	Final manuscript of a peer-reviewed edited volume
D6.5	Collected volume submitted to a peer-reviewed journal or publisher comparative study and synopsis of the options for and impediments to access to social welfare rights
D7.8	A peer-reviewed, collected volume submitted to a refereed journal or publisher
D8.12	Final manuscript of edited volume on the tensions between economic and political rights in the EU, with revised versions of the above reports. to appear with a publisher which uses peer review.
D9.8	Article to be submitted to a peer-reviewed journal on a cross-national study on family and reproductive rights
D9.9	Article to be submitted to a peer-reviewed journal on a cross-national study on discrepancies between civil, social and economic rights
D10.4	Final manuscripts submitted to peer-reviewed journals



THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND POLICY ADVISORY BOARD

The bEUcitizen programme is supported by a highly reputable *International Scientific and Policy Advisory Board*. The members of the board are high-level experts, internationally recognised and eminent for their academic achievements and/or societal status. The Board furthermore reflects the multidisciplinary approach of our project as its members come from both normative disciplines and empirical sciences. They are therefore perfectly suited to assist this project with its multidimensional approach towards citizenship with a view to achieving its objectives and steering the project towards the expected results.

The Advisory Board members will meet annually with the Executive Committee of the project to provide suggestions on strategic direction and project research challenges. The members of the Advisory Board will receive a 'standing invitation' to these annual meetings and will be invited to key lectures and plenaries that will be held within the project's context. During the annual conferences, the Board members will, depending on their expertise and the content of the Work Package, join the workshops organised to discuss the findings and questions of each Work Package. The quality of the work can be assessed in this manner and suggestions can be made as to how to proceed and to improve the quality of the research.

Considering the expertise and standing of the Board Members we expect the International Scientific and Policy Advisory Board to have a major influence on the Citizenship discourse and to significantly contribute to the dissemination of the results of the bEUcitizen project. Their status in society and their academic reputation will certainly contribute to future discussions on citizenship, in setting the agenda for the further expansion of the notion of citizenship, working towards a shared vision on EU citizenship and acknowledging the dynamic character of citizenship, which may develop at a different pace in different domains. We also expect to add a high-level journalist to the advisory board team, but have been unable to gain confirmation of acceptance at this stage. The members below have all confirmed their participation:

Catherine Barnard is professor of European Union Law at the Cambridge University (Trinity College) School of Law. She is co-director of CELS and holds Jean Monnet Chair of EU Law. Her interests focus chiefly on EU law, labour and discrimination law, competition law. She is an author of numerous books and articles.

Denis Bouget, emeritus professor of economy at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, University of Nantes. He has been the coordinator (with Bruno Palier) of the very successful FP7 Network of Excellence REConciling Work and Welfare (RECWOWE). His research interests are social protection and social exclusion, converging social policies, international comparative analysis, and decentralization. He is co-editor with Jane Lewis (LSE), of "Globalisation and Welfare Series", Edward Elgar Publishing, and chair of the Committee "Sciences humaines et sociales" of the Regional Consultative Council for Research and

R. Daniel Kelemen is Associate Professor of Political Science, Jean Monnet Chair and [Director of the Center for European Studies at Rutgers University](#). His research interests include the politics of the European Union, law and politics, comparative political economy, and comparative public policy. He has written numerous book chapters and articles. He is also co-editor of the Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics (Oxford University Press, 2008). Prior to Rutgers, Kelemen was Fellow in Politics, Lincoln College, University of Oxford. He has been a Member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, a Fulbright Fellow in European Union Studies at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels and a visiting fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. He was educated at Berkeley (A.B. in Sociology) and Stanford (M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science).

Alice Kessler-Harris, President of the Organization of American Historians (2011-2012), is R. Gordon Hoxie Professor of American History. She is also Professor in the Institute for Research on Women and Gender. Dr. Kessler-Harris specializes in the history of American labor and the comparative and interdisciplinary exploration of women and gender. She received her B. A. from Goucher College (1961) and her Ph.D. from Rutgers (1968). Kessler-Harris has been a fellow at the National Humanities Center (Durham), the Radcliffe Institute for



Advanced Study. She is the past president of the Labour and Working-Class History Association. Her most recent book, *Gendering Labor History* (2007), contains her essays on women's work and social policy.

Jane Lewis, is professor of Social Policy at the London School of Economics (LSE), and previously professor of Social Policy at Oxford University. She is one of the foremost experts on gender, social policies and family policies in a comparative perspective. Lewis participated in the FP7 Network of Excellence REConciling Work and Welfare (RECOWWE). She is also involved in the history of social policies and the role of the non-profit sector, and contributed to influential research and debates on European unification, citizenship and social policy, such as the TH Marshall Fellowship Programme: a symposium led by Lord Dahrendorf on Citizenship and Social Policy in 21st Century Europe. She has been the winner of the 2011 Social Policy Association Annual Awards of the Social Policy Association.

Giandomenico Majone is currently Professor of Public Policy, Emeritus, at the European University Institute. Before joining EUI, he held teaching/research positions at a number of European and American institutions, including Yale, Harvard and Rome University. After leaving EUI, he has been a Visiting Professor at the Max Planck Institute in Cologne; at Nuffield College, Oxford; at the Center for West European Studies, University of Pittsburgh; and at the Department of Government, London School of Economics, as Centennial Professor.

Joakim Palme, professor of sociology, is director of the Institute for Future Studies in Stockholm (Sweden) and leading its research programme on Sweden and the Future. Palme is member of many scientific bodies and projects. Currently Palme is Vice President of Research Committee 19 on "Poverty, social welfare and social policy" of the International Sociological Association, Chairman of the Statistical Council to the National Insurance Office and chaired the Swedish "Welfare Commission" His research interests and publications include studies of global migration, the European Social Model and Swedish policy reforms. Palme participated in the FP7 Network of Excellence REConciling Work and Welfare (RECOWWE), and runs projects on welfare state financing, European health-care systems, and on childhood conditions and marginalisation.

Jan M. Passer holds a law degree from the Faculty of Law, Charles University, Praha and a Master of European Law degree (LL.M) from Stockholm University. From 2001 until 2005 he served as a judge of the Circuit Court for Praha 2. From September 2004 till August 2005 he was temporarily assigned to the Supreme Administrative Court, thereafter (in September 2005) he became one of its permanent judges. From 2001 till 2003 he was active as an external lecturer at the Faculty of Social Science, Charles University, Praha, and currently, he is an external lecturer at the Faculty of Law, Masaryk University, Brno, and at the Judicial Academy, both in the area of European law. He has completed several long-term work and study stays abroad. Furthermore, he represents the SAC in the EU Forum of Judges for the Environment (EUFJE) and belongs among the founding members of the Czech Society for European and Comparative Law. Finally, he has authored several articles and co-authored a monography.

Sacha Prechal is the Dutch judge at the Court of Justice of the European Union in Luxemburg, professor of European Law at the University of Utrecht. She is chairperson of the board of the Institute of 'ISEP' and a member of the board of the Europa Institute Utrecht. She is regularly invited as a guest lecturer or for other 'speaking engagements' in the Netherlands and abroad. Her research interests include various aspects of the interaction between European, national, and international law; interaction between European institutional law and European substantive law; constitutional processes in Europe, including the protection of human rights, etc.

Chiara Saraceno, emeritus professor of sociology was appointed (2006-2011) as a research professor at the Social Science Research Centre (WZB) in Berlin (Germany). Till 2006 she was professor at the university of Turin, head of the department of social sciences, director of the Interdisciplinary center for women studies. She has been vice-rector of the university of Trento. Her research interests are in the field of family policy,



demography, poverty and gender relations. She participated in the comparative research project EQUALSOC (SOFI, Stockholm) and the 7th Framework Program MULTILINKS.

David Vogel is professor at the political Science Department of [Haas Business and Public Policy Group](#) of Berkley University (since 1973). He holds Solomon P. Lee Chair in Business Ethics. Professor Vogel is an editor of California Management Review. He received his PhD degree in Politics from Princeton University. He is regularly invited as a guest lecturer or for other 'speaking engagements' in the United States and abroad, for example to European University Institute, Stanford University, London Business School, etc. Since 2009 he holds a position of International Research Fellow at the Oxford University Centre for Corporate Reputation. In addition professor Vogel is a member of Scientific Committee at the Italian Center for Corporate Responsibility and a member of Advisory Committee of International Network of Research on Organizations and Sustainable Development (France).

Agnes Jongerius is affiliated researcher at Utrecht University. She is currently working for the research focus area 'Institutions for Open Societies'. After studying social and economic history at Utrecht University, she worked for the trade union movement in the Netherlands for 25 years in a number of positions. From 2005 to 2012 she was President of the Dutch Trade Union Confederation (FNV). In that period she represented the FNV as the workers chair of the Labour Foundation, in the executive committee and the council of the Social and Economic Council (SER). She was also member of the executive committee of the European Trade Union Confederation and vice-president and member of the Executive Bureau of the International Trade Union Confederation.

John Cary is a journalist with over 30 years' experience working in newspapers and broadcasting. He was Deputy Editor of Today (1998-2002), the BBC's flagship news and current affairs programme with an audience including many of the country's decision makers. He also edited programmes for BBC 5 Live (2002-11), a 24-hour live news network, winning two Sony Gold awards, most recently for coverage of the formation of the UK's coalition government after the 2010 election. As well as covering politics, world events and sport, John also edited the UK's best known film review programme (2002-9). He is currently Deputy Editor of the Cambridge News, the award-winning regional newspaper for the area which includes the University of Cambridge.

EXPERT PANELS

An Expert Panel will be convened for each of the Clusters to provide scientific feedback and follow-up to intermediate results at the Cluster level workshops. Expert Panels will be interdisciplinary and will be made up of experts from the various fields relevant to the Cluster's focus. Expert Panel workshops for each Cluster will be held during the annual consortium meetings. At these meetings, which will be convened under the responsibility of the respective WP Coordinators, the partners involved in the Cluster will present the interim results which will be critically discussed with regard to their quality and relevance. Expert panel members will be partly drawn from members of the Scientific Board and partly from the specific field discussed at an Expert Panel meeting.

STAKEHOLDER SOUNDING BOARDS

Achieving success in this project will also require consultation with and feedback from relevant high-level decision and policy makers and other stakeholders. In order to ensure relevance, guarantee timeliness as well as maximise potential impact and dissemination, Sounding Boards consisting of high-level key project stakeholders such as DG Research, industry representatives, EU Institutions and Ministries, NGOs, EU social partners, members of the scientific community, the business sector (CEOs) and civil society organisations as well as the leadership of other projects from relevant FP7 projects will be invited. At the Feedback Conferences



members of the Sounding Board will be asked to provide feedback on the contents and recommendations from a stakeholder perspective. They will also function as dissemination agents regarding the consortium's achievements to DG Research and Innovation and among other European policy makers. Sounding Board members will also be partly drawn from members of the Policy Board.

INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS

For each participant in the proposed project, provide a brief description of the legal entity, the main tasks they have been attributed, and the previous experience relevant to those tasks. Provide also a short profile of the staff members who will be undertaking the work.

Participant 1: UU- Universiteit Utrecht

UU (Utrecht University) is a one of the oldest universities in the Netherlands and currently the largest, with a broad range of programmes. Its research is among the best in Europe and, in sociology and some other disciplines, in the world. Coordination will be based within the Faculty of Law, Economics, Management and Organisation and the Faculty of Social Science. Website: <http://www.uu.nl/>

The Faculty of Law, Economics and Governance researches socially relevant issues in a multidisciplinary context, resulting in research topics such as urban development, family relations, conflicts and human rights and state formation in Europe. The faculty is commissioned to carry out research by many different parties on numerous subjects and themes, such as environmental law, liability law, entrepreneurship, strategy development and organisational transitions.

The Faculty of Social Science is known for its interdisciplinary character and studies problems of various aspects of social sciences.

Mr Sybe A. **DE VRIES** has been the Jean Monnet Chair holder on EU Single Market Law and Fundamental Rights since 2012 and has been an Associate Professor of European Law at the Europa Institute of Utrecht University since 2007. From 2001 - 2004 he was a legal secretary at the Advisory Appeal Committee of the Netherlands Competition Authority (NMa). His research interests in relation to this project focus on the economic and civil rights of EU citizens and particularly the relationship between market citizenship and EU citizenship, the current status of European citizenship and the relationship between citizenship and the protection of fundamental rights.

De Vries, S. (2013) (forthcoming), "The Protection of Fundamental Rights in the EU After Lisbon (Eds De Vries, Bernitz & Weatherill) Hart Publishing, Oxford

De Vries, S. (2012), "Balancing Fundamental Rights with the EU Treaty Freedoms: the European Court of Justice as 'tightrope walker'" (Eds De Vries, Groussot & Thor Petursson, Boom Eleven, The Hague.

De Vries, S. (2011), "Beginselen Bouwen Burgerschap" (Eds De Vries, De Koninck & Van den Brink, Boom, Den Haag, 2011)

Mr Frans **PENNINGS** is a professor of Labour Law and Social Security Law at Utrecht University and President of the Department of International and European law. After obtaining his doctoral degree in Dutch Language and Literature (Modern Linguistics) Frans Pennings received his degree in Dutch law in 1985, specialising in Social Law. He is a deputy Judge at the Centrale Raad van Beroep (Central Appeals Court) and President of the Nederlands Instituut voor Sociale Zekerheid (Dutch Institute for Social Security)

Pennings F., European Social Security Law. Antwerp (Intersentia), 5 editions.



Pennings, F., (2011), "The Cross-Border Health Care Directive: More Free Movement for Citizens and More Coherent EU Law?" *EJSS* 2011, 424-452.

Pennings F., and Bosse C., (eds), (2011), "The Protection of Working Relationships. A comparative study", Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer Law International, pp. 216 p.

Mr Maarten **PRAK** has been a professor of Social and Economic History at the UU since 1992. Together with Prof. Jan Luiten van Zanden he created one of the largest and most prominent European research teams in his field. He is a member of the Humanities Council of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research NWO. He has been a visiting scholar at the University of Exeter, at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, at the London School of Economics, and at the Westfälische-Wilhelms Universität in Münster. In 2012, he will be the Lady Margaret Distinguished Visitor at Christ's College, Cambridge. In 2008, he was elected to the Royal Netherlands Academy of the Arts and Sciences.

Maarten Prak, (2011), '[Mega-structures of the Middle Ages: the construction of religious buildings in Europe and Asia, c.1000-1500](#)', *Journal of Global History* 6, 381-406

S.R. Epstein, Maarten Prak (eds.), (2008), "[Guilds, innovation and the European economy, 1400-1800](#)", Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 352 pp.

André Holenstein, Thomas Maissen, Maarten Prak (eds.) (2008), "The republican alternative: The Netherlands and Switzerland compared", Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 360 pp.

Maarten Prak, (2005), "[The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century](#)", Cambridge University Press, 317 pp.

Simona Cerutti, Robert Descimon, Maarten Prak (eds.), (1995), "Cittadinanze", special issue of *Quaderni Storici*, vol. 30, n° 89, pp. 281-513

Ms Trudie **KNIJN** is a professor of Interdisciplinary Social Science at the UU. She co-chairs ESPAnet (with Steffen Mau) and was a member of the executive committee of the FP Network of Excellence Reconciliation of Work and Welfare (RECOWE). Her research fields are comparative family and child policy, and practices, activation policies and practices and the evaluation of interventions in the context of welfare reform. She has widely published on family policy and family relations, on the commodification of care and on gender-relations from a comparative welfare state perspective.

Knijjn T., (Ed.) (2012, in press), "Work, Family Policy and the Transition to Adulthood", Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan

Knijjn, T. & Saraceno C., (2010), "Family law and family policy reforms in Italy and the Netherlands: different timing, increasingly different focuses", *Journal of European Social Policy* 20 (5) 444-455.

Knijjn, T. & Smit A., (2009), "Investing, facilitating or individualising the reconciliation of work and family life: three paradigms and ambivalent policies", *Social Politics* 16 (4), 484-518.

Knijjn T. & Maier R. (2009), "Pension reforms, working patterns and gender pension gaps in Europe", *Gender, Work & Organisation* 16 (6) 710 -730.

Lewis, J., Knijjn, T., Martin C. & Ostner I., (2009), "Patterns of Development in Work/Family Reconciliation Policies for Parents in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK in the 2000s", in J. Lewis, *Work-Family Balance, Gender and Policy*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 119-140 Frericks, P.,

Mr Frans **van WAARDEN** is a professor of Policy and Organisation at the UU and a Fellow of University College Utrecht, the English language honours liberal arts and science college at Utrecht University. He studied



sociology, history and political science at the Universities of Toronto and Leiden. He has previously taught at the universities of Leiden and Konstanz, was a visiting scholar/fellow at the Center for European Studies of Stanford University, etc. He is interested in phenomena at the boundaries of politics, economics, law and history, from a sociological perspective i.e. political sociology, economic sociology and the sociology of law. His main current focus is on the governance of markets. As market liberalisation and subsequent regulation have been a major project of the European Unions he has also worked on the transposition and enforcement of European directives by and in Member States.

Waarden, Frans van (2012) 'The Governance of Markets: On Generating Trust in Transactions', in David Levi-Faur (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 355-371

Haverland, Markus, Bernard Steunenbergh, and Frans van Waarden (2011) 'Sectors at Different Speeds: Analyzing Transposition Deficits in the European Union', in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49:2, pp.265-291

Waarden, Frans van (2011) 'Varieties of Private Market Regulation: Problems and Prospects', in David Levi-Faur (ed.) *Handbook on the Politics of Regulation*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. pp. 469-485

Waarden, Frans van (2009) 'Institutionen zur Zentralisierung und Kontrolle politischer Macht', in Klaus Schubert and Nils Bandelow (eds) *Lehrbuch Politikfeldanalyse*, Muenchen-Wien: Oldebourg Verlag, pp. 273-311

Waarden, Frans van (2009) 'Power to the Legal Professionals. An Americanisation of European Law?', in *Regulation and Governance*, 3: 3, pp.197-216

Waarden, Frans van, and Youri Hildebrand (2009) 'From Corporatism to Lawyocracy? On Liberalisation and Juridification', in *Regulation and Governance*, September Issue, 3: 3, pp. 259-286

Berglund, Sara, Ieva Gange, and Frans van Waarden (2006) 'Mass Production of Law. Routinisation in the Transposition of European Directives. A Sociological-Institutionalist Account', in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13: 5, pp. 692-716

Wieger BAKKER is an associate professor in public policy and public administration at the Utrecht University School of Governance. He has been the director of the undergraduate school since 2010. He is interested in the tension between rationality and power in public policy formation and implementation; the role of governmental policymaking for the shape and change of public (welfare) institutions and the way in which public responsibilities are organised and carried out within public institutions. The fields of education and of international development cooperation have his special attention. Between 1987 and 2005, he was the editor and vice chair of the Dutch scientific journal *BenM, Tijdschrift voor Beleid, politiek en maatschappij* (Policy and Society) and co-edited several books.

<http://www.uu.nl/leg/staff/WEBakker>

Bakker, W.E. 'Een plek voor onze idealen. Ontwikkelingssamenwerking als haven en bouwplaats voor geestelijk engagement', in: Gabriel van den Brink (red.) *De lage landen en het hogere*, Amsterdam, 2012, p. 169-182

Bakker, W.E. and R. Speijcken, '[The elusive quest for the golden standard. Concepts, policies and practices of accountability in development cooperation](#)', UNU-Merit Working papers series, Maastricht, 2011

Bakker, W.E., 'De noord-zuidlijn van verantwoordingsdruk. Doorwerking van veranderende donoreisen in ontwikkelingssamenwerking', in: *Bestuurskunde*, 2008/1 ([bestuurskunde-2008,-nr-1](#))



Bakker, W.E. en E. Engelen, 'Onderwijs en sociale investeringsstaat. De weerbarstige verhouding tussen instrumentele en morele onderwijsdoelen', in: E. Engelen, A. Hemerijck en W. Trommel, *Van sociale bescherming naar sociale investering. Zoektocht naar een andere verzorgingsstaat*, Lemma, Den Haag, 2007

Bakker, W.E., 'Scenario's tussen rationaliteit, systeemdwang en politieke rede', in: *BenM* 2003/4, p.219-229

Bakker, W. E., *Steering on the Tide. Education and Public Policy in between Economy and Personal Development*, (PhD in Dutch with a summary in English), Thela Thesis, Amsterdam, 2001

Ms Katharina BOELE-WOELKI is a professor of Private International Law, Comparative Law and Family Law at UU and an Extraordinary Professor at the University of the Western Cape (South Africa). In January 2011, she was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Uppsala. Her main research interests are same-sex relationships, divorce, parental responsibilities, property relations between spouses and the question whether family law can be harmonised in Europe.

Boele-Woelki, K., A. Fuchs, (2012), "*Legal Recognition of Same-Sex Relationships in Europe*", European Family Law Series No. 32, Intersentia-Antwerp.

Boele-Woelki, K., (2011), "For better or for worse: The Europeanisation of international divorce law", *Yearbook of Private International Law* 2010, 17-41.

Ms Rosi BRAIDOTTI is a professor of Women's Studies at the Arts Faculty of Utrecht University and scientific director of the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies and of the Expertise Centre Gender and Multiculturalism (GEM). She was a fellow at the School of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. She chaired the European Subject Area Evaluation of Women's Studies in 1995, which led to ATHENA, the European Thematic Network of Women's Studies.

Patterns of Dissonance. Trans. Elizabeth Guild. New York: Routledge, 1991.

Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1994.

Participant 2: UA - Universiteit van Antwerpen

UA (University of Antwerp) is the third largest university in Flanders and was founded in 2003 following the merger of three universities. As such, its roots date back to 1852. There are seven faculties hosting approximately 15,000 students – including over 1,200 foreign students, mostly from EU countries. The university is part of the Antwerp University Association (AUHA). Website: <http://www.ua.ac.be/>

The Faculty of Law hosts approximately 2,000 students pursuing Bachelor of Law, Master of Law, Doctor of Law, (advanced) Master of Business Law or (advanced) Master of Tax Law degrees. The faculty also offers postgraduate studies, e.g. the International and European Legal Studies Programme (IELSP). The faculty consists of 30 full-time professors, 40 part-time professors and 60 PhD students. The researchers are united in six research groups: Personal Rights & Property Rights, Business & Law, Government and Law, Law and Development, Law Enforcement and Proper Administration of Justice and Social Competition and Law.

Ms Anne-Marie Van den BOSSCHE is a professor of EU law at the UA, studied law at the universities of Ghent (1986, *Dr iur.* 1994) and Exeter (LL.M. 1987). She was a professor of EC law at the University of Nijmegen (NI, 2000-2007), a law clerk (*référénaire*) at the European Court of Justice (Luxembourg, 1998-2000), and worked for the European Institute of the University of Ghent (1988-1998). Her teaching and research covers European Institutional law and European Economic law with a particular emphasis on European Competition law and Judicial protection in the EU. Personal page:

www.ua.ac.be/main.aspx?c=anne-marie.vandenbossche



Hoornaert L. [edit.], Van den Bossche Anne-Marie [edit.], (2011), "Economische groei in Europa: eerst de crisis, dan het recht", Antwerpen: Intersentia, 2011.- 122 p. - (Studies Europees Recht UA) [Economic Growth in Europe: First the Crisis, Then the Law]

Devroe W., Nihoul P., Van den Bossche Anne-Marie, Verdure Christophe (2011), "Sourcebook on EU competition law 2011-2012" Brussel: Larcier- 848 p. - (Larcier Themawetboeken)

Van den Bossche Anne-Marie, (2010), "Wie beoordeelt EU-concentraties? EDF/SEGEBEL: geen verwijzing naar Belgische mededingingsautoriteit, goedkeuring door EU-Commissie" Tijdschrift voor Belgische mededinging, 4(2010), p. 3-21

Mr Bert DE MUNCK is senior lecturer at the University of Antwerp, Belgium, and vice chair of the History Department (section education). He is director of the Antwerp Centre for Urban History (CSG, www.ua.ac.be/csg), which hosts approx. 50 researchers (6 of which are Faculty Staff) studying diverse aspects of urban history in Europe between the Middle ages and the present day. Thematic clusters include material culture, migration, technological innovation, urban ecology, and civil society and urban identity. The CSG is also the leading group of the Scientific Research Community (WOG) 'Urban Agency. Setting the research agenda of urban history'. While he has worked on apprenticeship, craft guilds, labour and social capital, his personal research interests currently include vocational training and the circulation of technical knowledge, guilds and civil society, the 'repertoires of evaluation' regarding skills and products, levels of governance, and theoretical aspects related to urban history.

A selection of recent publications (more on <http://www.ua.ac.be/main.aspx?c=bert.demunck>) :

Gated communities? Regulating migration in early modern cities (Aldershot, 2012) (ed. with Anne Winter).

Gilding golden ages. Perspectives from early modern Antwerp on the guild-debate, c. 1450- c. 1650', *European Review of Economic History* (2011), pp. 221–253.

'Corpses, live models, and nature. Assessing skills and knowledge before the industrial revolution (case: Antwerp)', *Technology & Culture*, 51 (2010) 2, pp. 332-356.

'From brotherhood community to civil society? Apprentices between guild, household and the freedom of contract in early modern Antwerp', *Social History*, 35 (2010) 1, pp. 1-20.

Mr Henri DE WAELE studied law at the universities of Nijmegen and Leuven, and obtained his Master of Law (2003) and Dr *jur.* degrees (2009) from Radboud University Nijmegen. He also holds the Diploma in European Union Law from the European University Institute in Florence (2009). Since 2010, De Waele has served as a Guest Professor of EU Law at the University of Antwerp, alongside his position as a Senior Lecturer at Radboud University Nijmegen. He has built up a steady track-record in the field of EU Law with a particular emphasis on European Institutional Law. His research has covered various aspects of EU citizenship, the fundamental human and socio-economic rights of migrants, the implementation and effect of EU law in the national legal orders and compliance issues.

De Waele H. (2011), "'The Ever-Evolving Concept of EU Citizenship. Of Paradigm Shifts, Quantum Leaps and Copernican Revolutions', in: Leila S. Talani (ed.), *Globalisation, Migration and the Future of Europe. Insiders and Outsiders*, London: Routledge, pp. 191-207

De Waele H. (2011), 'The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights in Dutch Legal Practice', 34 *Tijdschrift voor de Rechterlijke Macht*, pp. 245-251 (in Dutch)

De Waele H. (2011), 'Ensuring EU Member State Compliance with European Rules and Principles: The Alternatives to Top-Down Enforcement', *Nijmegen Centre for State and Law Research Paper 6/2011*, 26 pp.



De Waele H. (2010) 'EU Citizenship. Revisiting its Meaning, Place and Potential', (2010) 10 European Journal of Migration and Law, pp. 319-336

De Waele H. (2010) 'Progress in Prosperity. Reconciling Economic and Social Policy Objectives in the EU', in: Belgian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, Strengthening Social Mainstreaming in the EU, Brussels: Federal Public Service for Social Security 2010, pp. 7-19 (with Jacques Pelkmans)

Participant 3: UNIZG - Sveučilište u Zagrebu

UNIZG (University of Zagreb) is the oldest and largest university in South-Eastern Europe (1669). The university has been continually growing and developing, and currently consists of 29 faculties, three art academies and the Centre for Croatian Studies. UNIZG is also a strongly research-oriented institution, contributing over 50% of the country's total research output. Website: <http://www.unizg.hr/>

The Faculty of Political Science is a public higher education and scientific institution with over fifty years of experience in conducting higher education training and scientific research in the field of political science, media and communication. It organises undergraduate, graduate and post-graduate programmes in Political Science and Journalism. The faculty conducts a number of research projects commissioned by national and international organisations and public institutions. Scientific and research work at the faculty is carried out by a large number of research teams dealing with the topics of comparative politics, public policy, political theory, international political and economic relations and the media and communications.

Mr Viktor KOSKA is a teaching and research assistant at the Faculty of Political Science, UNIZG where he conducts research on the role of ethnicity, policy measures and institutional provisions for the successful host country integration of former refugees in former Yugoslavia. He holds an MSc degree in Forced Migration from the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford (UK). His research interests include citizenship, forced migration, minority studies and education policy.

Koska, Viktor: "Framing the citizenship regime within the complex triadic nexuses: The case study of Croatia." Accepted for publishing in: Citizenship Studies, Special Issue.

Koska, Viktor (2011): "The evolution of the Croatian citizenship regime: from independence to EU integration." Working paper on Croatian citizenship, CITSEE project, University of Edinburgh.

Koska, Viktor (2011): "Slučaj srpske nacionalne manjine u Hrvatskoj" ("The case study of Serb Minority in Croatia"), Političke analise, 5 (March).

Vedrana BARCEVIC is a teaching and research assistant at the Faculty of Political Science, UNIZG and a PhD student of Ethnic and Migration Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana (Slovenia). Her doctoral dissertation is on the process of Europeanisation of asylum and migration policies in Croatia and its implications for the status of asylum immigrants.

Baričević, Vedrana (2011): "Europske politike azila i migracijske kontrole: perspektiva rubnih zona EU i ljudska prava migranata" ("European Asylum and Migration Policies: the Perspective of Peripheral Zones and Human Rights of Immigrants"), Političke analise, 5 (March).

Baričević, Vedrana (2011): "The Croatian Political Community in Institutional Engineering." Treatises and Documents, Journal of Ethnic Studies, 64: 36 – 68.

Josip SIPCIC is a teaching assistant (external associate) at the Faculty of Political Science, UNIZG. His main research interests are the gender dimensions of post-state socialism, nationalism and citizenship, the gendered discourses of contemporary conservative parties and the political agency of women on the right.



Jurlina Alibegović, Dubravka, Slijepčević, Sunčana and Šipić, Josip: (forthcoming), "The Gender Gap among Local Representatives: A Potential for Local Development?" in Björn Egner and Pieter-Jan Klok (eds.), *Local Councillors in Europe*.

Šipić, Josip (2009): "Rodna ravnopravnost u vremenu ekonomske krize" ("Gender Equality in Times of Economic Crisis"), *Economic Trends and Economic Policy*, 19 (118): 65 - 70.

Stjepan LACKOVIC is a teaching and research assistant at the Higher Business School for Management "Baltazar Adam Krčelić" in Zaprešić. His research interests lie in the fields of constitutional democracy, post-communist constitutionalism, minority rights, constitutional patriotism, normative ethics, transitional justice, nationalism, political and cultural identities. He will be employed as an external researcher or consultant on a short term contract for this project.

Lacković S. (forthcoming) "Constitutional Patriotism as an Alternative to Nationalist Construction of Polity".

Lacković S. (forthcoming) "Czeslaw Milosz on the Collapse of Morality in the 20th Century".

Participant 4: MU-Masarykova Univerzita

MU (Masaryk University) is a well-established and internationally renowned university located in Brno (the Czech Republic). The Faculty of Social Studies is an academic unit within the university which focuses on both education and research in the fields of Sociology, Political Science, International Relations, European Studies, Psychology, Media Studies and Journalism, Social Policy and Social Work, Environmental Studies, Gender Studies, Social Anthropology and Strategic and Security Studies. Individual degree programmes are based on the internationally recognised credit system (ECTS) and provided at Bachelor's, Master's and doctoral levels. Website: <http://www.muni.cz/>

The Department of International Relations and European Studies is an academic institute providing education in the field of international studies. Research by individual members of the department concerns comparative studies of Eastern and Western Europe and the process of European unification, the political and institutional development of the EU, EU enlargement, political parties in Europe and the theory of international relations.

Mr Vit HLOUSEK is an associate professor at the Institute for Comparative Political Research at the MU. He obtained his PhD in Political Science in 2003. His research chiefly focuses on contemporary European political history, the political systems of European countries, the party systems of European countries, Europeanisation of political parties and party systems

Hloušek, V., Kopeček, L. (2010), "Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties. East-Central and Western Europe Compared" 1. vyd. Aldershot: Ashgate, 280 pp.

Hloušek, V., Pšeja, P. (2009), "Europeanisation of Political Parties and the Party System in the Czech Republic", *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Abingdon: Routledge. Taylor and Francis Group, 25, 4, p. 513-539, 27 pp.

Hloušek, V. (2008), „Konflikt versus konsensus. Konfliktní linie, stranické systémy a politické strany v Rakousku 1860-2006 (Conflict versus Consensus. Cleavages, Party Systems, and Political Parties in Austria 1860-2006)", 1. vyd. Brno : Masarykova univerzita, Mezinárodní politologický ústav, 273 pp.

Hloušek, V., Kopeček, L. (2008), "Cleavages in Contemporary Czech and Slovak Politics: Between Persistence and Change. *East European Politics and Societies*, Am. Council of Learned Societies, SAGE, 22, 3, p. 518-552, 35 pp.



Mr Petr KANIOK is a researcher at the Department of International Relations and European Studies at the Faculty of Social Science at MU. Dr Kaniok received his PhD in Political Science in 2006. His long-term research interests include euroscepticism, the presidency of the EU Council, EU institutions and the EU political system.

Kaniok P., (2010), "České předsednictví Rady EU - most přes minulost" [Czech EU Council Presidency - Bridge over History], Brno: IIPS, 2010, 243 p.

Kaniok P. (2010), "Party Based Euroscepticism: Opposing the Commission or the European Integration", *Contemporary European Studies* 2: 2, 2010.

Kaniok P. (2009), "Euroscepticism and European Integration (Ed. with Krisztina Arató), Zagreb: CPI, 2009, 336 p.

Kaniok P. (2007), "Předsednictví Rady EU: příběh půlstoletí (The EU Council Presidency - A Story of an Half Century)", Brno: IIPS, 2008, 170 p.

Kaniok P., Zavesický J., Dostal V. (2007) "Evropský parlament" [European Parliament] Brno: IIPS, 2007, 174 p.

Participant 5: UT - Tartü Ülikool

UT (University of Tartu) is the oldest institution of higher education and research in the Republic of Estonia and was established 1632. The University of Tartu belongs to the top 3% of world's best universities. The University of Tartu is the only classical university in Estonia today. Research at UT focuses on subjects as diverse as medicine and philosophy, genetics and computer science. UT is Estonia's leading centre of research and training. It preserves the culture of the Estonian people and spearheads the country's reputation in research and the provision of higher education. The robust research potential of the university is evidenced by the fact that it is the only Baltic university that has been invited to join the Coimbra Group, a prestigious club of renowned research universities. UT includes nine faculties and four colleges. To support and develop the professional competence of its students and academic staff, the university has entered into bilateral cooperation agreements with 57 partner institutions in 21 countries. Website: <http://www.ut.ee/>

Mr Gaabriel TAVITS is an associate professor at the Institute of Private Law (Faculty of Law at the UT). He obtained his PhD from UT in 2001. His research interests concern culture and society, international and European labour law, international and European security law.

Tavits, G., (2010), "Protection, Involvement and Adaption. European Labour Law in Time of Crisis, Restructuring and Transition: Estonia Country Report"

Tavits G., (2009), "Estland: De Dualismus von Vertrauenspersonen" in Peter Jansen, Otmar Seul (eds), *Das Erweiterte Europa: Arbeitnehmerbeteiligung an der Entscheidungsfindung im Unternehmen* (345-264), Bern: Peter Lang Europaischer Verlag der Wissenschaften

Tavits G., (2009), „Problems in application of the law of obligations to employment relationships in Estonia“ in Mitrus, Leszek (eds.) *Studia z zakresu prawa pracy in polityki społecznej* (533-543). Krakow, Rocznik: Uniwersytet Jagellonski.

Mrs Ragne PIIR is conducting PhD research at the Institute of Private Law (Faculty of Law at the UT). She received her MA degree at the Faculty of Law of the UT. She is currently working as a Councillor at the Supreme Court of Estonia. Her research focuses on culture and society, international private and public law. She has participated in a number of scientific projects, for which she received grants ([Estonian Legal Space in Global Legal Space](#), [Legal pluralism as a danger, challenge and opportunity – Estonian experiences in comparative and historical perspectives](#))



Piir, R. (2010). „Eingreifen oder nicht eingreifen, das ist hier die Frage. Die Problematik der Bestimmung und des Anwendungsbereichs der Eingriffsnormen im internationalen Privatrecht. Juridica International : law review University of Tartu, Estonia, XVII, 199 - 206.“

Ms Merli MENDELMAN is a social worker at the Social Care Department of Tartu City Government, she received her MA in Social Work and Social Policy from UT, in 2006-2008 she conducted a research project entitled “Litigation of Social Security Disputes: Theoretical and Practical Aspects” which was endowed by the Estonian Science Fund. She will receive a fixed term contract with the University of Tartu when the project commences.

Participant 6: AAU - Universitet Aalborg

AAU (University of Aalborg) conducts research in the fields of social sciences, humanities, natural sciences, technical and health sciences. The university has a strong record of participating in and coordinating collaborative international projects, many of which have been sponsored by EU programmes. Website: <http://www.en.aau.dk/>. Research at the **Department of Culture and Global Studies** includes European studies, Gender research, Migration and refugee studies. The main research fields at the Feminist Gender and Research Center (FREIA) are power, democracy and citizenship, welfare equality and integration policies.

Ms Birte SIIM has been a professor of Gender Research in Social Science at the Department of Culture and Global Studies since 2004. She is the national coordinator of the Danish team for Eurosphere - Diversity and the European Public Sphere (FP6 2007-2012). Her research interests include comparative research on gender, diversity and democracy, European and post-national citizenship, welfare, integration and immigration policies. Personal page: <http://personprofil.aau.dk/104482>

Siim B. Mokre M. (forthcoming 2012), “Intersections of Gender and Diversity in the European Public Sphere”, Palgrave 2012.

Siim B. (2012), "Citizenship", in Handbook for Gender and Politics, (fortc.) Oxford University Press.

Ms Anette BORCHORST has been a professor of Gender and Politics since 2008. She has managed a number of research projects, including projects on gender, power and politics. Her current research interests focus on institutionalising intersectionality (tackling multiple and intersectional discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, class and on other grounds) and institutional settings and barriers to addressing inequality and discrimination. Personal page: <http://personprofil.aau.dk/106245>

Borchorst A. (forthcoming 2012), “Institutionalising Intersectionality in the Nordic Countries? Anti-Discrimination and Equality in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden” (with Lenita Freidenvall, Johanna Kantola, Liza Reisel & Mari Teigen), In Andrea Krizan, Hege Skjeie, Judith Squires (eds.), Institutionalising Intersectionality?: Comparative Analyses, Palgrave, Macmillan (In print).

Borchorst A. (2011), “Scandinavian Gender Equality: Competing Discourses and Paradoxes”, In Elisabetta Addis, Paloma de Villota, Florence Degavre & John Eriksen (eds.) Gender and Well-Being: The Role of Institutions , Ch. 3, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011, pp. 63-75.

Ms Lise Rolandsen AGUSTIN holds a PhD degree (2011) in gender studies from Aalborg University (Denmark). She is an assistant professor in Gender Equality and Diversity in Europe at the Department of Culture and Global Studies, AAU. Her research interests include social movements and transnational women’s activism, multiple discrimination, intersectionality and diversity, as well as EU gender equality policies and policy-making processes.



Agustin L., Lombardo E. (forthcoming), "Framing gender intersections in the European Union: what implications for the quality of intersectionality in policies?", *Social Politics*.

Agustin L. (2012), "(Re)defining women's interests? Political struggles over women's collective representation in the context of the European Parliament". *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 19(1);

Ms Pauline STOLTZ is an associate professor of Gender Research in Social Science at the Department of Culture and Global Studies at the AAU. Her research interests include comparative research on equality and diversity; citizenship, including the citizenship of children and global citizenship; human rights, welfare, integration and immigration policies.

Stoltz, P. (under review) 'Children, Transitional Justice and Situated Cosmopolitanism'

Anders H., Nilsson T. and Stoltz P. (forthcoming, April 2012) 'Nationalism vs. Nationalism - The challenge of the Sweden Democrats in the Swedish Public Debate', *Government and Opposition*

Stoltz, Pauline (2011) 'Canons and communities – Children and social cohesion in Sweden and the Netherlands' in *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*. March 2011; 6 (1)

Participant 7: UCPH - Københavns Universitet

UCPH (University of Copenhagen) is the largest institution of research and education in Denmark with over 37,000 students and more than 7,000 employees. The motivational force behind the university's research activities is financial and political independence. Specific collaborative endeavours with other institutions and companies have a special place among the university's countless research activities. The dissemination of knowledge and findings to other research environments and the general public is a natural element of the university's research efforts. The diversity of academic environments and scientific approaches is the University of Copenhagen's distinguishing feature and strength.

UCPH is subdivided into eight academic fields referred to as faculties. The faculties are subdivided into departments and institutes, the primary workplaces of the university's researchers. The university is also home to a number of centres, interdisciplinary projects and other units that typically focus their work on research in more specific academic fields. Website: <http://www.ku.dk/>

Ms Ulla NEERGAARD is a professor of EU law at the Faculty of Law at UCPH. She holds a PhD degree from the European University Institute, Florence, Italy. Since 1998, Dr Neergaard has been an academic at the Law Department at the Copenhagen Business School, Denmark, most recently as a professor of competition law, but for several years she was responsible for fundamental EU law teaching and administration. Since 2009, Neergaard has been a professor at the Law Faculty at the University of Copenhagen. She has, since 2011, been the president of the Danish organisation concerning EU Law (subsidiary of F.I.D.E., i.e. Fédération Internationale pour le Droit Européen) and she is the president of F.I.D.E. for 2013-14.

She has published widely on EU competition law as well as on more fundamental EU law. Among other things, she is a co-author of a textbook on EU Law and another on EU Competition Law. She has been involved in the international research projects: *Blurring Boundaries: EU Law and the Danish Welfare State*, and *The Changing Legal Framework for Services of General Interest in Europe. Between Competition and Solidarity* which have led to several publications. Over the coming years, she will be involved in international research projects concerning among other things: 1) *Towards a European Legal Method: Synthesis or Fragmentation*; and 2) *'ToMaS': Transformation of Markets and States*'. Her research interests include free movement law, EU citizenship, EU competition law, European legal methods and services of general interest. See for a brief CV and publications:



<http://jura.ku.dk/cesel/ansatte/?id=369733&vis=medarbejder>

Neergaard, U. (2011), "Promoting Solidarity in the European Union" in Malcolm Ross and Yuri Borgmann-Prebil (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), xviii+312pp., *European Law Review*, s. 911

Neergaard U., Nielsen R., (2010), "Blurring Boundaries: From the Danish Welfare State to the European Social Model?", *European Labour Law Journal*, vol. 1, nr. 4, s. 434-488

Neergaard, U., (2009), "Tobia Indien: Kommunen som konkurrent. Kommunalrættslige befogenheter och konkurrensrættslige begrænsninger", ak. Avh., Instus forlag, 2008, 416

Mr Jens Elo RYTTER is a professor of constitutional law at the Faculty of Law, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. He has worked as a legal scholar since 1996 and was appointed professor primo 2010. He has published widely nationally as well as internationally in the field of human rights and constitutional law, notably on the interplay between European inter/supranational protection and the national protection of human rights. He has also, on several occasions, been involved in drafting reports for the Danish Government on human rights and international legal issues. He is a member of the Faculty's Centre for European Constitutionalisation and Security. He is a member of the board of the Danish Institute of Human Rights. He is a member of the European Group of Public Law.

Rytter, JE., (2010), "Which Freedom of the Press?: The Press Conceived as an 'Open Forum or a 'Privileged Watchdog', *Scandinavian Studies in Law*, vol 55, pp. 181-209

Rytter, JE., (2009), "[Undtagelsestilstanden og dens judicielle efterprøvelse: Suspension af menneskerettigheder i kampen mod terrorisme](#)", *Juristen*, Vol. 91, no 4, pp. 103-116

Rytter, JE., (2006), "Den Europæiske Menneskerettighedskonvention - og dansk ret, 2. udg." Thomson, København.

Participant 8: UP8- Université Paris 8/EHESS

UP8 (University of Paris 8) is a place for research and teaching in the humanities and social sciences. It is a major teaching and research centre for humanities in the Île-de-France region. The main objective of Université Paris 8 - with its focus on humanities, human sciences, arts and social sciences has always been to give students a better understanding of the modern world while simultaneously enabling them to achieve long-term integration into society. To this day, Université Paris 8 has always insisted on maintaining strong links between research and teaching, adapting teaching methods to different kinds of audiences and providing education for all, at every stage of life. Website: <http://www.univ-paris8.fr>

Mr Philippe MINARD is a professor of economic and social history at the UP8 and a professor at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris). He specialises in the early and modern economic and social history of France and England. He has published several books about work and workers, economy and economic policy in eighteenth-century France and Britain. Professor Minard is one of the editors of a mainstream academic journal in France: *Revue d'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*. He is currently working on a new book concerning labour law and economic institutions in France and Britain, 1688-1848.

Minard P., "Facing uncertainty: Markets, norms and conventions in the eighteenth century », in Perry Gauci (dir.), *Regulating the British Economy 1660-1850*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2011, p. 177-194.

Minard P., "Corporations", in Alessandro Stanziani (éd.), *Dictionnaire historique de l'économie-droit, XVIIIe-XXe siècles*, Paris, LGDJ, 2007, p. 103-114



Minard P., "Trade without institution? French debates about restoring guilds at the start of the Nineteenth Century", in Ian GADD, Patrick WALLIS (ed.), *Guilds and Association in Europe, 1200-1900*, London, Institute of Historical Research, 2007, p. 83-100

Participant 9: GUF - Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

GUF (Goethe-University Frankfurt) is positioned among the top international research universities and offers a wide range of academic programmes, a diverse group of research institutes and focuses on interdisciplinary approaches to solving complex problems. Website: www.uni-frankfurt.de
The social sciences represented at the Faculty of Social Sciences find their proof of quality, international reputation and lasting attractiveness to students in the comprehensive representation and integration of the disciplines of sociology, political science and social psychology. The organisation of the disciplines into three institutes characterises social sciences at Frankfurt University.

The Institute for Political Science is the centre of political science teaching and research in Frankfurt. The institute's research activities are grouped into four key areas: Normative and Conceptual Foundations of Politics, Democracy and State, World Society, World Development and World Order including Peace and Conflict Research, and Didactics of Social Sciences.

Ms Sandra SEUBERT is a professor of Political Theory at Goethe-University Frankfurt. She obtained her PhD in 1998 with a dissertation on "Justice and Benevolence: A Kantian Approach to Civic Virtues" from the Free University Berlin. Her main focus in respect to this proposal will concern (with the main emphasis on conceptual analysis, but open to empirical investigation): (1) Citizenship as the legal and institutional framing of Politics; (2) Civil society as a locale of civic activities; (3) civiness as a social practice.

Seubert S., Dynamics of modern citizenship. Democracy and Peoplehood in a global era (ECPR – manuscript, currently under review)

Seubert S., Politisches Handeln in der Zivilgesellschaft, in Buchstein, Hubertus (Eds): Politisches Handeln – Modelle, Möglichkeiten, Kompetenzen. Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung (forthcoming January 2012)

Seubert S., Wo findet die Demokratie ihre Bürger? Ressourcen des Bürgerschaftlichen unter Bedingungen der De-Nationalisierung, in: vorgänge. Zeitschrift für Bürgerrecht und Gesellschaftspolitik, 2/2010, 4-16

Seubert S., Das Konzept des Sozialkapitals. Eine demokratietheoretische Analyse, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt a.M./New York 2009

Seubert S., Special Issue (editor) Sozialkapital und Integration. Überforderte Zivilgesellschaft? In Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen 3/2009.

Seubert S., Gerechtigkeit und Wohlwollen. Bürgerliches Tugendverständnis nach Kant, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt a.M./New York 1999

Participant 10: Usiegen - Universität Siegen

USiegen (University of Siegen) is a young, modern institute of higher education located centrally in the area bordering the three German federal states of Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia and Rhineland-Palatine. The University of Siegen hosts 15,702 students and more than 11% of these are from other countries. The University of Siegen offers a variety of [degree programmes](#) across four different faculties. The wide range of [research](#) activities includes basic and applied research across all faculties. In addition, there are numerous



science centres and facilities, as well as IT, language and communications services. Website: <http://www.uni-siegen.de>

Mr Christoph STRÜNCK is a full professor of political science at the Department of Social Sciences at the University of Siegen. His research interests focus on consumer interests, consumer rights and consumer policy, professional associations and interest groups, and regulatory politics.

Strünck, C. (2010): Public Pushing for Pension Reform? The Short-term Impact of Media Coverage on Long-term Policy Making in Germany, Britain and the United States. In: Sigrid Koch-Baumgarten/Katrin Voltmer (ed): Public Policy and Mass Media. The Interplay of Mass Communication and Political Decision Making. London: Routledge, 179-193.

Strünck, C. (2008): Claiming consumers' rights. Patterns and limits of adversarial legalism in European consumer protection. In: German Policy Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1, 167-192.

Strünck, C. (2008): Puffing Away? Explaining the Politics of Tobacco Control in Germany. In: German Politics, 17/2, 140-164 (with Thilo Grüning and Anna B. Gilmore).

Strünck, C. (2005): Mix-Up: Models of Governance and Framing Opportunities in U. and EU Consumer Policy. In: Journal of Consumer Policy, 2, 1-28.

Participant 11: DUTH - Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης

DUTH (Democritus University of Thrace) is the third largest University in Greece and has locations in four cities in Northern Greece. It comprises 21 departments, ranging from a fully-fledged Polytechnic School and a large School of Medicine to a wide range of Social Sciences, such as Greek and Foreign Literature, Anthropology, Law, Social Administration, etc. The DUTH participates, either as a partner or as a leader in all major EU funded programmes, including the on-going FP 7. <http://www.duth.gr>

Mr Vassilis HATZOPOULOS is an associate professor of European Law and Policy at the DUTH, a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe (Bruges, Belgium) and an Honorary Lecturer at the University of Nottingham. From 1996 – 2006, Dr Hatzopoulos was a visiting associate professor at the Kapodistrian University of Athens/PSE. He obtained his PhD degree in Strasbourg, France, his LL.M from Cambridge, UK and his DEEA/LL.M from College of Europe. He completed his post-doctoral research in Ann Arbor, MI, USA. Dr Hatzopoulos focuses on services provision and the free movement of persons and the EU fundamental freedoms, healthcare, the social dimension of the EU and corresponding modes of governance such as Mutual Recognition and the Open Method of Coordination.

Hatzopoulos V., (2012) (forthcoming) 'Mutual recognition in the field of services' in I. Lianos & O. Odudu (eds) Regulating Trade in Services in the EU and the WTO: Trust, Distrust and Economic Integration, Cambridge, CUP (forthcoming, 2012).

Hatzopoulos V., (2012), "Regulating Services in the EU", Oxford: OUP, 355 pages

Hatzopoulos V., (2010), 'Le principe de la reconnaissance mutuelle dans la libre prestation de services' Cahiers de droit Européen vol. 45 n. 1/2010, 48-93.

Hatzopoulos V., (2010), «Public procurement and state aid in national healthcare systems» in Mossialos, E., Permanand, G., Baeten, R. and Hervey, T. (eds.), Health Systems Governance in Europe: the role of EU law and policy, Cambridge, CUP, 381-420.



Hatzopoulos V., (2010), 'Labour immigration through the back door? The free provision of services as a facilitator of migration flows' in G. Menz & A. Caviedes (eds) *Labour Migration in Europe*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2010, 150-179.

Hatzopoulos V., (2010), 'Liberalising trade in services: Creating new migration opportunities' *Tidskrift utgiven av Juridiska Föreningen i Finland* (1-2/2010) 39-68.

Hatzopoulos V., (2009), «Current problems of social Europe» in J. Baquero-Cruz & C. Closa (eds) *European Integration from Rome to Berlin 1957-2007, History, Law and Politics*, Brussels etc., PIE Peter Lang, 147-180.

Hatzopoulos V., (2009), «Services of General interest in Healthcare: An exercise in deconstruction?» in U. Neergaard, L. Roseberry & R. Nielsen (eds), *Integrating welfare functions into EU law – From Rome to Lisbon*, Copenhagen, DJOF Publishing, 225-252.

Participant 12: CEU - Közép-Európai Egyetem

CEU (Central European University) is a privately funded and endowed postgraduate training institution well known for its high level interdisciplinary research. The most innovative approaches to different disciplines are promoted and eminent scholars teach and visit the university every year. It can be regarded as an exceptional place for multi-cultural studies since, from its inception in the early 1990s, it has implemented a systematically multi-cultural policy of recruiting its staff and students in a multicultural environment and promotes research with targets interesting to a number of countries, nations and regions in Central and Eastern Europe as well as elsewhere. Website: <http://www.ceu.hu/>

Mr Uwe PUETTER is a professor at the Department of Public Policy and the Director of the Center for European Union Research (both units within the CEU). He is the Academic Director of Public Policy and holds the Jean Monnet Chair in European Public Policy and Governance. From 2006 to 2008, Uwe Puetter served as the first Head of the DPP. He has an excellent track record in research and publications in the field of European economic and monetary integration as well as the study of the Council and the European Council, and changing intergovernmental relations in the EU.

Puetter U., (2012), "Europe's deliberative intergovernmentalism – the role of the Council and European Council in EU economic governance, in: *Journal of European Public Policy*," Vol. 19, No. 2.

Puetter U., (2009), „Die Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Europäischen Union“, Vienna/Stuttgart: Facultas WUV, UTB Politikwissenschaft. (The economic and social policy of the European Union).

Puetter U., (2008), "Adapting to enlargement: the role of formal and informal processes of institutional adjustment in EU committee governance" in: *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 30, No. 4.

Ms Marie-Pierre GRANGER is an associate professor at the Department of Public Policy, the Legal Studies and International Relations and European Affairs departments. She is also a founding member of the Center for European Union Research. She has degrees in both political science (Sciences Po, Lyon) and law (Maitrise Public Law, Lyon; DEA European law, Montpellier; PhD Law, Exeter). Her research focuses on judicial preferences, judicial decision making and litigation in the EU, interactions between national and EU courts, access to justice and state liability in reviews such as *The Modern Law Review*, *European Law Review*, *Comparative European Politics*, etc.

Granger M., (2008) 'Governments' Agents before the European Court of Justice: Between European Law and Politics' in Vauchez and De Witte (eds), *The European Legal Field*, (Forthcoming 2012) Hart Publishing.



Granger M., (2008) 'Les stratégies contentieuses des États devant la Cour', In Dans la Fabrique du Droit Européen : scènes, acteurs et publics de la Cour de justice des Communautés européennes (Brussels, Editions E. Bruylant) (2009) 64-124

Granger M., (2008) 'France is "already" back in Europe: the Europeanisation of French Courts and the influence of France in the EU' 14:3 (2008) European Public Law 333-373.

Ms Andrea KRIZSAN is a research fellow at the Center for Policy Studies at the CEU. Her work focuses on the comparative understanding of public policy responses to various forms of inequality, specifically gender, race, ethnicity and disability, and their intersections, and to gender violence as a manifestation of inequality. She is particularly interested in the role of non-traditional policy actors and inclusive forms of governance in bringing policy innovation to the equality field.

Krizsan A., (forthcoming 2012), "Institutionalising Intersectionality". Volume contracted at Palgrave MacMillan. Forthcoming 2012. With Hege Skeje and Judith Squires eds.

Krizsan A. (2011), "Identity Politics or Social Inclusion? Policy Dilemmas on Ethnic Counting in Hungary" Ethnic and Racial Studies Special Issue on Ethnic Counting edited by Patrick Simon and Victor Piche. Published on iFirst September.

Krizsan A. (2011), "Europeanisation in Making Anti-Domestic Violence Policies in Central and Eastern Europe." Social Politics, Vol.17/3

Participant 13: UCD –University College Dublin

University College Dublin is one of Europe's leading research-intensive universities where undergraduate education, postgraduate masters and PhD training, research, innovation and community engagement form a dynamic continuum of activity. Today UCD is Ireland's largest university with almost 25,000 students. UCD is Ireland's leader in postgraduate education with almost 7,000 postgraduate students, representing approximately 28% of the UCD student population, and almost 2,000 PhD students. Website: <http://www.ucd.ie/>

The School of Politics and International Relations at UCD is the largest and most diverse in Ireland, with especial strengths in the political theory of citizenship, development, justice and human rights.

Mr Graham FINLAY is a lecturer at the School of Politics and International relations at UCD (since 2004). In 2002-2004, he was a lecturer at the Department of Philosophy at Trinity College Dublin. He obtained his PhD in 2002 from Johns Hopkins University. He is also a lecturer at the European Master's Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation (Venice). Dr Finlay's research interests are the theory of citizenship education and its relationship to global justice, migration, development and human rights. I am particularly interested in EU citizenship as a model for cosmopolitan citizenship.

Finlay Graham and Gumede Vusi, (2011), 'A Global Civics Curriculum for 2011-2012: Introduction to Concepts and Theories', in Hakan Altinay, ed., Global Civics: Responsibilities and Rights in an Interdependent World, Brookings Institution Press.

Mancini Joanne and Finlay Graham, (2009) "'Citizenship Matters': Lessons from the Irish Citizenship Referendum", American Quarterly, 60.3, September, 2008, Winner, Best Special Issue 2009, Council of Editors of Learned Journals. Reprinted in David G. Gutiérrez and Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, eds., Nation and Migration: Past and Future, The Johns Hopkins University Press.



Finlay Graham, (2008) 'Comprehensive Liberalism and Civic Education in the Republic of Ireland', Irish Political Studies 22.4, December, 2007, reprinted in Jurgen de Wispelaere, Cillian McBride and Shane O'Neill, eds., Recognition, Equality and Democracy: Theoretical Perspectives on Irish Politics, London: Routledge.

Participant 14: HUJI - מילשוריב תירבעה הטיסרבינואה - HUJI

HUJI (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) is the leading research university in Israel. It is one of the top 60 universities in the world. Among its faculty and its former students are a number of Nobel Prize winners. There are currently 21,000 students at the university and these students study at a wide variety of life and social sciences faculties and schools. The 900 academic faculty members at the university undertake research in very diverse fields and at the cutting edge in their disciplines. Many of the faculty members have close ties with scholars at leading universities in Europe and collaborate on a wide range of topics. Website: <http://www.huji.ac.il/>

Mr John GAL is a professor and Dean at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work and Social Welfare at the HUJI. His fields of interest include social policy in Israel and in a comparative perspective, and policy practice in social work. Professor Gal has published extensively in academic journals and has been very much involved in social policy formulation in Israel.

Gal, J. and Oser, J. (2011). Immigration and poverty: The implications of a categorical immigration policy. In E. Carmel, A. Cerami and T. Papadopoulos (eds.), Migration and welfare in the "new" Europe. Bristol: Polic

Gal, J. (2010). Is there an extended family of Mediterranean welfare states? Journal of European Social Policy, 20:4, 283-300.

Ajzenstadt, M. and Gal, J. [eds.] [2010]. Children, families and gender in Mediterranean welfare states. Dordrecht: Springer.

Gal, J. and Ajzenstadt, M. (eds.) (2009). Access to social justice in Israel. Jerusalem: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel. (Hebrew)

Gal, J. (2008). Immigration and the categorical welfare state in Israel. Social Service Review, 82:4, 639-661.

Gal, J. (2007). The puzzling warfare-welfare nexus. War and Society, 26:99-117.

Mr David LEVI-FAUR is an associate professor at the School of Public Policy and the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is also a founding editor of Regulation & Governance, a Willey-Blackwell's journal that aims to serve as a leading platform for the study of regulation and governance in the social sciences. He has held research and teaching positions at the University of Haifa, the University of Oxford, the Australian National University and the University of Manchester. He has held visiting positions at the London School of Economics, the University of Amsterdam, the University of Utrecht and the University of California (Berkeley). He is currently working on a book manuscript entitled "Regulating Capitalism: Governance and the Global Spread of Regulatory Agencies" to be published by Princeton University Press. His recent work includes special issues of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Capitalism, co-edited with Jacint Jordana) and Governance (Varieties of Regulatory Capitalism).

Levi-Faur, D. [Ed.] (2011), "Handbook on Governance", Oxford University Press, in preparation, after contract, expected completion 2011

Levi-Faur, D. [Ed.] (2011), "Handbook on Regulation, Edward Elgar, after contract, expected completion 2011.



Orit Gertzek-Rapport, D. Levi-Faur & Dan Miodownik, (2009) [The Puzzle of the Diffusion of Central Bank Independence Reforms: Insights from an agent-based simulation](#), Political Studies Journal, Vol 37(4), 2009, pp. 695-716. [The final official version is available from here](#)

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Participant 15: UNITN - Universita' di Trento

UNITN (University of Trento) is a young, medium-sized university, which offers an excellent quality of life. One of the university's strengths is its outstanding international character evidenced by the many cooperation projects with foreign universities (which open up many opportunities for studying and working abroad), the community of foreign professors visiting Trento and the institution of some courses that are provided entirely in English. The university's 7 faculties [offer 53 programmes](#), numerous professional master's and lifelong learning courses. There are also 3 higher education schools, 13 research departments, and 15 doctoral schools. An impressive array, especially for a small-medium sized university. UNITN is situated at three distinct sites. The Faculties of [Economics](#), [Law](#), [Sociology](#), [Humanities and Philosophy](#), and the [Schools of International Studies](#) and of [Local Development](#) are all located close together in the heart of the historic centre of Trento. Website: <http://www.unitn.it/>

Ms Elena IORIATTI is a professor of Comparative legal systems and legal translation. She is an expert on legal terminology appointed by the European Commission and the scientific coordinator of the Transnational Law Programme. Her personal webpage: <http://www.jus.unitn.it/user/home.asp?cod=elena.ioriatti>

Ioriatti Ferrari E. (2011), "Responsabilità extracontrattuale nel diritto dell'Unione Europea (voce), Digesto delle discipline privatistiche (diretto da Rodolfo Sacco), sezione civile. Utet, 2011.

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Ioriatti Ferrari E. (2009). "Linguistic Precedent and Nomadic Meanings in EC Private Law", Revista General de Derecho Público Comparado, n. 6.

Ms Valentina MOSCON is a post-doctoral researcher of Private Law at the UNITN (Faculty of Law, Department of Legal Sciences). She teaches Copyright Law and Private Law. She is also the author of several articles on Computer Law, Copyright Law, Tort Law, Contract Law and other subjects. Her personal webpage: <http://www.lawtech.jus.unitn.it/index.php/people/valentina-moscon>

Moscon V., Rappresentazione informatica dei diritti tra contratto e diritto d'autore, in Ciberspazio e diritto, 2010, 587 Available at <http://eprints.biblio.unitn.it/archive/00001930/>;

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Moscon V., Copyright law, Contract law and Rights Expression Languages, working paper available at <http://eprints.biblio.unitn.it/archive/00001790/>;

Mr Paolo GUARDA is post-doctoral researcher of Comparative Law at the UNITN (Faculty of Law, Department of Legal Sciences). He teaches Intellectual Property and Transfer of Knowledge at the University. He is also the author of several articles on computer law, data protection and other subjects, law and language.



Guarda P., (2011), "Fascicolo sanitario elettronico e protezione dei dati personali", Trento, available at: <http://eprints.biblio.unitn.it/archive/00002212/>

Guarda P., (2011), "Open Access to Legal Scholarship and Open Archives: Toward a Better Future? in M.A. BIASIOTTI, S. FARO (eds.), From Information to Knowledge – Online access to legal information: methodologies, trends and perspectives, IOS Press, 143-151 (also available at: <http://eprints.biblio.unitn.it/archive/00002274/>)

Guarda P., (2009), "The Myth of Odin's Eye: Privacy vs. Knowledge", in M. Fernandez-Barrera, N.N. Gomes de Andrade, P. de Filippi, M.V. de Azevedo Cunha, G. Sartor, P. Casanovas (eds.), The Law and Technology: Looking into the Future, European Press Academic Publishing, Firenze, 243 (available at SSRN http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1432788)

Participant 16: UNITO - Universita Degli Studi Di Torino

University of Torino is one of the most ancient Italian Universities. It is open to an international perspective in the fields of both research and training. It has for a considerable number of years successfully participated in research projects funded by the European Union as well as by other international organisations.

The Department of Social Sciences is one of the largest in Italy and includes sociologists from four faculties at the [University of Turin](http://www.unito.it/). It comprises 17 full professors, 17 associate professors, 20 assistant professors, 28 research assistants and PhD students, plus 9 employees. In 2013, the department will host the next ESA (European Sociological Association) conference Website: <http://www.unito.it/>

Ms Manuela NALDINI is an associate professor of Sociology at the UNITO, Faculty of Political Science. She obtained her PhD at the European University in Florence. She is an expert on comparative family policies and on conciliating policies, her research focuses on southern European welfare states; on comparative policies in the area of child allowances, child care services, maternity, parental leave and on elderly care policies.

Naldini, M., Saraceno C., (2011), "Conciliare famiglia e lavoro: vecchi e nuovi patti tra i sessi e tra le generazioni" Bologna, Il Mulino.

Naldini, M. (2011) "Introduction. Feminist Views on Social Policy and Gender Equality", in: Naldini M. (ed.) "Gender and Welfare State. A Feminist Debate", "Gender and Welfare State. A Feminist Debate", in Sociologica, 1/2011 available at: <http://www.sociologica.mulino.it/doi/10.2383/34626>.

Naldini, M., Da Roit B. (2010) "Should I stay or should I go? Combining work and care for an older parent in Italy, in South European Society & Politics, Vol. 15, Issue, 4, pp. 531-551

Ms Cristina SOLERA is currently a researcher at the Social Sciences Department at the UNITO. She obtained a PhD in Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute in Florence. She is currently working on the effect of level-d type education on women's employment and fertility, on the link between atypical employment, family formation and employment interruptions, on family-work reconciliation strategies, on the transition to adulthood and on elderly care and caring policies. Her main areas of interest are comparative social policy and family policy, gender studies, longitudinal analyses of women's and couple's labour-market participation and fertility.

Naldini M., M. Solera, (forthcoming), C. e Torrioni, p. (eds) Corsi di vita, generazioni e mutamento sociale. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Mencarini, L and Solera, C. (2011) "Percorsi verso la vita adulta tra lavoro e famiglia: differenze per genere, istruzione e coorte". In: Sartor N., Schizzerotto A. e Trivellato U. (a cura di) Generazioni diseguali. Le condizioni di vita dei giovani di ieri e di oggi: un confronto. Bologna: Il Mulino: pp. 175-209.



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Participant 17: UJ- Uniwersytet Jagielloński

UJ (Jagiellonian University) is one of the top Polish universities. With 15 faculties, 48 departments, 59 fields of study and 137 specialisations it offers students a broad range of undergraduate, postgraduate and PhD programmes. During the 2009-2010 academic year, it had 44,959 students, 1,197 of whom from abroad and more than 2,500 PhD students working in 30 disciplines. JU employs approximately 3,700 academic teachers (incl. 500 full professors). The JU has the highest number of publications and citations per academic worker in Poland. Website: <http://www.uj.edu.pl/>

The Faculty of Law and Administration is one of the best law faculties in Poland. The **Chair of Labour Law and Social Policy** was established to conduct research in fields related to international, European and domestic employment law, social security law and social policy.

Mr Andrzej SWIATKOWSKI is a professor at the Faculty of Law and Administration at the UJ, he is the author of more than 600 books, studies and articles in the field of European, Polish and international labour law and social policy (manpower and social welfare). He is a member of the European Committee of Social Rights of the council of Europe and a Jean Monnet professor of European labour law and social policy.

Swiatkowski A., (2012), "European Union Private International Labour Law", Jagiellonian University Press.

Swiatkowski A., (2012), "Polskie prawo pracy" [Polish labour law], Warsaw.

Swiatkowski A., (2010), "Międzynarodowe prawo pracy" (two volumes), [International Labour Law], Warsaw.

Mr Hieronim KUBIAK is a professor of sociology at the UJ and at the Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Krakow University (Poland). His specialisation is the sociology of nation-building processes, international migration, ethnicity, political sociology and European integration. Alongside an academic career, he also has wide-ranging experience as an editor, politician and an expert for both the government of Poland and for a number of international organisations.

Kubiak H., (2011), "Polish Poverty Seen from the European Union Perspective"

Kubiak H., (2010), "Political Parties and Democracy: The Polish Case"

Kubiak H., (2007), "On the Threshold of the Post-Westphalia Era. A Theory of Nation"

Mr Marcin WUJCZYK PhD is a lecturer at the Chair of Labour Law and Social Policy at the Faculty of Law and Administration at the UJ. He teaches labour law and social policy. He is also a visiting lecturer at the National University de Tres de Febrero in Buenos Aires. He is an attorney at law and an expert in labour law, especially with regard to employee rights to information and consultation, and their right to privacy. He is the author of a number of publications on employment and labour law, including, among other things, a monograph, published conference papers, journal articles as well as several practical testing handbooks for entrance examinations to post-graduate legal training courses.



Wujczyk M., Prawo pracownika do ochrony prywatności (Employee's right to privacy protection).

Ms Ewelina PASLEJKO, Ph. D. is a student at the Jagiellonian University who specialises in employment law and issues relating to property accountability of employees in particular.

Participant 18: UNIOVI - Universidad de Oviedo

UNIOVI (University of Oviedo) is a public institution, with more than 1,500 researchers and 250 research groups, devoted to higher education teaching and research that fosters the social, economic and cultural development of the local community through the generation and diffusion of knowledge. The UNIOVI was among the eight first universities in Spain to be awarded the seal of "Campus of International EXCELLENCE". Website: <http://www.uniovi.es/>

Ms Silvia Gómez ANSÓN, is employed as an associate professor of Finance at the Universidad de Oviedo. Her research focuses on corporate finance, corporate governance and privatisations, and gender-related issues.

Mr Leopoldo Tolivar ALAS is the President of the Asturian Academy of Jurisprudence and a professor of Administrative Law at the UNIOVI. Dr Alas' research interests include the legal regime of social services, including health.

Mr Sergio González BEGEGA is an associate lecturer at the department of Sociology at the UNIOVI. His research activity centres on European industrial relations; the dynamics of workers' interests representation and participation in social dialogue/collective bargaining at national and EU level; democratic control of corporate decision making in transnational companies; EU political legitimatisation and changes to citizens' perception of the EC institutions in the context of the economic crisis.

Ms Ana Rosa Argüelles BLANCO is an associate professor in Labour and Social Security Law at UNIOVI. Her research interests focus on labour law, working hours regulation, work-life balance rights, equal opportunities and gender in labour relations, and collective bargaining.

Mr Hans van DEN BROEK is associate professor of Sociology at the UNIOVI. His research lines chiefly concentrate on immigration and integration, and economic and political development in China.

Ms Carmen Benavides GONZÁLES is an associate professor of Applied Economics at the UNIOVI where she teaches Economics of the EU and Regional Economics.

Mr Fernando Manzano LEDESMA is a lecturer in Modern History at the UNIOVI. His research interests focus on population, social history, economic history and the history of attitudes.

Ms Miriam Cueto PÉREZ is Profesora Titular de Derecho Administrativo. Between 2007-2011, she was the director of University Policy at the Government of Principality of Asturias. Her research interests include Public institutions liability, Health policy, Education policy, citizens' claims, social assistance.

Ms Paz de Andrés SANTAMARIA is a professor of International Public Law and International Relations at the UNIOVI. Her research interests focus on the evolution of European integration from the view of citizens: EU citizenship and safeguarding fundamental rights within the EU.

Mr Javier González VEGA is a professor of Public International Law (including European Law) and International Relations at the UNIOVI. Dr Vega is an Education Counsellor (Attaché) at the Permanent Representation of the Kingdom of Spain before the European Union in Brussels (Belgium).

Ms Margarita Argüelles VÉLEZ is an associate professor of Applied Economics at the UNIOVI where she teaches Economics of the EU and Regional Economics.



Mr Luis Antonio Fernández VILLAZÓN is an associate professor in Labour and Social Security Law at the UNIOVI. His research interests focus on labour law, working hour regulations, work-life balance rights, equal opportunities and gender in labour relations, collective bargaining.

Fagan, C.; González, M.; Gómez Ansón, S. (2012 forthcoming): Women on corporate boards and in elite management: European trends and policy, Palgrave Macmillan.

Alas L.T., (2011), "Leyes de Aguas y aguas sin ley en el Principado de Asturias. Discurso de ingreso en el Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos", contestado por D. Juan Ignacio Ruiz de la Peña Solar, RIDEA, Principado de Asturias, Oviedo, 106 pp.

Cueto Pérez, M (2011): "Igualdad en la enseñanza universitaria y en la investigación. Comentarios a la Ley de Igualdad", Tirant Lo Blanc, Valencia

Andrés Saenz de Santa María, P (forthcoming): La adhesión de la Unión Europea al Convenio Europeo de Derechos Humanos y la preservación de las obligaciones derivadas del artículo 344 del Tratado de Funcionamiento de la Unión Europea, in Liber Amicorum Prof. Claudio Zanghi.

Vega J., Andrés Sáenz de Santa María P., Fernández Pérez B., (forthcoming), „Handbook Sistema de Derecho Internacional Público, Madrid, 2011, with P. Andrés Sáenz de Santa María , and Introducción al Derecho de la Unión Europea, Eurolex, 2nd. ed., Madrid with

Participant 19: UPF - Universitat Pompeu Fabra Barcelona

UPF (Pompeu Fabra University) was established as a public university in Barcelona in 1990. Committed from its beginnings to the pursuit of excellence, it provides 22 undergraduate programmes, 91 master courses and 9 doctoral degrees in the fields of social sciences and humanities, biomedical sciences and communication and information technologies. Website: <http://www.upf.edu/>

At UPF and in its Research Service within the Vice-Rectorate for Research there is a specific unit with specialised staff who deal with European projects, mainly FP6 and FP7. During FP5 and FP6, UPF took part in 76 different R&D projects with a total funding of 17.4 million euros. Overall participation in FP7 so far includes 83 projects and a total funding of 37.4 million euros. Over 50% of these projects were granted under the Cooperation programme, 18 projects under People and 11 projects under Ideas which amounts to a total EC contribution of 14.4 million euros.

Ms Clara Isabel VELASCO RICO is an assistant professor of Administrative Law at the UPF.

Velasco C., (2011), "La delimitación del ámbito material-territorial de las competencias en el Estado Autonómico. El uso de puntos de conexión. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Autonòmics.

Velasco C., con Argullol, E; Font, T; Gerpe, M.; Mir, O (2011), "La Comissió Jurídica Assessoradora de la Generalitat de Catalunya. 75 anys d'història" Barcelona: Viena Editorial.

Mr Ignasi Manrubia COSTA is a research and teaching assistant at the UPF. His research focuses on social rights, immigration, education rights.

Costa I., (2010), "Bibliografía sobre extranjería i immigració". Revista catalana de dret públic, Nº. 40, 2010 (Ejemplar dedicado a: Els camins del dret públic de la immigració), págs. 223-243

Mr Pau BOSSACOMA is a research and teaching assistant at the UPF. His research focuses on secession processes; the rights of minorities and public consultations for independence.



Bossacoma P., Capdeferro, J. (2011) "Statualità, sovranità e autonomia in Catalogna e nei Paesi Baschi/Estataltat, sobirania i autonomia a Catalunya i Euskadi". In Provenzano F.M. Federalismo, Devolution, Secession. Broussura: Luigi Pelegrini Editore, p. 209-277.

Mr Alexandre de le COURT is a research and teaching assistant at the UPF. In his research he concentrates on welfare state policies from a multilevel perspective.

De le Court A., Canalda Criado, S. (2012) (forthcoming), "Empleabilidad y Planes de Acompañamiento Social: una Perspectiva Comparada" (Employability and Social Plans: a Comparative Perspective), Lex Nova.

De le Court, A. (2011), "Libertad de circulación y ciudadanía europea: un análisis desde el ordenamiento multinivel" [Freedom of Movement and European Citizenship: an analysis from the multilevel legal order],

Mr Marc SANJAUME is a PhD candidate in Political Sciences, and a research and teaching assistant at the UPF. He focuses on democracy, multiculturalism, sovereignty and federalism.

Sanjaume M., Calvet, M., (2011), "Basque Secession: From Bullets to Ballots?" in Pavkovic, A. and Radan, P. The Ashgate Research Companion to Secession, Ashgate, pp. 511-513

Sanjaume i Calvet, M. (with López J. and Serrano I.), 2010, "Estat de la qüestió en la literatura acadèmica" in Bosch, A. (ed.) Noves estataltats i processos de sobirania, Idees, 33.

Mr Josep CAPDEFERRO is an assistant professor of the History of Law at the UPF.

Capdeferro, J. (2009), "Práctica y desarrollo del derecho en la Cataluña moderna: a propósito de la jurisprudencia judicial y la doctrina" dins S. DE DIOS, J. INFANTE i E. TORIJANO (coords.), Juristas de Salamanca, siglos XV-XX, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca, p. 235-257.

Participant 20: IBEI - Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals

IBEI (Barcelona Institute of International Studies) was set up in February 2004 with the goal of becoming a leading European institution for advanced research and the postgraduate training of future generations of professionals and experts dealing with international affairs of public concern. The institute was formally established as a private foundation by the five public universities in the Greater Barcelona area, along with the CIDOB Foundation. IBEI was consolidated as a centre for advanced training and research in international studies and has achieved high visibility at a European level. The institute has become, first and foremostly, a centre for advanced research in international studies. IBEI's core academic staff is made up of tenure-track professors and postdoctoral researchers, and also engages visiting professors and affiliated faculty members from the Barcelonan universities that created the institute. It organises research activities in three interdisciplinary programmes, which, respectively, study the implications of globalisation for the economy, for governance and for security. Website: <http://www.ibei.org>

Mr Jacint JORDANA is the director and coordinator of the master's programme at the IBEI and a professor of Political Science and Public Administration at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra. He has a PhD in Economics (Universitat de Barcelona, 1992) and is the former Dean of the UPF Political Sciences and Public Management School (1996-1997), General Secretary (1997-1999) and Vice Rector for Evaluation and Teaching (2001-2003) at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra. He has been a visiting fellow at the Australian National University, the Wissenschafts Zentrum Berlin, the University of California (San Diego) and the Konstanz University. Between 2005 and 2010, he was the co-chair (together with David Levi-Faur) of the ECPR standing group on Regulatory Governance. His main research area focuses on the analysis of public policies with special emphasis on social policy and regulatory governance. Prof. Jordana has vast experience in collecting empirical data in particular



with regard to the investigation of regulatory policies and has published in international peer-reviewed journals such as the European Journal of Political Research, Governance and the International Journal of Public Administration.

Jordana J., Volpi C., Gallo A. (2010) "Export Promotion Organisations in Latin America and the Caribbean: An institutional Portrait" (IDB)

Jordana J., (2005), "The rise of Regulatory Capitalism: The Global Diffusion of a New Order", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 598.

Jordana J., Levi-Faur D. (2004), "The Politics of Regulation" (Edward Elgar)

Jordana J., (2002) Governing Telecommunications and Information Society in Europe (Edward Elgar)

Jordana J., (2004), "Mas Allá de Mercado. Las políticas de servicio universal en América Latina (Bellaterra, 2009)

Ms Andrea BIANCULLI is a post-doctoral researcher at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI). She obtained her PhD in Political and Social Sciences from the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in 2010. Her main research interests include comparative and international political economy, governance, regional integration, trade policy and regulation. Before joining IBEI, Andrea conducted research into a range of issues relating to the democratisation and governance of regional and international processes, and institutions with special reference to Latin America at FLACSO-Argentina. Alongside her current teaching at IBEI, her academic activities have also involved teaching at undergraduate and graduate levels, in the field of international political economy, development, regional integration and collective action, at the Universidad de Buenos Aires and Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

Bianculli A., Botto M., (2011), "Comparative Asymmetric Trade Negotiations in the Southern Cone: FTA and EU-MERCOSUR" in Bilal, S., De Lombaerde, P., Tussie, D. (Ed.) Asymmetric Trade Negotiations, Ashgate Publishing, 2011;

Bianculli A., Botto M., (2009), "The Case of Argentine Research in the Building of Regional Integration", in Tussie, D. (Ed.) The Politics of Trade: The Role of Research in Trade Policy and Negotiations, pp. 82-120, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden.

Bianculli A., Jordana J., (2007), "Trade Policy in the European Union", in Jank, M., Silber, S. (Coord.) Comparative Trade Policies. Organisational Models and Performance, pp. 375-434, Editorial Singular, San Pablo.

Participant 21: UGOT - Göteborgs Universitet

UGOT (University of Gothenburg) has approximately 50,000 students and 5,000 employees. It is the largest university in Scandinavia. With its eight faculties and approximately sixty departments, the University of Gothenburg is also the most wide-ranging and versatile university in Sweden, offering unique opportunities for cooperation and development. Website: <http://www.gu.se>

The School of Business, Economics and Law is a faculty with 400 full-time employees, 40 of whom are professors. In 2008, the number of full-time equivalent students amounted to 3,500 and revenue totalled approx. 40 million Euros. Exciting, cross-disciplinary research and education is conducted at the Department of Law. As part of the School of Business, Economics and Law, the department has great opportunities for interdisciplinary collaboration with other departments as well as with industry and society.

Mr Thomas ERHAG is an associate professor in Public Law at the Department of Law, School of Business, Economics and Law at the UGOT. In the past, he has published extensively on EU law issues with a special



interest in questions of a particular national interest such as social security, direct taxation and the environment. Later research has focused specifically on issues of nuclear waste management. Dr Erhag is on the editorial board of *Nordisk Socialrättslig Tidskrift* (Nordic Journal of Social Law) and a member of several national and international research networks on European Law and Social Security Law.

Ernhag T. (2011), "Incapacity for work: A National Legal Concept with Cross-National Functions" in Devetzi and Stendahl (eds), *Too sick to work*, Wolters Kluwer.

Erhag T. (2010), Country Report on Sweden "Security: A General Principle of Social Security Law in Europe", pp. 481-514, Groningen: Europa Law Publishing.

Stendahl, S., Erhag, T., Stamatia, D. (red) (2008), „A European Work-First Welfare State, Göteborg: University of Gothenburg.

Ms Sara STENDAHL is an associate professor of Public Law at the Department of Law, School of Business, Economics and Law at the UGOT. Ms Stendahl has two major research fields: Nuclear Waste Law and Social Security Law. Within these fields of expertise, specific areas of interest include: law and the welfare state, sustainability, the administration of justice, government/governance, legitimacy and comparative law and human rights. She is currently involved in a multi-disciplinary, empirical project on the intersection between scientific (medical) and legal reasoning in courts (in cases of occupational injury). Dr Stendahl is the review editor of the *European Journal of Social Security* and a member of the editorial board of the *Nordisk Socialrättslig Tidskrift* (Nordic Journal of Social Law).

Stendahl, S and M Adler (2012), "Administrative Law, Agencies and Courts", in *Comparative Law and Society*, Edvard Elger, (forthcoming).

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Stendahl, S. (2011) "The Complicated Made Simple? The Reinfeldt Government's 2006-2010 Reforms of Swedish Social Security Protection for Those with Reduced Capacity for Work" in Devetzi, S.; Stendahl, S. (reds) *Too Sick to Work. Social Security Reforms in Europe for Persons with Reduced Earnings Capacity*, p. 95-118, Alphen aan den Rijn: Wolters Kluwer.

Participant 22: UZH - Universität Zurich

UZH (University of Zurich) is a public university. It was founded in 1833, though its origins stretch back as far as 1525. Today, the University enjoys international renown as a place of education and research. Two thousand lecturers at 140 special institutes provide the broadest range of subjects and courses available from any Swiss seat of higher education. With 24,000 students and 1,900 graduates every year, Zurich is also Switzerland's largest university.

UZH provides academic services, works with the private sector and considers itself part of a national and global network for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge. The UZH's researchers, lecturers and students benefit from the infrastructure that Zurich provides as a centre of teaching and research. Apart from its own institutions, the UZH offers its members access to archive collections, libraries and the facilities of the Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), as well as to the city's private institutions. Website: <http://www.uzh.ch>

Mr Hanspeter KRIESI is a full professor at the Chair of Comparative Politics at University of Zurich. He has been a director of NCCR-democracy, a national research centre financed by the SNF since 2005. Before this, he was a professor of comparative politics at the University of Geneva (1989-2002) and a guest professor at the WZB (Berlin).



Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Martin Dolezal, Marc Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, Swen Hutter and Bruno Wueest (forthcoming). *Restructuring political conflict in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kriesi, Hanspeter (ed.) (2012), "Political communication in direct-democratic campaigns. Enlightening or manipulating?" Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Kriesi, Hanspeter (2011) "Personalisation of national election campaigns", *Party Politics*: 1-20.

Hug, Simon and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.) (2010), *Value change in Switzerland*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.

Hänggli, Regula and Hanspeter Kriesi (2010), "Political Framing Strategies and Their Impact on Media Framing in a Swiss Direct-Democratic Campaign", *Political Communication* 27, 2: 141-157.

Kriesi, Hanspeter (2010), "Restructuration of Partisan Politics and the Emergence of a New Cleavage Based on Values", *West European Politics* 33, 3: 673-685.

Mr Francis CHENEVAL is a full Professor at the Chair of Political Philosophy of the University of Zurich. He has been a lecturer, Master of Advanced Studies in International and European Security since 2007 at GCSP/IEUG Geneva. He has lectured at the European Institute University of Geneva since 2006 and has been an International Partner of the Doctoral School in European Studies at the Free University of Brussels, Belgium since 2000.

In his research he focuses on normative, legal and empirical questions of European democracy, European citizenship and European polity building. The political participation of citizens has been a focus all along and has been researched in a broader perspective of democratic legitimacy and European polity building. Francis has researched parliamentary representation. The present FP7 proposal is directly related to his interests and competencies.

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Cheneval F. (2010), "Lost in Universalisation? On the Difficulty of Localising the European Intellectual", in: K. Nicolaidis / J. Lacroix, *European Stories: Intellectual Debates on European Integration in National Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 31-49.

Cheneval F. (2010), „Eine europäische Konstellation: das kulturelle Europa als politische Konstruktion“, in: Stefan Kadelbach (Hg.), *Europa als kulturelle Idee*. (Baden-Baden: Nomos) pp. 83-100.

Cheneval F. (2009), "Multilateral Dimensions of Republican Thought", in: S. Besson/J.L. Martí, *Republicanism and the Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 238-255.

Participant 23: BU - Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

The Boğaziçi University Center for European Studies (BUCES) was founded in 1991 as an academic institution of Boğaziçi University. BUCES enables academics to conduct interdisciplinary work on European studies and also serves as a focal point for the discussions on EU-Turkey relations where academics share their opinions with public and private sector professionals. Furthermore, BUCES organises public Jean Monnet seminars and specialised workshops as the first Jean Monnet Center of Excellence in Turkey. Website: <http://www.boun.edu.tr>



Mr Hakan YILMAZ is the Director of the Center for European Studies, a professor at the department of Political Science and International Relations of Boğaziçi Üniversitesi and the executive coordinator of Boğaziçi Üniversitesi's Master of Arts Programme in European Studies. He received his PhD degree in 1996 from the Political Science Department of Columbia University in New York. He has been teaching courses and has published in the fields of contemporary Turkish politics, the culture and identity dimensions of European integration and European-Turkish relations, the international context of democratisation, culture and politics.

Ms Sinem KAVAK is a PhD student at the Department of Political Science and International Relations of Boğaziçi University. She received her master's degree from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History of Boğaziçi University. She is currently working as the executive assistant of the Boğaziçi University Center for European Studies

Ms Defne KADIOGLU is a PhD student at the Department of Political Science and International Relations of Boğaziçi University, she received her master's degree from the University of Essex (Human Right Department) and her BA from Dusseldorf University's Social Sciences Department (Germany). In her research Defne focuses on Turkish politics, minority policies and political theory.

Yilmaz H., (2005), "Placing Turkey on the Map of Europe", Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press

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Participant 24: LSE –London School of Economics and Political Science

LSE (London School of Economics and Political Science) is one of the foremost social science universities in the world. Its research and teaching span the full breadth of the social sciences, from economics, politics and law to sociology, anthropology, accounting and finance. The School had the highest percentage of world leading research of any university in the UK, topping or coming close to the top of a number of rankings of research excellence. Website: <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/>

Mr Hartley DEAN is a professor of Social Policy at the LSE. In his research he focuses on welfare rights, conducts extensive research into the social rights of vulnerable/marginalised social groups. Professor Dean has published extensively on social citizenship/social rights in both a national and supra-national context.

Mr Jan KOMAREK is a lecturer in EU law at the European Institute and Department of Law of the London School of Economics. He obtained his PhD degree from the University of Oxford in 2011. His research interests focus on the role of law, particularly judicial institutions, in European integration and theories of European constitutionalism in general as well as the limitations of law and legal institutions – what they cannot achieve.



Ms Jane LEWIS is a professor of Social Policy at the LSE. One of her main lines of research has sought to explore gendered ideas and practices of social citizenship from a comparative perspective. She has mainly focused on the work/family/welfare relationship and the consequences of the unequal division of paid and unpaid work between men and women.

Mr Chris MINNS is a lecturer at the Department of Economic History of LSE (since 2006). His research interests lie in the operation of labour markets in historical settings. These include migration, education and training, and the role of labour market institutions in shaping work outcomes.

Ms Isabel SHUTES is a lecturer of Social Policy at the Department of Social Policy (LSE). Dr Shute's research interests broadly concern the relationship between welfare states and migration with regard to inequalities based on citizenship and immigration status as well as the role of migrant labour in the provision of care in western welfare states.

Mr Patrick WALLIS is a senior lecturer at the Department of Economic History (LSE). His research examines the relationship between institutions and economic development in pre-modern Europe, in particular the production of occupational skill through apprenticeship and the effect on this of formal institutions, such as urban citizenship rules and guild regulations.

Dean H., (2010), "Understanding Human Need", The Policy Press.

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Participant 25: Oxford - University of Oxford

Oxford (University of Oxford) aims to sustain excellence in every area of its teaching and research, and to maintain and develop its position as a leader amongst world-class universities. Oxford's self-governing



community of scholars includes university professors, readers and lecturers, college tutors, senior and junior research fellows and over 2,500 other university research staff.. Oxford supports colleagues in pursuing innovative research and outstanding teaching, responding to developments in the intellectual environment and society at large, and forging close links with the wider academic world, the professions, industry and commerce. Website: <http://www.ox.ac.uk/>

Ms Sionaidh DOUGLAS-SCOTT is a professor of European and Human Rights Law at the University of Oxford. She primarily works in the field of EU Human Rights law. She is a well-known expert on EU public law.

S Douglas-Scott, (2011), 'The European Union and Human Rights after the Treaty of Lisbon' *Human Rights Law Review*, 1

S Douglas-Scott, (2009), 'The EU's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: a lack of fundamental rights, mutual trust and democracy?', 2008-2009 *Cambridge Yearbook of European Law studies*, 11

S Douglas-Scott, (2013), *Constitutional Law of the European Union (2nd edition)* (Pearson Longman)

S Douglas-Scott, (2012), 'Pluralism and justice in the EU' in Maduro, Tuori , Walker (eds), *Rethinking EU law* (Cambridge University Press)

Oxford Institute of the Social Policy undertakes both scholarly and policy-relevant research, has a multi-disciplinary outlook and employs a wide range of research methodologies and theoretical perspectives. Most of the research is focused on the advanced economies of the OECD, but it also has an expanding interest in social policy in developing countries. The institute is a centre of excellence for research on a variety of social policy topics. It has a multi-disciplinary outlook and employs a wide range of research methodologies and theoretical perspectives.

Mr Martin SEELEIB-KAISER is a professor of Comparative Social Policy and Politics and a fellow of Green Templeton College at the University of Oxford. He was appointed Head of the Department of Social Policy and Intervention, and Convenor of the Oxford Institute of Social Policy in April 2011. His research interests focus on the politics of social policy and his research has been funded by the Anglo-German Foundation, the British Academy, the ESRC, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the German Research Association, the Hans Böckler Foundation and the John Fell OUP Research Fund. He is the UK national expert for the OMC on Social Protection. Seeleib-Kaiser has published widely on social protection, labour market dualisation, globalisation and social policy, party politics and social policy, as well as welfare state transformations

Seeleib-Kaiser, M. (2012), "The Age of Dualisation" (co-ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Seeleib-Kaiser, M. (2008), "Party Politics and Social Welfare" (co-author), Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.

Ms Elaine CHASE is a research officer at the Oxford Institute of Social Policy, at the University of Oxford. In her research she focuses on health, wellbeing and rights, poverty and social exclusion, social policy and migration, asylum and rights.

Chase, E. (forthcoming), "Wellbeing and ontological security: the experiences of unaccompanied young people seeking asylum in the UK: *Sociology of Health and Illness*".

Chase, E. and Statham, J. (forthcoming 2012) 'Families left behind: stories of unaccompanied young people seeking asylum in the UK. In J. McCarthy, CA Hooper and V. Gillies. *Family Troubles? Exploring Changes and Challenges in the Family Lives of Children and Young People*, Policy Press.



Chase, E. (2009) Agency and Silence: Young people seeking asylum alone in the UK. *British Journal of Social Work*. 40,7, 2050-2068

Ms Bridget ANDERSON is a researcher at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford. She obtained her PhD in Sociology from the University of Leicester (UK). Her research focuses on immigration, labour, citizenship theory and status, state regulation and welfare benefits.

Anderson B., "Who Needs Migrant Workers? Immigration Controls, Labour Shortages and Public Policy (OUP edited with Martin Ruhs).

Anderson B., (forthcoming) "Us and Them? the dangerous politics of immigration control OUP, forthcoming.

Anderson B., (2010) "Mobilising Migrants, Making citizens, Migrant Domestic Workers in the UK' *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*, January.

Participant 26: Düsseldorf – Hans Boeckler Foundation (WSI)

The Institute of Economic and Social Research at the Hans Boeckler Foundation (WSI) is a policy research institute which undertakes the academic analysis of issues of practical relevance. Its work covers a wide range of issues, from economic, labour market and structural policy to social policy, industrial relations, collective bargaining policy and co-determination.

The main focus of the research carried out by WSI is on the economic and social implications of developments in society and politics. On the basis of the results of its academic research, the Institute elaborates economic and social policy proposals aimed at overcoming social problems. The research findings and ideas developed by WSI are made available to academics, policymakers and the general public.

Prof. Brigitte Unger is the Scientific Director of WSI.

CONSORTIUM AS A WHOLE

The Consortium

The 'bEUcitizen' Consortium is a geographically spread out international consortium with an excellent reputation in both the normative (law and philosophy) and empirical sciences (Social Science, Political Science, Economics and History). The Consortium 'bEUcitizen' includes researchers with an outstanding reputation from various countries situated in different parts of Europe and outside Europe. In Northern Europe: Denmark, Estonia, Sweden and the UK, in Eastern Europe: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, in Southern Europe: Greece, Italy and Spain and in Western Europe: France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands and outside Europe, in Western Asia, Turkey and Israel. A Consortium consisting of so many participants across Europe and outside Europe is essential in that only in this way the challenges for the EU institutions and the Member States to overcome shortcomings related to the exercise of EU citizen's rights and obligations in Europe can be properly addressed. Not only can the participants of the Consortium provide for a comparative overview of rights and obligations of EU citizens in the EU Member States and candidate member states such as Turkey, they are also able to investigate in the realm of EU citizenship the problems that have already been experienced by multi-ethnic and (con)federal states for decades, sometimes centuries. Developments in other federal-like contexts such as, for instance, Switzerland or Spain, or in countries like Israel, where minorities have specific rights or a lack of rights, will be studied and compared and the results of these studies can be useful for the EU.

Most importantly, the researchers participating in the 'bEUcitizen' Consortium offer a multidisciplinary and multidimensional approach to EU citizenship, taking the heterogeneous rather than homogeneous character of citizenship as point of departure. The participating research group studies citizenship in its interdependence between rules and practices - or law and society - and not only from a contemporary perspective but also from



a historical one. A multidisciplinary team of scholars thereby helps to identify workable solutions to some of the challenges currently faced by the EU to further enhance and expand EU citizenship. A truly excellent international research network will thus be formed, assisting the EU and the Member States in giving birth to new perspectives on and developments in the field of EU citizenship.

The 'bEUcitizen' Consortium is well equipped to address the aims of the FP7 Call SSH.2012.5.1-1 on Exercising EU citizenship – removing barriers, for the following reasons:

a) The team of scholars participating in the 'bEUcitizen' Consortium represents different normative and empirical sciences. They have a multidisciplinary focus, i.e. social science, law, political science, economics, history and philosophy, which is necessary to meet the challenges posed by the FP7 Call on Exercising EU citizenship – removing barriers.

b) The 'bEUcitizen' Consortium includes a unique number of researchers, who are trained in carrying out comparative normative analyses and empirical research, i.e. trained in collecting data and in analysing them by using different methods and techniques. The research thus combines qualitative and quantitative research, which is crucial in addressing the challenges of the FP7 Call.

c) The 'bEUcitizen' Consortium is geographically wide-spread from west to east, from north to south, covering different Member States and non-Member States. The vast amount of nation states involved in the Consortium allows us to study the differences between legal and judicial systems, between socio-economic systems and welfare systems, between multi-ethnic and (con)federal regimes and between states with different historical and cultural traditions. The composition of the 'bEUcitizen' Consortium, representing countries from different parts of Europe and from outside Europe is relevant in that we adopt a multidimensional and distinctive approach to citizenship enabling us to analyse the multiple legal and societal barriers EU citizens face in exercising their rights.

d) The 'bEUcitizen' Consortium consists of researchers with an outstanding reputation and expertise in their respective disciplines, which is expressed by their publications in books, academic and professional journals. The expertise of the team of scholars meets the high requirements set by this research project. The scholars have proved their expertise not only in a large number of publications, but also in many empirical studies and projects and in consultancy practices in different academic fields.

As member of the League of European Research Universities (LERU), an association of 21 leading research intensive universities, UU has a long-standing relation with University of Oxford and Universität Zurich. Through this network they share the values of high-quality teaching in an internationally competitive research environment. UU is also member of the Utrecht Network, with partners such as Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, Jagiellonian University, and University of Tartu, cooperating in the area of internationalisation and joint programmes.

Also on personal and faculty level there is much collaboration between the participating staff members. An example is Trento University, which participates in the joint Transnational Law Programme, with UU School of Law. Altogether most of the academic staff in this programme has been involved in collaborative research projects and joint publications. Also on personal level there has been extensive exchange in research and teaching and visiting professorship, for short, but also longer periods. These existing relationships are expected to provide the basis of a successful collaboration in the context of this programme and their commitment.

The advantages of this Consortium



In summary we believe that the 'bEUcitizen' Consortium is:

- **Complete:** All dimensions of the project are covered by the Consortium and the Consortium is able to achieve the objectives laid down in the project.
- **Distinctive:** The multidisciplinary team of scholars symbolizes our distinct multidimensional approach to EU citizenship, including representing normative and empirical disciplines.
- **Coherent:** The representation of fifteen Member States representing all geographical areas of Europe and two states outside Europe in the Consortium, as well as the representation of different normative and empirical disciplines, guarantee that the challenges posed in the FP7 Call can be dealt with in a coherent fashion. Wide-spread access to national networks, signifying different policy approaches and cultures, contribute to our multidimensional yet coherent approach to research of EU citizenship.
- **Experienced:** Many of the partners successfully worked together in the past, have experienced the benefit of achieving goals jointly and have experience in co-operating with partners in smaller and larger research projects.
- **Strong and high-level profile of scholars:** The partners in this Consortium have an excellent reputation in their respective disciplines. They belong to the best and most recognized in their fields.
- **Collaborative and committed:** The 'bEUcitizen' Consortium is eager to address the challenges posed in the SSH Call 2012 jointly. There is a definite willingness to collaborate, partly due to the experiences of working together in the past, which is combined with a strong commitment shown by all members of the 'bEUcitizen' Consortium to successfully complete this project, which is also revealed during the preparations for this large-scale integrated project.

IMPACT

This chapter describes how bEUcitizen will meet the expected impacts listed in the work programme (3.1), the dissemination and exploitation of project results (3.2) and the management of intellectual property rights.

EXPECTED IMPACTS LISTED IN THE WORK PROGRAMME

The Consortium takes as its focus point the constraints and contradictions of European citizenship in order to meet the Challenge of the FP7 Call: "Exercising EU Citizenship: removing barriers". The objective of the 'bEUcitizen' project is to identify, through a historical and contemporary study of models of citizenship, workable solutions to some of the challenges currently faced by the EU in its attempt to further develop union citizenship.

The project is based on the assumption that citizenship should not be understood as merely a legal or constitutional category, with a homogeneous character created by that legal framework, but as a category of interdependent rules and practices. Citizenship is thus perceived as a multi-layered phenomenon, which is reflected by the approach of the 'bEUcitizen' Consortium, focusing on the multi-layered and multidimensional character of European citizenship, its multitudinous effects on different categories of citizens and the existence of a multiplicity of barriers to the exercising of rights. Furthermore, the project will be carried out by a multidisciplinary team of scholars. Focusing on the interaction between rules and practices, and on 'multiple multiples', the 'bEUcitizen' Consortium firmly believes that its research will contribute to filling systematic gaps in current research on EU citizenship and will also lead to innovative scenarios for the development of citizenship within the EU.

By identifying and investigating the multitude of barriers that exist to achieving a common conception of EU citizenship and in getting citizens to exercise the rights connected to this identity under the condition of their various social and legal contexts and conditions, this research programme aims to present the EU project as a space for democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights, with EU citizenship as a core value, a significant



step in development. One of its key contributions is to address the fundamental problem that the EU is trying to reverse the historical sequence. In earlier historical phases - the medieval city and later the nation state - there was first a social identity, based on locality, shared language and culture, to which rights were subsequently attached. The European Union is now trying to do the opposite: providing rights, in the expectation that a shared identity will develop out of them. The programme proposed here seeks to overcome this conundrum by highlighting models of citizenship that are at one and the same time multidimensional and multi-layered.

Strategic impact

Concerning the expected impact the Call points out: “Research dimensions to be taken into consideration:

- Provide a comparative overview and classification of the main shortcomings related to the exercisin of EU citizens’ rights and obligations in all 27 Member States and possible candidate countries [...]
- Analyse how and to what extent these shortcomings can be overcome and the main challenges ahead for EU institutions and Member States in this process [...].”

The following characteristics of our programme have been designed to meet these requirements of the

Call:

- The aim of the programme is not only to study the rules i.e. the law and current status of EU and Member State citizenship, but also their practices, which, we claim, is as important an element of the experience of citizenship and allows institutions to overcome the contradictions inherent to the combination of various legal and constitutional systems;
- The programme includes a historical dimension by looking at the model of local citizenship and by contributing a new dimension to the debate about the role of civil institutions in economic growth and development;
- The programme includes a comparative dimension by comparing multi-ethnic and (con)federal states, which have faced problems similar to those of the EU. The comparisons of these experiences, and the ways in which such countries have dealt with multiple civic identities, will allow us to design alternative models for EU citizenship;
- The programme acknowledges and considers how citizenship rights and duties affect various categories of citizens differently i.e. females and males, youngsters and the elderly, insiders (EU nationals) and outsiders (e.g. third country nationals);
- The programme recognises that citizenship is heterogeneous in terms of the domains to which it applies; it impacts a whole range of fields, starting with politics and the law, but extending to economic, social, civil, political and cultural rights. The Consortium assumes that citizenship can develop at a different pace in these domains, which is another source of the dynamic of citizenship.
- In view of designing ways in which citizens’ rights can be achieved and shortcomings overcome, the research will provide input for policy formulation, development and implementation, and - more broadly – to raise awareness among citizens of their rights and obligations in the Member States and their exercising of these rights whether they live inside or outside the EU. Projects will involve relevant academic communities, stakeholders and practitioners for the purpose of integrating insights from them into the empirical as well as theoretical inquiry.

To be successful, the ‘bEUcitizen’ project aims to make an impact on several different levels.

Impact scientific (academic) level

Through the production of systematic datasets to compare and analyse citizenship, the setting-up of a conceptual framework for the comparison of problems, tensions, hindrances and solutions in different states, the development of a model including a categorisation and critical overview of economic, social, civil and political rights and cross-national studies, this project provides an in-depth analysis of the rights of EU citizens and the shortcomings of EU citizenship. Recent and future developments regarding the notion of citizenship,



most notably as a result of the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty, will also be taken into account. These theoretical models are accompanied by case studies, which look at the more specific rights of and barriers to citizens and at specific categories of citizens.

The project provides cross-national scientific knowledge about how to further enhance and expand EU citizenship, thereby building on past and on-going EU-level research. Each year, individual studies will then be assembled and combined into an annual academic conference with all partners. A specific impact is to boost academic research on EU citizenship by focusing on the interplay between rules and practices, which will be presented in academic journals, at seminars and at conferences.

Impact policymakers

The second level of intended impact is that of policy at a European level and at national levels, including regional and local levels. Our empirical approach to citizenship will improve the knowledge on citizenship practices and the awareness of EU citizens as to their rights, and will lead to policy recommendations in the various domains of citizenship rights. This is crucial for contributing to the question as to how shortcomings in the exercise of citizenship rights can actually be overcome by the policymakers. The historical approach to citizenship aims to provide a long-term perspective on the issues facing modern policymakers in relation to citizenship in the multinational environment of the EU. It will allow us to compare various citizenship regimes and to connect their characteristics to economic performance and overall well-being.

This project will take into account the manifold differences between the Member States of the European Union with a view to streamlining the adoption, implementation and monitoring of policy recommendations. And, as the programme provides a comparative dimension by looking at (con)federal and multi-ethnic states, the experiences of these countries and the ways in which they have dealt with multiple civic identities can be incorporated into the policy recommendations.

By organising meetings with experts, members of the Consortium and of the Advisory Board, stakeholders and policy advisers, new policies can be fostered to support the awareness and exercising of citizens' rights in Europe. Case studies of the various citizenship domains and for various categories of citizens, such as insiders, outsiders, the young, old, men and women will provide the necessary input and improve the recommendations. Experiences from the past and from other multi-ethnic and (con)federal states can be used to shape the future model of the European Union, in which all citizens, including the young, can participate.

Impact for citizens

An important, if not crucial, aspect of the project will be to identify ways in which citizens become aware of and can be encouraged to exercise their rights. As concrete policies and practices in the Member States are analysed from a multidimensional perspective, further knowledge will be gained as to which obstacles exist for EU citizens to exercise their rights, how these obstacles can be removed and how citizens can be encouraged to exercise their rights. To this end, old and new social media will be used to maximise the effective communication and impact of 'bEUcitizen' and to animate and support publication of knowledge accumulated by the programme. Working papers will be published on the website, stakeholders will be actively involved in the dissemination of the results of our research.

Methodology

This project also aims to have a methodological impact. The research into the rights of EU citizens and the barriers to them exercising these requires a multidisciplinary and multidimensional approach. By combining the normative and empirical disciplines, bEUcitizen also combines and integrates diverse methodological paradigms, tools and instruments. Taking into consideration that EU citizenship is not only a legal principle but also a social practice as well as a historical process, the methodological challenge of the programme is to raise mutual multidisciplinary understanding on the multidimensional character of citizenship, to formulate linguistic and conceptual principles that enforce this mutual understanding and to exchange and share methodological approaches that improve mutual understanding.



The research is carried out in clusters identifying the following approaches:

- The horizontal approach: citizenship rights are divided into policy domains, i.e. economic, social, civil and political rights, recognising the multidimensionality of rights;
- The vertical approach: the point of departure is that citizenship rights and duties affect various categories of citizens differently, recognising the multitudinous effects of rights on different categories of citizens;
- The comparisons over time and space, providing a comparative and historical approach;
- The cross-sectoral and conceptual approach, running like a red thread through all work packages – from the beginning to the end.
- Together, the various impacts we plan to achieve will provide a scientifically sound, evidence-based and policy-oriented fundament to further enhance and expand the notion of EU citizenship, not only as a legal principle but also as a social practice.
- The Consortium and its advisory board will have the critical mass for research on EU citizenship during the project and beyond to influence academia, policymakers and the media.

MORE INFORMATION AND CONTACT

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