Talking EUROPE
Europeans on the Move

New Europeans.net
# Contents

Foreword by Roger Casale

## Citizenship

Active Citizenship in the European Year of Citizens  
Putting Flesh on the Bones of EU Citizenship Rights

## New Europeans

Anna van Lidth from Stratford upon Avon  
Dan Klein from Cambridge  
Karina Deyanova from Sofia  
Luciano Colleoni from Bergamo  
Lukasz Filim from Warsaw  
Ricky Lawton from Liverpool

## Events

New Europeans events November 2013—July 2014

## Join Up

Form and detailed information on how to join the mailing list and keep up to date

## Acknowledgements
Roger Casale  
Chair, New Europeans

Dear Reader,

Over 2 million non British EU nationals now live and work in Britain and some 1.5 million British citizens live and work in other EU countries.

At New Europeans, we believe that the right to live and work in any member state is one of the greatest achievements of the post-war era in Europe.

Today the people of Europe are on the move. By 2050 we believe that millions more European citizens will be living and working where they choose across the territory of the EU member states – and a good thing too.

The economic, social and cultural contribution of EU nationals living in the UK and of Brits living in other European states is enormous and hugely under-stated.

EU nationals pay the taxes which fund our NHS, our schools and our pensions. They bring valuable skills which help raise the national product and help Britain compete. They enrich the cultural life of our nation in many different ways. As do Brits wherever they live and work across Europe.

We also believe at New Europeans that the right to free movement and indeed all the rights that we have as EU citizens cannot be taken for granted.

More work is also needed to make freedom of movement for all Europeans a practical reality and not just an aspiration.

And we can all do more to reach out to our European neighbours – to make EU citizens feel as welcome in Britain as Brits would like to feel elsewhere in Europe.

We need the participation of all Europeans in our local communities, in our voluntary organizations, in the social and political life of this country just as much as we need their economic contribution and the taxes that they pay. The stories that EU citizens tell us in this booklet of their experiences living and working in another European country make compelling reading.

They underline how significant is that economic, social and cultural contribution that citizens of Europe make to the societies where they live.

And they give to the EU citizen a voice and an identity.

It is a voice that New Europeans seek to amplify and make count in the construction of our common future in Europe.

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Active Citizenship
in the European Year of Citizens

Tamara Flanagan OBE

The last five years have seen perhaps the greatest economic and social crisis confronting the European Union since its inception.

Citizens all over Europe, whilst concerned, are for the most part feeling powerless to bring about change. With the exception of those in some high profile but relatively small groups such as Indignados and Occupy, for most citizens direct action is unlikely and indeed undesirable.

However it is becoming increasingly clear that citizen participation in civic and political life cannot be confined to simply voting at local, regional and national elections. This is particularly pressing at the European level, where institutions and elected European politicians are often perceived as distant and disconnected from the lives of many EU citizens.

The number of people voting in European elections has been in decline since 1979. With decreasing membership of democratic institutions such as trade unions and political parties, associations, community groups and NGOs are taking up the challenge of offering citizens the opportunity to interact and participate in creating a new, more people oriented union.

The Treaty of Lisbon Article 11 (a) provides for the European Citizens’ Initiative (ECI) where the collection of one million signatures gathered across seven member states may initiate a policy debate in the EU Institutions.

The ECI has been three years in development and is yet to be tested in the institutions. Article 11 (b) also provides for associations and NGOs to have a role as interlocutors in effective consultation and dialogue.

This approach, participatory democracy, seeks to enrich and add to representative democracy. The European Year of Citizenship whilst describing the rights associated with European citizenship also has an objective to develop the capacity of citizens to engage with the future of Europe.

The work of New Europeans and its partners Volonteurope and the University of Sussex through our series of seminars, publications and web based work is designed to contribute to that effort.

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Source: European Parliament
My name is Anna. I am originally from Stratford-upon-Avon. I went to Sheffield University where I studied French and Spanish. When I finished Uni, I was looking for a bit of adventure and wanted to use my languages. So when a friend of mine, who had been living in Paris for a year, invited me out, I just packed my bags and took the Eurostar to Paris.

I met some people working in the finance industry through my friend and ended up working as a trading assistant in a French investment bank. After a couple of years my then boyfriend got offered a job in Brussels and I moved there with him and found a job editing financial reports in a Belgian investment bank. But the collapse of the dotcom bubble hit the bank hard and I was unfortunately made redundant, although I did meet my future husband there so it wasn’t all bad. I then saw an advert for a trainee journalist, very poorly paid but with the opportunity to gain experience with an online news feed called EUPolitix.

So I went to work for them and began reporting on business affairs. EUPolitix struggled to survive and I moved across to European Voice where I worked for a few years as their business reporter. I’m pretty sure I would not have been able to get a job writing for an Economist-owned paper here in the UK without journalism training or more experience, but having English as a mother tongue together with fluent French really helped in Brussels and opened doors for me.

I am not sure the British know much about Belgium although they may have visited Brussels on a city trip. Many do not know that there are both French and Flemish speakers there and sometimes ask me if I can speak Belgian.

But Brussels is a lovely place to live; my husband is French-speaking Belgian and all his family are there. I lived there for ten years and found the people incredibly kind and warm, and very accepting of the fact that their city is full of expats.

The bureaucracy can be a bit annoying. Everything has to pass through the local commune which is only open at certain hours and you have to queue up for ages. It can also be tricky knowing what to do; I didn’t know I had to register my driving licence and got into real difficulties when I lost it.

What I really miss is the international feel of Brussels, making friends from all over the world, the fantastic food and drink, the culture and the beauty of parts of the city. And after living in Paris, the friendliness of shop assistants was both a surprise and a pleasure.

What really made me want to come back to the UK was my eldest daughter reaching school age, which in Belgium is two and a half.

Anna van Lidth from Stratford upon Avon
Talking Europe — Europeans on the Move

The classes are large and the teachers are quite stern with the children. This is just the culture but I found it very difficult to accept. I am not sure I would be so sensitive to that now but at the time it was hard. So I was getting homesick and luckily my husband was offered a job in London, so we were able to come back.

I don’t think the British know too much about the European Union. They often don’t know where rules come from and the fact that a lot of good laws, such as those on seat belts, for example, were made in Brussels. There doesn’t seem to be an appreciation of the fact that the EU was founded to ensure peace between its members and that that is an incredibly positive thing.

Sometimes I am not sure the EU knows how to get its citizens involved. The institutions can seem very complicated and distant from their lives. I also think the ‘Euro-English’ language and style can be a bit off-putting. There is lack of popular appeal among the EU institutions. The tabloid culture is also a real obstacle to getting information across in Britain where we tend to have opinions masquerading as news. In both France and Belgium there are no tabloids so EU stories make it into the paper on their own merit, whether positive or negative. As a result people in those countries tend to be better informed and with less prejudice.

I think a better way of getting the message across about the EU would be getting it into the school curriculum, teaching children about the basics of why the European Union was founded and how it affects their lives.

My name is Dan, and I am from Cambridge. I started working in Europe in the mid-nineties. I am an engineer and was working in the car industry, initially with TRW, who make automotive parts.

They sent me to work in Koblenz, near Bonn. My father’s family was from Alsace and he was a Biochemistry professor in the University of Bonn, so I would go and have lunch with them every other week from Koblenz. At the time I went to Germany, the UK car industry was not doing very well and Germany was the centre of gravity for design and big projects, so a lot of the highly-skilled jobs were in Germany and Europe, particularly the big projects. That is what took me out there really.

From Koblenz I was sent to Detroit for a couple of years. I then changed jobs and joined a consultancy firm - PA Consulting. They sent me to Norway to build a car factory and later to Copenhagen to work with Maersk. I lived in Central Copenhagen for 18 months. I moved between, the Netherlands, Eindhoven, and Germany, Munich and Frankfurt. I liked working in Germany but it didn’t really excite me to live there. I finally settled for working in Sophia Antipolis, at the time a major tech centre in the South of France, near Nice where I now live. I bought a place and I commute to London. I am in IT start-ups.

I would have liked to work in France, but the job market, in my sector, is pretty stagnant and I have to come back to the UK for work. There is not so much mobility in France! People stay in the same job for years on end; the French economic environment is not very vibrant at present.

Dan Klein from Cambridge
I do like living in France, I like the relaxed nature of their towns, the fact that you can take three hours for lunch and then work on later. Their attitude to work life balance appeals to me. I am an outdoors person, I climb, sail and ski, so living near mountains is also a great advantage for me. I have made some great friends here; I enjoy being with them and eating good food.

Life can be a bit unpredictable; the French authorities can be inconsistent. I had my bank account closed twice by mistake without any warning and no one took responsibility. That sense of unpredictability can make life interesting but can also be frustrating.

I think that is what a lot of English ex pats in France find difficult - the bureaucracy. Their expectations are mixed. They like the country but wish it was run more like England. But you know the education system is so different! French children are taught to think about big ideas and see a bigger vision, so they become quite questioning. When I worked with mixed European teams, not to be too stereotypical, the French always wanted to know Why? So they could see where their role was and the Germans just said ‘What is required of us?’.

I think the French have a real soft spot for the English in general.

As for engagement with the European Union? I think the English are quite conflicted. In our hearts we like Europe, see ourselves as part of the European family but then we have Brussels! The only thing we hear about Europe is that they take our money and want to tell us how to live!

I think people don’t understand the separation between the Parliament and the civil service. I worry that we have the perception that there is a class of civil servants with no direct mandate and they are in charge. Surveys show, that Mayors are one of the most popular types of politicians because people vote for them and think they are accountable. Most of us can’t grasp the big politics of Europe, can’t understand why we need to be together. Sadly it would probably take a big threat like a war, for them to see why.

I think they could communicate better. Sometimes the European Union is its own worst enemy, discussing the nuances in the standards of free trade to create a level playing field in Europe, when they could be talking about Europe’s roles in the world.

I think too we don’t understand the different mentalities of people in Europe. The Germans are so exercised by the USA phone tapping of Merkel, as we hear in the Snowden affair. But the British get worked up about energy company profits, - the French would shrug and say that’s normal!

It would be good to have a sense of how ordinary people experience Europe, say televised debates or even a Big Brother type show. We do have some discussion on Radio 4 such as “From Our Own Correspondent”, but that is not everybody’s cup of tea. There should also be more openness between the national governments and EU parliament about what they care about; who can do what.
My name is Karina, I am 22 years old. I come from Sofia, the capital city of Bulgaria. I came here to continue my studies, I was in high school and had to choose where to continue, I had been once to the UK and totally loved it, so I applied here to the Guildhall school of music, where I am now in my third year studying classical violin.

We have academies in Bulgaria; there are specialist schools and over 15 orchestras, although it is not a very well paid job. Playing in an orchestra is possible if that is what appeals to you. So there are quite a lot of opportunities for a country our size. However I think most young musicians in Bulgaria look abroad because there are more opportunities to collaborate with other musicians, to explore. There are amazing teachers in Bulgaria - if they were in the Guildhall I would want to study with them. It was really the chance of more opportunities to develop my music that brought me here.

I particularly like the vivid atmosphere here - there are so many things going on. I had the chance to compare as I have visited many major cities across Europe. I said to myself I just want to study and live here. I am amazed by the order here; everything happens with some kind of precision and is well organised. In Europe London, Vienna and Salzburg are the real musical centres of Europe. Here I have the chance to see and hear the best conductors and musicians.

British people are very polite and kind. They are understanding and friendly. That is because they are open minded, at least the ones I know. I am here with my Mum. She came at the same time as I did and she helps me a lot with my studies and financially. Thanks to her work and my teaching, we can afford to live here. When I was applying for my work permit, I needed a yellow card that allows you to work part time; there is also a green card, which allows you to work full time. I needed to have a National Insurance number to get the card but I could not get the National Insurance number without the card! This all took over 6 months so I was worried they would not give it to me. Finally they returned my passport and other important documents. I am able to study here as a UK student and pay the same fees as UK students but needed to work because the cost of living is high. We should not need the work permit from January but we don’t know what will happen, although my friend who just started at Guildhall was told she would not need it from 2014. Young people from Bulgaria see the opportunities to study and develop businesses. I don’t think middle aged Bulgarians find it so attractive. For one thing they might not speak English and also the lifestyle is really busy here. I am not sure that is what they want.

I plan to apply for post-graduate studies maybe in England or in another city in Europe - maybe Paris. I definitely will go where the mu-
Talking Europe — Europeans on the Move

Music takes me - it is all about the music! I don’t really follow European politics but I notice that England would like to be independent. I have the impression that they would like to leave the EU, but you are already very independent, with your own currency and driving on the left.

I didn’t know that I could vote in local and European elections here,. I did vote in the Bulgarian elections, through the Bulgarian embassy.

One thing I don’t like, is the pace of life in England,. You have no private life. If you want to succeed in England you have to give up everything. Even for a musician finding work and jobs is quite hard. Lots of people want you to work voluntarily to get experience but you can get paid and acquire experience.

Once you find work, freelance work, you have to work hard looking for the next gig. It is very competitive. Of course you can teach if that is what you like. As a Bulgarian citizen I feel a bit of an outsider in this European Union, particularly here in England. When I mention I am from Bulgaria, I know how the government feels about us and I feel ashamed to say I am Bulgarian in case people look at me differently. I am from one of these countries which is not very good and the government doesn’t want us. I do feel proud of other Bulgarians and their achievements.

As to consultations on Europe - it is good that we are members of Europe but I am not sure we have the same standards of living, the same wages. Although we can travel easily, we don’t see the same standards across Europe. Bulgarians have a positive attitude to Europe; we are geographically in Europe, we are glad to be part of this Union, which is important. There are a lot of positive things happening in Bulgaria too. In my home city we opened a second underground line and built new highways.

My name is Luciano, I am Italian, and I come from Bergamo in the north of Italy. I am a clinical psychologist, psychoanalyst and a group psychoanalyst. I first came here about 4 years ago.

My wife was doing a PhD at the LSE. At the time I was working in the South of Italy, managing projects working on criminal organisations in the violent areas, on the outskirts of Naples, Rome, Palermo and Bari. I had been working on that for about 10 years. I worked part time, two weeks in Italy and two weeks here. So I was just supervising the work in Italy.

They are doing a really good job. I decided to stabilise my position and do some research here. It is not so easy to do research in Italy at the moment. That is a big difference. In my field, at the moment there are some very important people in England for psychoanalysis. I had done some work with them so I decided to come here permanently. I also wanted to re-evaluate my experience in Italy, which had become very intense.

Luciano Colleoni from Bergamo

It was not an easy choice, I had a good career in Italy and England was a new land. Yes, the Anna Freud centre and UCL had great facilities for research but I had a career in Italy and
Talking Europe — Europeans on the Move

was now putting myself into the English system as a bit of a novice. It was quite hard for me at times.

My experience in Italy was not enough. I needed a credential from a UK institution. That was quite frustrating. In my field in the UK, people like to have UK based experience, in some ways I agree with that, you do need experience of the UK system, the NHS. The first two years were very hard here, like climbing a mountain.

But I stayed focused on my practice and worked with the professional body and then things changed and now I have my own practice, run groups at SLAM (South London and Maudsley Hospital) and do research. Studying is much easier here, it is possible to work with a range of people, and you don’t have to belong to the right group. However London is very competitive. In Italy, it is more about connections. My wife and I had two choices, the USA or England.

We preferred here because of the LSE and the professors in London. It is a very important centre for psychoanalysis. The group analytic society, my professional body, has its headquarters here - the mother house as we say in Italy. Everything starts from London and spreads around the world. From here we are now starting new centres in Moscow and Tel Aviv. There are many possibilities here in London. This is not just about money but about openness. It is a place where you can succeed. It may require some sacrifices in your personal life but you can succeed.

I think there is a difference between London and Manchester where I worked last year. I think London is more ready to stay in Europe. I am not sure that is the case for Manchester, but there is more sense of community in Manchester. When I go back to Italy people say 'How is the Queen?', They think everything is possible here. People in Italy think of the UK as a kind of ‘golden land’, a place where everything is possible.

Some of them, - young well-educated, unemployed people - get in touch with me and say “Can you help me rebuild my career?” “Have look at my CV!” Others think of it as a place where you can get help from the state. There is a reality gap in both cases. If they are unemployed and there is no support system for them, sometimes these young people get lost.

Another group think about having children. Your system is not the same as the Italian but because you can work you can afford to have children. We do think we will stay here for some years, 10 years maybe, now we have established ourselves in a career, with a house and paying taxes. I do love living in this city. It is London which is special.

It is a complex, busy city. I enjoy the experience and intellectual exercise of being with different people. Building an identity, which was not my Italian identity was a bit difficult and I think we need to adjust our identity to embrace the European identity. I was surprised in Manchester in informal meetings where people were saying we have to get out of Europe. A party which can exploit these emotions is dangerous.

I was close to people in Manchester, they re-
minded me of the people in my city in Italy, Bergamo. Once I got over the reserve, I made good friends in Manchester but I don’t feel I know many British people here in London. So I don’t know too much about British peoples’ attitudes. I don’t have a perception of English attitudes. My friends are from all sorts of communities – for example from Bethnal Green I have Indian or Egyptian friends and elsewhere people from the Jewish community.

I don’t know much about British traditions. I do know about voting and have voted in the local elections and I am registered with the consulate so I will vote for my candidate in Italy in general elections. There is nothing I don’t like about living in the UK, apart from the weather! Although the initial failure to recognise my qualifications was difficult.

There are historical links between Italy and England. Interestingly, there is a church in Farringdon, St Peter’s I think and the priest, Father Carmello gives a blessing to all Italian restaurateurs in England every July. There you can see many generations coming to this blessing; it is a very important tradition. There were also refugees here during the war - some experienced some problems. The European Union is made up of complicated institutions, which makes it hard to relate to ordinary people. Europe is confused in the way it relates to its citizens. It is not clear about the form of authority it exhibits, whether it’s a consensual or authoritative type of organisation. This makes it hard for citizens to know how to relate to it.

Simplifying the message and the forms of communication would help matters. There is actually a web-based project that takes peoples questions about a topic - a form of social interaction. The queries are collected by a team and directed towards the relevant personnel in the Commission or Parliament who answer them. Expanding a simple system like this

My name is Lukasz Filim, I am 36 years old and from Poland. I came to England on 9th May 2004, just nine days after the UK, along with Ireland and Sweden, opened its borders to European citizens to live and work here. I registered, as you had to then and paid my £50 registration fee (think that is £100 now).

I got my National Insurance number and I started paying taxes. I work in banking. Before I came to the UK I had already been working for the National Clearing House in Warsaw for three years. Once I finished my studies I began to be interested in coming to England. My sister was already here, I sent her my CV, which she circulated for me. I was contacted by Nat West, who showed an interest in me. But when I came here I did not get a job there and start working for Pizza Hut as a driver and waiter for 2 years.

I was offered a job by two other Polish banks but preferred to come to England. The Polish have a certain view of England; they think of it as a special place. They think London is magic. Our Polish government in exile was based in London, during the Second World War. Many Polish men joined the British army.

Polish soldiers are valiant, highly motivated
Talking Europe — Europeans on the Move

fighters. There had been such a history of fighting to reinstate our nation, after the Polish partitions, that we saw ourselves as good soldiers. We had Polish brigades in the First World War and we were happy to lend our strength to Great Britain during the Second World War.

Lots of men stayed after the war, married and made their lives here, so there have always been strong links. Two significant dates for me are 1066 and 1989. The first because it was the last time England was invaded, that makes it a special country in Europe. It has no history of invasion, of being trampled on by other countries. Maybe that is what makes English people confident, with a certain savoir faire. The second, 1989, was when the Solidarity movement in Poland made the peaceful change of the communist system and after that the Berlin wall came down.

It was the new beginning for our fledgling country. I also came because I like English people; I find them open and welcoming. They know how to enjoy life, they are used to foreigners, they understand cultural differences. They are well educated and the quality of life is better here. Britain is well connected in the world. It is much easier and cheaper to travel from here for instance.

I came too because the UK economy was, and still is, strong, even now. When it is not in good shape it is stronger than many of the A8 (Accession countries) economies. We should not forget that Poland for instance, was devastated during World War II. Six million Polish people died and our cities and country were destroyed. A whole generation was wiped out, academics, lawyers, teachers, officers, politicians - our intelligentsia you might say. It was as if the head of the country was cut off, but even so the people worked really hard and rebuilt the infrastructure, although of course Russia had taken over and imposed 50 years of communism. So in a sense, we are still a young country economically. We have only been growing our new economy for just over 22 years. We have a different mentality and view of foreigners in Poland. We are not so used to difference. It will take time for us to build our destiny. The only difficulty I have experienced here is with my English.

I thought I spoke pretty good English when I came. I had studied English for a number of years. But it has taken me a while to become really fluent. I do plan to stay; in fact I have British and Polish nationality now. I do feel a bit disconnected from the Polish environment and to some extent miss elements of the culture, like strong family ties and different attitudes to older people. I fear English people are not happy about Europe; they don’t seem to realise how well they are doing. Some seem to feel the proportion of people with foreign roots it too high. I am not sure that is the fault of Europe.

I know I am eligible to vote here in the UK and I do. I have to do a lot of extra homework to see who I want to vote for. As to the European Union, there are lots of things that need to change. It is still very young and I am not sure where it will go. As to getting involved with Europe, that is a natural progression from getting involved in your neighbourhood, your borough, your city, nationally. If you feel responsible you are likely to get involved. Although don’t forget this kind of community action may not come as easily to everyone.

The key to ruling in totalitarian states was exactly that - divide and rule. So very little trust was built up between citizens, and none between citizens and authorities. The EU creates chances to learn from each other, some countries you learn from, some you teach. It also creates chances to enhance trade. That is the attraction, the common benefit, the enlightened self interest.
My name is Ricky Lawton, I am from Liverpool originally. I am now doing a PhD in Environmental Economics at York University. I worked in Madrid for 3 years teaching people English with International House, teaching legal English and doing translations. It’s not a job I would have done in the UK. I had just finished my Masters at Liverpool; all my friends were migrating to London. I didn’t want to go to London and I met a Spanish girl and decided to move to Spain.

At first it was completely alien. I walked into an extended family so I was immediately involved in the Spanish way of life. Socialising was very different! The city (Madrid) felt more egalitarian, it had/s a broader demographic. Unlike the UK the city centre is not a loutish ghetto late at night. There is certainly more of a generational mix.

When my friends came, they found Spain a bit 'backward' in some things. They were surprised about customer service, the fact that you could not pay by card everywhere. They definitely thought it was backwards in terms of technology but I think it does have most of the standard 21st Century things going on there. They did feel there was a different atmosphere, the streets as busy at 3 am as 3 pm in the afternoon; a lot of people living in flats not houses.

I did find the civil service and the banking system very different. It took me the longest time to get my NIE (National Insurance and Identity number) though it is actually easier for English people than others. Being from Liverpool I am an economic migrant, so even London is a different country. The thing about living in the country of your birth is that you cannot ignore the negatives, you cannot disown the elements you don’t like, as you can when you live in another member state.

I could live permanently in Spain but felt my career options would be limited by the fact that Spanish is not my mother tongue. If you want to really make progress you might have to do it in your own language. I still go back twice a year. I do think the economic crisis has made it a bit more edgy; more tension between the generations.

I came back because I got the funding for my PhD. I would live overseas again, maybe in South America. I like the cultural differences, the way the city was. The close family life and good social networks as well as being somewhere beautiful and picturesque. The quality of life felt good, good weather, although winter in Madrid is cold. Learning about a different country, its language, it is a huge enigma. It is about constant discovery, and perhaps greater romance. Walking through Gran Via in Madrid is not like walking down the Walworth Road.

The English attitude to Europe is more separatist, even though we owe Europe a lot in terms of legislation like the environmental laws. I think Europe generally is a good thing. I am quite liberal by English standards, but I too am unsure about Europe sometimes and its efforts at centralised control which are doo-
Talking Europe — Europeans on the Move

emed to fail because of human bias and erroneous judgements. Although, if it worked well, it would allow more decentralisation in nation states.

How can the EU engage better with citizens? Maybe it needs demystifying. It appears to be an elite of regulatory experts, and normal people don’t have a loud voice. Is it better elsewhere in other member states? I am not sure. There is no purchase at a local level at all; there are not even any spokespersons at national level. They aspire to showing usefulness through process but that doesn’t really work. Maybe they could have more popular appeal with a figurehead - a president, say, but that has its own problems. I am aware of discussions about the referendum and think that it could be a good learning process. It is not a debate that we have ever had. The pro-Europeans would have to come out and make their case. The UKIP position is unhelpful. This anti-EU feeling is the English disease (you don’t tend to hear such sentiment in Scotland). I am not sure the other countries in the UK share it.

The more fragile your identity, the more likely you are to be worried by Europe. The EU does need to change the way it relates to ordinary people. People might be encouraged through better online engagement. The organs of EU government are seen as being peopled by technocrats; only a small proportion of those involved are voted for, and the rest is a self-supporting bureaucracy.

The EU is actually pretty transparent but its information is very dry. They have lots on line but need to be more imaginative. The EU needs to introduce innovation to the parliamentary democracy system and do more to engage in different ways online. We need more innovation in e-government. The US has done really well with this, and of course it has much lower transaction costs by sharing one language.
Citizenship—Your Rights

Putting Flesh on the Bones of EU Citizenship Rights

Citizenship is a contested concept and EU citizenship is none less so. It has a multiplicity of dimensions including participation in public life; rights and duties; inclusion and exclusion, identity, loyalty and allegiance. One of the big questions raised by the introduction of European citizenship is whether it ought to be conceptualised along the lines of national citizenship or whether it is something altogether new and independent. It has shown itself to be the latter thanks to the work of the Court of Justice of the EU.

Of course, the road to EU citizenship rights is not without an interesting history. In its fundamental freedoms, the original EEC Treaty included only the free movement of workers. Under the Single European Act 1986 the internal market was then taken to include the free movement of persons. Along the way, the Court developed a broad view of the scope of coverage of EC rules extending rights to tourists (Case 186/87 Cowan) and students (Case 293/83 Gravier). Prior to the Inter-Governmental Conferences leading up to the Treaty on European Union, calls were made for the development of greater human, social and civic rights in the Community. As the Spanish expressed in a note of 24 September 1990: "it is... necessary to establish a citizenship of European Political Union as 'the personal and indivisible status of nationals of the Member States.'"

The provisions finally adopted (now in Art. 20 Treaty on the Functioning of the EU) set out the array of rights that EU citizens enjoy: (a) the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States; (b) the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections; (c) the right to enjoy, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which they are nationals is not represented, the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State; (d) the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman, and to address the institutions and advisory bodies of the Union in any of the Treaty languages and to obtain a reply in the same language.

From the emerging case law the Court of Justice of the EU appears eager now to endow citizenship with a meaningful content. Cases such as Rottmann (Case C-135/08) have dealt with the potential loss of nationality and citizenship by an EU citizen and Carpenter (Case C-60/00) with the relationship between citizenship and free movement particularly in the context of the right to family life. EU citizen-
ship has additionally been found to confer access to social benefits and educational benefits for EU migrants as a result of the requirement not to discriminate between citizens on the grounds of their nationality. In the case of Martinez Sala (Case C-85/96) a Spanish national resident in Germany, who had not worked there for many years because of her childcare responsibilities was able to rely upon a combination of the non-discrimination principle and the citizenship provisions to gain equal access to a German child-raising benefit. As a Union citizen she was able to claim equality of treatment even though not economically active and solely dependent on welfare.

Subsequent developments in this line of case law have encouraged an increasingly wide interpretation of the citizenship provisions to include those who are not economically active, in particular students. In Grzelczyk (Case C-184/99) it was decided that a French national studying in Belgium was entitled, in the same way as a Belgian student, to the payment of the minimex (a non-contributory minimum subsistence allowance). Approaching the case on the basis that Grzelczyk was not a worker, the Court found that there was discrimination on the grounds of nationality and that Grzelczyk fell within the personal scope of the prohibition of discrimination as a Union citizen lawfully residing in Belgium.

In Baumbast (Case C-413/99) the Court went further still in decoupling EU citizenship from market rules, by finding that the Treaty provisions on citizenship are directly effective, that is to say they may be relied upon directly by individuals who would otherwise struggle to fit within the scope of European law protection: The subtext of these developments in uncoupling citizenship from market participation has been of considerable importance in underlining not only that the Court of Justice takes fundamental rights seriously, but also that it does now pay heed to the indispensable role that citizens play in activities that extend beyond the economic sphere of the market.

A further example of the extension of citizenship rights, in this case having implications for the rights of residency of third country nationals, is the judgment in Chen (Case C-200/02). Here the UK Secretary of State for the Home Department had refused to grant a long-term residence permit to either Catherine Chen (a minor aged eight months of Irish nationality because she had been born in Northern Ireland) or her mother (of Chinese nationality) on the grounds that Catherine was not exercising any free movement rights arising from the EC Treaty and her mother was not entitled to reside in the UK under domestic regulations. The Court stated that Catherine’s right of residence derived from her status as an EU citizen and a refusal to allow the parent, whether a national of a Member State or a national of a non-member country, who is the carer of an EU citizen minor to reside with that child in the host Member State would deprive the child’s right of residence of any useful effect.

The theme of citizenship and parental care obligations has been reiterated in the recent case of Ruiz Zambrano (Case C-34/09) in the context of third country national parents whose children were born into EU citizenship and, most controversially, had never exercised any free movement rights at all. The sum of the above is to indicate that EU citizenship is a dynamic concept which goes well beyond the economic sphere of the market to embrace a growing array of social, residency and free movement rights courtesy of an ambitious European judiciary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 November 2013</td>
<td>Talking Europe: Count Me In</td>
<td>Europe House, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2013</td>
<td>Talking Europe: Young Peoples Mobility</td>
<td>Cardiff tbc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 January 2014</td>
<td>Talking Europe: Active Citizenship</td>
<td>Belfast tbc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 February 2014</td>
<td>Talking Europe: Social Inclusion</td>
<td>Birmingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 March 2014</td>
<td>Talking Europe: Migration - Our Rights</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 April 2014</td>
<td>Talking Europe: Getting Heard</td>
<td>Bristol tbc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2014</td>
<td>Connecting Citizens: EU Citizenship and Youth</td>
<td>University of Sussex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 June 2014</td>
<td>Connecting Citizens: Citizenship, Rights and Justice</td>
<td>University of Sussex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 July 2014</td>
<td>Connecting Citizens: Future of the UK in Europe</td>
<td>University of Sussex</td>
</tr>
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