

NOVEMBER 2019

# FINAL REPORT

## Summer University on European Citizenship

Monday 2 September – Tuesday 3 September 2019

Institut d'Etudes  
européennes (IEE)  
39 Avenue F.D. Roosevelt  
Brussels  
&  
Salon for European Civil  
Organisations (SECO)  
53 Rue d'Arlon  
Brussels



# SUMMER UNIVERSITY 2019

## In brief

150

Young students, policy-makers and activists brought together to discuss the new agenda for European citizenship

10

Interactive sessions, each accompanied by a tailor-made & innovative background discussion document to spark the exchange.

10

Demands to EU institutions formulated at the SU designed to strengthen the rights, participation and belonging of EU citizens in the EU

2

Mirroring its philosophy, the SU combined two venues: an academic venue with a CSO incubator in the heart of the European quarter

## ***MORE EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP***

*In light of the success of the European elections in May 2019, the turnover in the EU institutions, the year for a new Commission's triennial European citizenship report and the rare occasion of the negotiations on the new Multiannual Financial Framework taking place at the time of the school - all presenting a window of opportunity for a tangible improvement of EU citizens' legal and political position, this year the SU's topic simply asked for 'More European Citizenship'!*

# DAY 1 - MONDAY 2 SEPTEMBER

## Reports from the morning workshops held before the opening of the summer university

### I European citizens' initiative demanding full political rights for EU citizens on the move

This workshop was chaired by Petar Markovic, ECIT's director, and got together a numerous group of interested participants spanning from lawyers and campaigners to students and activists. The updated strategy paper served as the basis for discussion. Petar presented the main stakes, arguments and steps involved in organizing an ECI on full political rights. The participants echoed the dilemmas around this ECI. While some endorsed an initiative on full political rights, in-

cluding national elections and referenda, as a way of putting the topic on the agenda for transnational debate, the others endorsed a more conservative and piecemeal approach of asking for rights in regional elections first and taking it one step at the time. There should be research on the repercussions of enlarging the catalogue of political rights in different member states. All participants agreed on the need to use existing networks of supporters for the ECI (ECI contacts, Caravans' acquired contacts, previous supporters of the Permanent EU Citizenship ECI, for example; the possibility of 'thistimeimvoting' and AEGEE networks were mentioned as well). The meeting also attempted to enlist some of the present for the committee that would organize the ECI. One person stood out – Virginia Fiume, who is currently helping organize the ECI on the rule of law



## **II Dialogue on the ECIT Foundation' s priorities during the upcoming European institutions' term**

The citizenship of the European Union became part of the constitutional framework of the EU with the Treaty of Maastricht just over a generation ago. It has since been developing as the first transnational citizenship of the modern era: increasingly widely practiced and ever more legally grounded. Over 70% of Europeans now recognise themselves to be European citizens – more than ever before in the history of the Union (Eurobarometer 2018: 29). Freedom of movement – the right most closely associated with this status – is seen as being the EU's most significant achievement. Yet, European citizenship as such is largely taken for granted and has yet to strike the popular imagination. The rise of nationalism and populism since the financial crisis has certainly made the EU cautious about promoting European citizenship, even though it could be a counterweight to such reactionary forces. More fundamentally, however, European citizenship remains a fragmented concept and means so many different things to different people that it can end up as an abstraction. Therefore, all the participants of the workshop enthusiastically supported the plan of the ECIT Foundation to publish a popular book on EU citizenship!

### **PROPOSAL FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A CROWDFUNDED POPULAR BOOK ON EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP**

This book will address these issues by explaining, in simple and widely accessible terms, (a) what European citizenship is, (b) through what practices it is enacted, and (c) what it should become if it is to be the basis for a more democratic Europe. At the annual ECIT summer university held on 2-3 September, the production of this book and the need to popularise European citizenship was seen as urgent

Further information will be soon available on ECIT Foundation's website.

## Opening session: State of public opinion on European citizenship following the European elections

### Speakers:

*Pierre-Yves VOISIN*  
(European Parliament  
Directorate-General for  
Communication)

*François François FORET*  
(Cev ipol - IEE, ULB)

*Niklas WILHELMSSON*  
(Head of Unit, Ministry of  
Justice, Finland)

### Chaired by:

*Petar MARKOVIC, Director  
of the ECIT Foundation*

The opening session of the Summer University was the occasion to set the backdrop for the subsequent discussions on the future agenda on EU citizenship in the new European Institutions, by firstly looking at the campaign for and the results of the European elections in May. The aim was to assess how citizens' attitudes and societal changes could direct the coming steps in the Institutions and civil society towards advancing European citizenship. Namely, whilst opinion polls suggest more and more people see themselves as European citizens and are aware of their rights, isn't European citizenship still too much of a project for the relatively well off and educated? What do the results of the European elections and increased turnout, especially among young people tell us? What are the implications of the European elections for more European citizenship?





Professor François Foret from the ULB opened the discussion by inviting the participants to join him in the exercise of looking at what the elections brought by following what values prevailed in the campaign among the grassroots and within the institutional sphere. According to him, the run-up to the elections plainly demonstrated a polarized Europe with two distinct value systems. A Macronian Europe was in a face-off with an Orbanian one. Still, while values do matter, as testified by the increased turnout, they cannot alter the *modus operandi* of the EU. The Union had demonstrated the resilience of its political machine by proceeding from the elections in a way that ignored the Spitzenkandidaten system and choosing the new executive by good-old negotiating based on the balance of power between political groups in the Parliament and between member states. In short, he concluded that while the values did matter, certainly among the voters, they were not the highest criterion in the hierarchy of priorities among the political actors. This has, once again, shown the gaps in EU governance that should not be underplayed.

Pierre-Yves Voisin, one of the persons in charge of the European Parliament's 'ThisTimeI'mVoting' campaign – a nonpartisan, transnational network of diverse campaigners that sought to increase the turnout by mobilizing EU citizens in the months leading to elections. He stated that the new European Parliament is more diverse with the **majority** now requiring more than just the EPP and S&D groups, for the first time since the introduction of European elections in 1979.



*From the opening session*

Nevertheless, the fear of the surge of the far right was proven unwarranted and the pro-EU stance got a clear majority in the house. The game-changer responsible for such an upbeat result: the record turnout for the last 25 years. For the European Parliament staff, this result is a historic accomplishment – more than 200 million people went to the polls. Among them, for a change, the youngsters voted! Mr. Voisin emphasized that, while the turnout in general increased by 8%, the rise in votes among the young voters up to 24-year-olds was a staggering 50%. When asked to go into more detail as to why this happened, he began by reminding the participants that EU politics has become more salient in past years. For example, news coverage of EU affairs - doubled since 2014. But, this particularly successful result was due to a dramatically increased flux of ideas, creativity and actions of European civil society before the elections. The European Parliament's campaign, according to him, is part of this changed landscape. It had ca. 300 000 supporters and 25 000 volunteers and thousands of partner organizations with which synergies were created, including also the ECIT Foundation. The European Parliament had analyzed public opinion prior to the election year and had based its campaign target group on that: weak abstainers i.e. those who are supporters of the EU but are not motivated to go out and vote. Coincidentally, these are mostly young people since research shows that they are usually more inclined to other forms of political participation. Nevertheless, they were able to be persuaded to make a stance To capitalize on the campaign's success, 'thistimeimvoting' is now being transformed into a campaigning organization under the banner 'together.eu'. Consultations with the built network of partners and a comprehensive listening exercise is now on the way to come up with a plan of how to use the momentum of the election campaign in the time between elections. A particular insight from the gathering of opinions so far that was stressed by all present was that citizens and partners need more venues to meet, converse, brainstorm and act, both online and in real life, both in Brussels and locally.



*Pierre-Yves VOISIN emphasized that, "while the turnout in general increased by 8%, the rise in votes among the young voters up to 24-year-olds was a staggering 50%". In terms of legitimizing the EU, the young saved the day!*

Niklas Wilhelmsson from the Finnish Ministry of Justice was invited to the Summer University because of the ongoing Finnish Presidency of the Council's commitment to European citizenship. The ECIT team had met him during the implementation of the Transeuropa Caravans project during which, in Finland, had discovered many best practices that enhance the exercise of political rights and free movement both for Finns and mobile EU citizens living in Finland. He asked all the participants to look at the political attitudes behind the European elections in the context of the democratic rollback in many parts of the world. Supporting democracy is becoming increasingly important. This specifically means not only supporting voter turnout but also enhancing citizen engagement in democratic processes between elections – if citizens do not have

possibility to participate in between, this will lead to disengagement once again. That is why keeping channels of citizens' influence open is one of the priorities of the Finnish Presidency are no easy solutions to citizen disenchantment and any responsible state and society must partake in what he called 'participatory experimentalism'. This involves testing different forms of citizen participation which all create an enabling environment for civil society. All governments are better off working with the grassroots and having structured dialogues with citizens. Moving on to another important current facet of government-citizens relations, he acquainted the audience with the Helsinki conference in September 2019 on Resilience of societies in changing Europe: Interaction of rule of law, democracy and human rights. It will echo the motto of the Finnish Presidency – sustainable Europe. This encompasses the following guiding principles:

1. EU Rule of Law Toolbox needs to be strengthened;
2. Common values in Europe need to be protected;
3. Our society needs to be safe from cyber threats and our media from fake news;
4. Transparency needs to be the feature of all public transactions.

With this framework, Finland is at the forefront of e-democracy development at the national level in Europe. Its e-democracy forum gets 3 million visitors per year. It hosts not just the national initiatives but also all ongoing ECIs. These national developments could be taken up at the EU level as well in order to further the better regulation principle with the use of digital tools.



# Introductory panel: Carving out an agenda for European citizenship in the new EU legislature

Tony Venables opened the afternoon session by commenting that the previous panel which had concentrated on examining the results of the European elections had raised issues of values and identity but had not said a word about EU citizenship. This showed how necessary it was to have an organisation such as ECIT clearly committed to promoting this status. He pointed to the paradox of a transnational citizenship increasingly practiced but absent from political discourse in the EU Institutions. It was not clear although the team of Commissioners had been put forward who would be championing EU citizenship. Niccolo Milanese pointed out that citizenship had to be fought for and always came about through protest. There were increasing attacks on citizenship and attempts to divide people and especially migrants, in different categories. He supported the approach by ECIT towards EU citizenship as a comprehensive concept of rights, participation and belonging, but this trinity was contested. This was essentially an unfinished citizenship. There was a sense that this was an exploratory process and that new alternatives were emerging which could result in paradigm shifts in the design of Europe and a much more political European public sphere.

Niccolò MILANESE  
(Founder European  
Alternatives and Visiting  
Fellow at IWM  
Vienna)  
Tony VENABLES  
(Founder of the ECIT  
Foundation)  
Marie-Hélène  
BOULANGER (Head of  
Unit – Citizenship Unit of  
the European  
Commission)



Niccolo Milanese



Marie-Helene Boulanger, head of the citizenship unit in DG Justice pointed out that it was too early for her to say much about EU citizenship in the new Commission. Every three years the Commission has to put forward a report under the Treaties on activities relating to EU citizenship and the next one is due in 2020. She pointed out that according to Eurobarometer opinion polls some 73% of the population see themselves as in some way European citizens. The European elections had shown an 8% increase in turnout mainly due to more interest by young people. The Commission was analysing the results of the elections and would be publishing a report. The issues which had led people to vote in increased numbers included how Europe was governed, climate change plus democracy and human rights. There was an impact from better information and efforts to explain the relevance of EU activities to the everyday life of voters. One interesting change in the EU Institutions was the greater willingness shown by governments to work together on electoral issues in the Council of Ministers. This was because they faced common threats to the manipulation of elections by external forces, which was encouraging electoral authorities to come together. She went on to describe the activities of her unit on ID cards and emergency travel documents. They were helped in their work by a network of academics coordinated by CEPS (centre for European policy studies) and the new citizenship, equality, rights and values programme would also provide valuable support in future.

Tony Venables thanked the two speakers and underlined how important the citizenship unit was to ECIT as its most direct interlocutor in the Commission.

After the opening panel that set the tone for the event and the introductory panel that framed the afternoon sessions that ensued, the participants broke into three thematic sessions according to their own choice covering the three dimensions of European citizenship as defined by ECIT: rights, participation and belonging.

## Carving out an agenda for European citizenship in the new EU legislature:

# RIGHTS

Tony Venables welcomed participants to the workshop and introduced the speakers. Increased turnout in the European elections suggested that people were becoming more aware of their European rights and the importance of defending them. ECIT has a number of recommendations in the demands to the EU Institutions about how to improve enforcement of European rights.

Claudia Delpero, editor of Europe Street online newsletter, explained how her publication reports on the impact of BREXIT uncertainties on the rights of the over 3.3 million EU citizens in the UK and 1.2 million UK citizens in the EU. Recently, Europe Street had completed a survey amongst its readers which received over 3,000 responses especially from these two groups. There is a very strong demand apparent for full voting rights and nearly all respondents feel that they are not represented and not correctly portrayed in the media. At least though there is debate about European citizenship. Tony Venables suggested that the implication was that priority should be given to political rights and also to persuading the EU to improve the political climate and support for freedom of movement of people in Europe without which enforcement would always be an uphill struggle.

Pierre-Yves Le Borgn, newly elected President of Europeans throughout the world (ETTW) explained that when he was a member of the French Assembly representing his compatriots abroad it was often difficult to explain even to his fellow MPs that there were European rights, that there were different types of barrier to exercising them and that politicians should help people overcome them. Even among politicians there was very little awareness and understanding of the role of the European Court of Justice. He explained the way the Court in cases such as Zambrano had linked EU citizenship to non-discrimination on the basis of nationality and extended its scope to family members from outside the EU and even to situations where there was no triggering of EU law by crossing a border. Freedom of movement was no longer to be justified solely on economic grounds but had become a right of citizenship.



Jeremy Bierbach also underlined the importance of the European Court of Justice judgements like Zambrano but more from the standpoint of a practicing lawyer defending the rights of the most disadvantaged and undocumented immigrants. Judgements could be a barrier to expulsion and a means of settling residence status and encouraging the integration of migrants and their children who in this case could become better Belgians. The case law was relevant to under-represented minorities. Freedom of movement was not just the preserve of an elite.

**Brexit** could have the effect of stripping over 65 million of their EU citizenship overnight. This was spreading the idea that despite the case law of the European court this status was just a by-product of membership and purely ancillary. In case of a “no deal” on 31 October 2019 the residence rights of those affected should be protected under the doctrine of acquired rights under international law. Without the protection of EU law his suggestion was that those defending European rights should give more attention to the possibilities offered by the CoE European Convention on Human Rights.

Much of the discussion after the presentations revolved round the different possible impacts of Brexit on European rights and citizenship. In a fast-moving picture with no clear outcomes it was difficult for the workshop to make clear recommendations, so much as to suggest different lines of approach and possible legal instruments. Tony Venables pointed to the special workshop on Brexit which would take place during the evening event at SECO. The idea of producing a popular book on European citizenship had already been discussed. On the basis of this workshop it could be concluded that efforts were definitely needed to explain and make more popular the case law of the European court.





# Carving out an agenda for European citizenship in the new EU legislature:

## PARTICIPATION

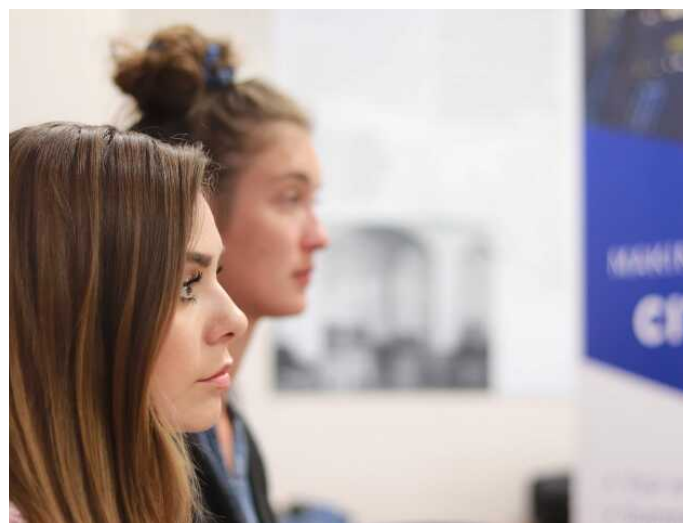
*Richard YOUNGS*  
(Carnegie Europe)

*Daniela VANCIC*  
(Democracy  
International)

*Chaired by*  
*Niccolò MILANESE*

In this panel, speakers from some of the most active organization in the field of EU democratic innovations and citizen participation discussed the following questions: How to improve existing ways for citizens to access and participate in EU decision-making through the rights to know, to be heard and contribute to setting the agenda? Before the European elections there was a period of experimentation with participation, which should now be put on a more permanent footing. Is a citizens' agora one needed reform as ECIT has proposed? Is European legislation needed to make participatory democracy a pillar of EU decision-making?

In the wake of the new EC President's initiative to organise a Conference on the Future of Europe in which European citizens would "play a leading and active part & to formulate a new European Democracy Action Plan focused in particular on the digital sphere - both of which promise new opportunities for democratic innovation and experimentation, but with the realization that European leaders rarely follow through amid more urgent crises, the speakers and the audience discussed ways in which EU citizens can take matters into their own hands and engender bottom-up change by enacting their EU citizenship in participatory practices.



**Daniela Vancic**

# PARTICIPATION

## Key messages:

- Participation has risen up the political agenda, but this has created expectations which may not be met;
- The European elections marked a paradigm shift in the density of the tissue of European associations and civic projects across the continent - this opportunity must not be wasted!
- Professionalisation of the currently existing European NGO sector, notably in giving skills for lobbying and advocacy so they can match corporate lobbies, may be the most cost effective way of advancing civic participation in the European Union.
- Decision making Europe does not begin and end in Brussels, it is essential that participation is built across the continent.

How can citizens assemblies, which sometimes work well in local contexts, scale up and affect the major issues of the day, including climate change, or financialised globalisation?

Why not have a citizens assembly after each successful ECI to deliberate how it should be put into effect?



## **BELONGING**

*Suzana CARP (Head of  
EU engagement -  
Sandbag Brussels)*

*Cristoph MÜLLER-  
HOFSTEDE*

*(Networking European  
Citizenship Education)*

*Andrea LAPEGNA  
(Lifelong Learning  
Platform)*

*Chaired by*

*Petar MARKOVIC*

European citizenship as a form of transnational belonging to Europe, shifts form and develops with the passing of time, as a result of two complementary forces: becoming European through all forms of citizenship education and practice on the one hand and through tackling transnational issues that the Union faces on the other. Many believe that increasing citizen participation in the work of the EU can only really work if every EU citizen has rights to be better educated from an early age, informed about Europe and given the opportunity offered by the Erasmus+ programme.

Additionally, however, in the era of climate emergency, and a European-lead youthforclimate global civic movement, in which school strikes give a clear indication of the change in priorities for the new generation of Europeans and a new context for the debate on European citizenship, a culture of learning about global issues through protest and the practice of citizenship develops. This background opens the discussions for a renewed conversation on belonging in Europe, the civic education that can engage the new generation of young Europeans in non-formal activities and the environmental questions which are slowly becoming a crucial identity-defining mark of our times.

In this debate, after shedding light on the work their respective organisations do in the field of European citizenship education, the panelists explored the links that can be drawn between European civic education as a renewed sense of belonging to the European polity and European citizenship as a force for action on environmental issues. The main questions addressed were:

- To what extent can education for EU citizenship be added as an aspect of the national curriculum?
- Are there examples of best practice in formal and informal settings for the teaching of European citizenship?
- How can teaching a transnational civic culture be linked to history, languages and culture, but also the environment?
- Is the new environmental awakening of European youth fundamentally shifting the sense of belonging from a national to a transnational polity?
- What is the role of civic education in the school strike for climate age?
- Can civic education on environmental rights, themes and solutions capitalize on the current protests in order to foster a deeper sense of belonging to Europe?

By way of introduction, Andrea Lapegna from the LLLP opened the debate by stressing that the past year has particularly been intense for his platform not only because of the European elections which necessitated additional work on training European citizens on their political rights, but also because their experience across member states shows that there is an insatiable and growing craving for citizenship education in the EU. Suzana Carp added that, in her experience, such a heightened demand for knowledge and skills of citizenship need be coupled with innovative and creative methods of knowledge transfer which will engage and keep the attention of young people: theatre, scenario games, nonconventional facilitation techniques.

Christoph Müller-Hofstede first introduced NECE– Networking European Citizenship Education platform – initiated and managed by the Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 'bpb') together with seven partners from France, The Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Slovenia, Poland and the Czech Republic for more than a decade. NECE is an open transnational and diverse (non institutionalized) community of stakeholders and practitioners (formal, non-formal and informal education) of citizenship education (CE) from Europe and associated countries, providing a forum for debate on equal footing, and knowledge exchange. It identifies political, societal trends relevant to CE and develops responses to transfer them into practice while also providing a link to advocate CE at the national, European as well as the international level.



He then described the current position of European citizenship education in the broader universe of civic education as underrepresented and under-discussed. It is time to find ways of underpinning the advancement of EU integration with an adequate and proportionate presence of the EU in citizenship education continent-wide. He gave a perspective on the prevailing trends and paradigm behind citizenship education in Europe today by explaining how the ongoing efforts in this area stem from the 2015 Paris Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education which was signed by governments under the shadow of growing extremism and radicalization in Europe. That is why civic education efforts often indeed act like 'fire brigades' attempting to prevent undesired developments towards those troubling trends and assuring social integration and adherence to European values.

Moving the debate forward to the next question proposed by the chairperson, Andrea Lapegna dismissed most of formal education for its inability to effectively address the most burning issues of today – the climate emergency, for example. In these circumstances of schools lagging behind the actual societal needs, he called for more exchange and cooperation between different stakeholders where schools are no longer the main service-provider. Citizenship education is, he claimed, one of these transversal topics for which 1 class per week is not nearly enough. Rather than carving out too little time for CE, schools should provide a space for interdisciplinary embedding of civic knowledge and skills in a wider web of agents of knowledge transfer. He referred to the LLLP recent study on the knowledge of young people about the EU which concluded that: a) they do not learn enough about the EU in schools; b) they mostly do learn about the EU outside of the formal education context, among peers and online; c) they want to learn more – this last finding being corroborated by many other recent studies. While the panel agreed with the benefits of synergies created in combining formal and informal citizenship education, the initial view against the aptitude of schools to answer to the needs of the youth today was tempered by Mr. Müller-Hofstede. He underlined that the burgeoning of novel social values as well as methodologies for their internalization still need formal formats and ideas if they are to be transmitted beyond the urban areas and spread equally across societies.

The third round of debate focused on how those involved in European citizenship education should respond to the growing need of European citizens to be informed and skilled to address the transnational challenges facing Europe, particularly, climate change. The panelists first reflected on the rising need to incorporate the awareness of transnational activism into curricula and trainings leading, in time, to the development of global citizenship education, one of the facets of the SD Goals. This would follow an already existing shift in the role and purpose of education to that of forging more just, peaceful, tolerant and inclusive societies in order to deal with the challenges and opportunities posed by globalization. The Youthforclimate strikes are a par excellence example of young people globally but, first and foremost in Europe, assuming an active role both locally and globally in facing and tackling global issues and ultimately becoming proactive contributors to a more sustainable world. In this, all panelist were in agreement. Moreover, they also agreed that European citizenship education can facilitate this process of youth-driven awareness on the environment by being transformative and giving learners the opportunity and competencies to realise their rights and obligations to promote a better world and future. However, the dynamism of the debate was fueled by a difference in opinions as to just what primacy should be accorded to climate change in comparison to other issues facing European societies in considering a new approach to civic education. Should it become predominantly informal, confrontational and activists just because the strikes are?

For Suzana Carp the environment is the missing link in the story of European belonging. According to her, we have managed to construct our societies and our Union with Western mindsets that do not count in the environment. In contrast, indigenous peoples are always also locally rooted and intrinsically linked to sustainability. In order to thrive, Europe must do so to. Making a shift of approach in civic education to adapt to the environmental challenge is an opportunity for education in Europe to stop being disconnected from the reality on an interconnected continent under a single common threat.



In contrast, Mr. Müller-Hofstede argued against this one-sided shift. For him, citizenship is in crisis not just in Europe but all over the world (take the turmoil in Honk-Kong, for example) and the root causes of this crisis vary. On the consequence end of the spectrum of possible fallouts of giving too much priority to climate change, he cautioned that complex contemporary societies are societies of value incommensurability wherein some individual and group rankings of values cannot be easily squared and consensus reached. Germany is a good example of the consequences of going 'green' in the energy sector hitting coal workers' areas very hard. Yes, we must go green, but we also must accommodate the civic values of those who are hit by this process.

The discussion with the audience included going deeper on all these issues, but also added another layer of debate: how to engender a sense of belonging of migrant communities (and, in them, in particular, those who neither feel, as stated by a member of the audience, "neither Dutch nor European"). The dialogue led everyone to ponder on the most optimal ways of marrying: a) funding and framework for citizenship education actions that come from above, and b) the specific local and idiosyncratic needs and demands of the sometimes alienated and too often marginalized individuals and groups that come from bellow.



**Students relaxing on the ULB campus during our break**



# KEYNOTE I

## "Citizenship of the EU and Principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of nationality: the effects of Article 18 TFUE in the case law of the EU Court of Justice"

Lucia Serena ROSSI

(Judge at the Court of Justice of the European Union)

The case-law the EU Court of Justice has issued on non-discrimination since the very inception of the Union is particularly developed in the area of discrimination based on nationality - which has been the motor of the deepening of European integration. This case law is rich in lessons on fundamental issues related to the exercise of the freedom of movement which features as the core of EU citizenship for most EU citizens.



At a time when some member states and their judiciaries tend to narrow their interpretation of non-discrimination in order to reassert state control over migratory flows, judge Rossi reminded all present of the pivotal role Article 18 should continue to play in the times ahead. The Court's case-law on the right to non-discrimination of students and, more generally, EU nationals, in a situation captured by EU law point to a process whereby a principle is being elevated to a fundamental right. The Court's case-law on EU citizenship displays a similar tendency.



## Evening sessions at the Salon for European Civic Organisations (SECO), 53 Rue D'Arlon

*The evening portion of the first day of our summer university took place at the new incubator for civic organisations working around the democracy in and of the EU, a growing co-working space and vast office floor in the heart of the European quarter, this brand new space is becoming a hub for innovative citizens' ideas, a dynamic launch pad for NGOs and associations dealing with making the EU more open to its citizens! After the introduction of the space by its manager Maurice SELVAIS, participants could choose to join one of the three sessions:*



# 1) Transnational citizenship in action: experiences from civil society campaigns leading up to the EP elections (European Public Sphere, This Time I'm Voting, Transeuropa Caravans) as well as the pioneering transnational political movements (PACE-DIEM25). Chaired by Andrea BOCCUNI (The Good Lobby)

The discussion gathered young activists who were directly involved in successful campaigns of transnational citizenship in action, engaging different parts of civil society and clearly given a strong contribution to the higher turnout in the European elections.



## EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE

**Anne Hardt** from Democracy International presented the project European Public sphere for which they have visited 3 countries and 11 cities in the Benelux tour ahead of the European elections. The project has been running for 2 years now. Activists travel to different town squares across the continent and host debates on the future of Europe to collect inputs from everyday citizens on the streets. The format used is the one of “Dome Talk” events. All interested passersby, initiatives, organizations, activists are welcome and invited to participate. Events take place under a quite impressive geodesic dome structure, which has become quite symbolic of the project. The ideas will be collected in an archive and catalogue and then published and presented to the European Parliament. Anna told us the impressive number of people who got interested in the project and that sometimes you have really diverse groups, often older people and with a majority of men speaking.

thistimeinvoting.eu

Presenting the results from the campaign, two volunteers Erwan Chadli and Mihaela Turcu told us some interesting stories from their experience. As Erwan recalled, this time the communication strategy was based on a system of young multipliers targeting weak abstainers. Involved in the campaign in Brussels, he explained how online and offline activities were put in practice to provide European citizens all the necessary information to vote in Belgium. Not surprisingly, these young activists chose to go outside the bubble of the EU quarter and reached Brussels areas like Anderlecht and Molenbeek to include more and more people who are often left aside. For Erwan this was a nice experience as he managed to create a multi-level networking, without being directly part of any associations and built strong human connections with colleagues and people he encountered. The same feeling was stressed by Mihaela, another committed young activist who started as campaign assistant in September 2018, focusing on the offline part of the campaign. She worked in together with EP Liaison office in Romania and started campaigning here in Brussels with Romanian people who are not part of the EU bubble. Helping people understanding why is important to vote, how this affects your life as well as general information on the EU and its decision-making process. Training young people was part of the activities and outcomes were very satisfying. The audience asked what would have happened with this incredible “army” of talented young people who helped increasing the turnout. Next step is the platform [Together.eu](#) which is a pro-European campaign gathering all professional young people who want to pursue what has been created with the elections campaign.

## TRANSEUROPACARAVANS.EU

Ahead of 2019 European elections, Transeuropa Caravans was a project implemented by the ECIT Foundation, European Alternatives and the Political Critique (visit the [website](https://transeuropacaravans.eu) for more information).



Maria Pia, as team coordinator of the Scandinavian/Baltic route told some stories from her experience, from the meeting with Crossroads in Stockholm which is a reception structure for newcomers to the meeting in Helsinki with the Ministry of Justice to collect best practices on voting methods and rights. According to her, the project benefited from the “European” composition of the team, which helped in overcoming the barriers with people in the streets who can be sometimes wary of young people talking about subjects that can be difficult to explain. The Caravan teams stressed the importance of voting and using tools such as petitions or European citizens’ initiatives and it was interesting to highlight that in Scandinavia people have very few excuses not to vote, as it can be easily done in a public library in Stockholm in early May not only during the election day. Another successful experiment mentioned was the electronic vote in Estonia, a method which should be better known in the rest of Europe.

## TRANSNATIONAL PARTIES

Following the *fil rouge* of transnationality, the panel was concluded by the presentation of two political parties which claimed to be “transnational” or “genuine European” as they are or would like to be based in different Member States and run with one unique programme ahead of European elections 2019. Erik Edman presented Diem25 as paneuropean movement created in 2016 by initiative of Varoufakis. He presented all the challenges posed by



crowdfunding and relatively low budget to run a European-scale campaign, an issue shared by PACE, the second European party represented at the panel by one of its member and candidate for the European election, Audric Alexandre. What they have in common is the goal of reaching citizens and filling the gap between the Union and its citizens. However, a still high level of heterogeneity in terms of electoral laws in Member States and the lack of transnational lists and no legal status for paneuropean parties led these parties to face important obstacles. Despite this, they were welcomed as very good political initiatives and potential solution to get citizens closer to the European project.



## 2) MAKING EUROPEAN CITIZENS

**Masterclass by Petar MARKOVIC (ECIT) , Gosia WACHOWSKA (European Alternatives Berlin) and Jesse COLZANI (The Good Lobby) on practicing EU citizenship (through rights, participation and belonging) and public interest lobbying. A short and practical guide for active transnational citizens!**

Based on ECIT's 2019 experience of co-implementing the Transeuropa caravans project with European Alternatives and Political Critique where we were in charge of developing the training component for our caravaners and their local partners and citizens in 16 EU member states, along with years of advocacy, has led us towards an innovative and adaptable training designed to unleash this potential for citizens and civil society organisations oriented towards the EU. Too often reduced to just the freedom of movement rights of workers across borders, European citizenship sometimes looks like a passive status rather than an active practice. In an era when most challenges we face are transnational in nature (climate change, migration, organized crime, etc.), no one state can seriously provide solutions. That is why a simple, effective and interactive model for knowledge transfer that will extend the awareness of EU citizenship by following its three dimensions around which the entire Summer University was conceptualized: rights, participation and belonging.



At the beginning, Petar Markovic looked at what constitutes any citizenship and why EU citizenship differs from that of its member states. He then zoomed into the first dimension of EU citizenship - citizens' rights: to non-discrimination on the basis of nationality, to move and reside freely within the EU, to vote for and stand as a candidate in European Parliament and municipal elections, to launch and support a European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) etc. His aim was to highlight how these rights can be effectively used by citizens and which actors are to be relied on for their enforcement



Jesse Colzani then went into how these rights can be protected, enforced and expanded through citizens' participation across borders. Every citizen can become a good lobbyist for his/her cause – all it takes is to master the basic steps of citizen lobbying and advocacy. And the Union offers many opportunities and channels for peoples' power. We only need to know where to start. Among many items in the toolkit for participation in Europe (any of them could be the subject of a dedicated course in itself), he chose to speak in more detail about running a campaign geared towards EU institutions and launching an ECI.



Finally, with the awareness of our role as mobile citizens in the economic, legal and political life of the EU comes the sense of attachment to the Union and other citizens in it. Gosia Wochowska ended the first part of the training by speaking about the belonging dimension of European Citizenship. Again, this dimension alone could serve as a basis for an entire course, so, among different programmes which instill positive attitudes towards Europe as an overarching political community, she chose to speak about – Erasmus+, Europe for Citizens, Discover Europe, to name just a few.



### **3) Beyond BREXIT - what role for civil society?**

**Suzana CARP (Sandbag Brussels) Alexandra VON WESTERNHAGEN (Consultant - DAC BEACHCROFT)**  
**Chaired by Tony SIMPSON**

An essay by ECIT and a public letter of the session organisers addressed to EU institutions served as the basis for this latest in the series of ECIT discussions on Brexit across the EU. They explored how civil society can counteract centrifugal forces and include a UK no longer part of the EU in another Europe. A number of priorities drawing on the lessons of BREXIT were suggested for civil society organisations:

- introduce a civic education campaign for Europe;
- champion freedom of movement;
- secure life-long guarantees for European rights;
- defend and extend European political rights;
- reconfigure European citizenship itself.



# DAY 2 - TUESDAY 3 SEPTEMBER

## KEYNOTE II

### **Ms. Julie WARD (MEP - Vice-chair of the Committee on Culture and Education)**

Julie Ward started her speech by telling her audience about her first encounter with the EU. Working for a cultural organization in UK, she realised that what was missing was a level of citizenship engagement to find a common ground among Europeans. This motivated her to defend social Europe. Being one of the voices against Brexit in the British Labour Party she has been part of the movement "Another Europe is possible". Recently elected Vice-chair of the Education and Culture Committee, she recalled that she is not the only British MEP with a high-profile position which indicates the existing respect and trust among MEPs. Brexit has been a wakeup call for everybody, showing that rights as citizens can be easily taken away. The referendum was not lost in 2016, but years before because as a country the UK was neither engaging in the European project, nor celebrating it. What happened in 2016 was the result of a deficit in terms of citizenship education. Here the term education does not only refer to schools, but in a more comprehensive way, citizenship education can be informal and its most interesting, engaging, long lasting sustainable results do not only happen in schools, but through the work of volunteers, different NGOs and trade unions. Julie Ward has contributed to several reports about the role of schools, European studies, the solidarity programme, Erasmus+. Concerning the Europe for citizens programme, it can be a supporting tool for citizens in their process of becoming citizens, and becoming citizens clearly recalls ECIT's theme about belonging. "Do you belong before you become or you become and then you belong?". According to Julie Ward, the Brits are having this kind of existential crisis and because of this loss, they have actually rediscovered the deep sense of belonging to Europe. Citizenship is a key element of democracy and citizens' participation is needed in order for democracy to function.



The major report MEP Ward wrote for the Parliament in last mandate tackled the role of **intercultural dialogue, cultural diversity and education in promoting EU fundamental values**. The report was the CULT Committee's response to the Charlie Hebdo murders and its response to the Paris declaration made by all the Education ministers. This recognized that you can't just fix extremism and radicalization and exclusion simply by having more surveillance and more borders, but actually what it is important to do is to tackle the root cause and, once again, the root cause is belonging. Another important theme is mobility, the need for citizens to cross borders and the added value when you have people from another Member State.

In the vision of the Vice-Chair of the CULT Committee, the EU has never been only a market, but rather the expression of people-to-people contact, which can be reinforced by Erasmus+ or the European Solidarity Corps. The latter should be seen as a response to the agitation that civil society felt about the refugee crisis and the incredible desire that people on the ground felt to do something about migrants. Mentioning that it is now the moment to also talk about climate refugees, Julie Ward recalls that people are fleeing because they face an unsustainable life and that this is partly because of the imperial history we're responsible for. So, the European Solidarity Corps is not just volunteering but it is also rediscovering a core value of the EU: solidarity.



# NOTES FROM THE WORLD CAFÉ

**Description:** The last inter-activity at the Summer University before the closing session was a chance to take stock of all that we have learnt and try to creatively apply it in a structured debate, using the world café method, so that the results may feed into our demands to EU institutions. Participants were divided into world café style rooms to discuss the follow-up to the conclusions from the three thematic panels from the previous day to give recommendations from the Summer University. This discussion format gave all the participants the opportunity to directly contribute to the guidelines and recommendations that we have sent to all EU institutions! Participants were divided into three rooms to discuss each of the three dimensions of European Citizenship and the concrete steps to develop them further: rights, participation and belonging. Every 20 minutes, they changed rooms until all three 3 questions have been discussed by everyone. This process was guided by rapporteurs who steered the discussion forward and ensured that each group used the same method of recording their discussions, such as a flipchart or note-taking.



# Q1 RIGHTS

The first round of discussion was devoted to the threats to European citizenship and rights from Brexit especially if there was “no deal” and followed on from the workshop which had taken place at SECO the previous evening. One idea put forward would be to explore the distinction between rights and status and the extent to which one was dependent on the other. The discussion was mostly about the acquisition of EU citizenship through residence, birth, ancestry or marriage and how rules differed from one country to the next across the EU. A neglected area in retaliation to Brexit was the rights and citizenship of children.

The second and third sessions were devoted to the application and extension of European political rights and the ECIT project to launch an ECI on this theme. The time was definitely right for this initiative since a new interest in the political rights attached to EU citizenship was evident. In the UK, court cases and petitions were being developed as a result of the de facto disenfranchisement of EU citizens in the European elections. “Another Europe is possible” was launching a campaign to extend political rights.

ECIT had set out in its paper the reason for the ECI but also some of the difficulties such as the fact that it would not be easy to collect 1 million signatures, so that a significant budget and network across at least the minimum number of 7 member states would be required. The preliminary analysis based partly on consulting the advice forum for ECIs set up by the European Commission was that there is a legal basis for the Commission to act. It should be relatively easy to argue that since the Maastricht Treaty gave EU citizens the right to vote and stand in local elections the regions had become more important and the franchise should be extended to that level as well. The case was more difficult to argue when it came to allowing EU citizens to vote in their home country or their country of residence in national elections and referenda. The group largely agreed with this analysis and pointed out that because there would be resistance from much of the right wing among the parties, combined with resistance by national governments jealously guarding their sovereignty, the organisers should on balance stick to first principles and keep the ECI out of the political arena.

In order to win over public opinion, it would be important to use a “levelling-up” argument ie that in the UK, EU citizens should have the same rights as Commonwealth citizens. It would reassure some groups if the organisers supported the case for some safeguards like those under the existing directives for regions or countries where the proportion of EU citizens was over 20% for example. On how to mobilise signatures both groups were clear: young people should be the main organisers and target group. First, there were the Erasmus university student networks. An attempt should be made to enlist the support of a university with a high proportion of foreign students to help with the preliminary research and launch of the ECI. The international student unions were potential allies. Secondly, the volunteers recruited by the European Parliament for the campaign in the run up to the European elections were beginning to form a community interested in taking on new tasks and this one would be a natural follow-up. These ideas would be built in the strategy ECIT would develop for the launch of the ECI.

- On Brexit: explore the interesting issue of separating rights from status. If Brexit goes ahead on 31 October, Tony Simpson suggests we might call an emergency meeting at SECO to explore implications for European rights and citizenship.
- Explore opportunities and obstacles to the ECI on political rights with very good idea of concentrating on the students’ and “this time I’m voting” network of volunteers.

## Q2 PARTICIPATION

The three groups whose input fed into the recommendations on our demands related to the participation dimension of European citizenship were very active and inspired by the first day of the Summer University and contributed with diverse and innovative ideas to the draft demands proposed by ECIT.

Regarding the demand for the Commission to produce a new White paper on European governance and the citizen, the participants unanimously agreed that the current White Paper (2001) is not fit for the age of internet and social media and requires comprehensive updating across the range of all the possibilities open to citizens in their political actions.



The participants also underlined the need for:

- (a) maximally open and transparent preliminary consultations with all relevant stakeholders;
- (b) a system of tracking proposed ideas so that the deliberative processes leading to and from the new White Paper do not get “lost in translation” as they are transformed from citizens’ proposals to policy.

Regarding the demand to make deliberative and participatory democracy a permanent pillar of EU decision-making through a European Citizens’ Agora, the participants wholeheartedly supported this idea as well as the avenue ECIT suggested to permanently enthrone participatory democracy in the EU institutional life (European law required). Procedurally, they suggested further concretizing some of the steps described in the draft demands. For example, they suggested further explaining the lottery system for selecting citizens and CSOs to the agoras, spelling out a code of conduct, link the agoras’ deliberative and participative processes to the timeline of EU’s politics (election cycles, EP sessions etc), enable channels of exchange between different agoras horizontally as well as between agoras and other national and local similar processes (e.g. Grand Débat of E. Macron or Citizens’ initiatives in Finland). Finally, one of the three groups also suggested that agoras at different levels be linked via a cascade system so that the flow of ideas from the bottom-up is assured and, as with the demand above, the ‘end-up in shelf’ outcome is avoided. In the end, but definitely not less importantly, the participants agreed that this advance towards a more participative Europe and the democratization of expertise dominating EU policy-making cannot be complete without opening agoras to all different populations with special needs and marginalized groups.

## Q3 BELONGING

Regarding the idea about the citizens’ house, we explored the idea of “temporary belonging” referring to migrants who are in an unclear situation or mobile EU citizens staying at a given place for a short period of time. For this, SECO should have a space for migrants mobile EU citizens too. Concerning this point, it was mentioned that there is already an organization which offers support to migrants (Maison du peuple européen) within SECO. Another idea refers to “special access cards” SECO could provide to citizens in order to enter the EP. Like the badges we have once one organization signs in the Transparency Register. These cards could be assigned depending on the needs of organizations.

- Erasmus project. We agreed on the fact that it comes “too late” and civic education and participation should start earlier, not only in the schools, but through arts, cultural projects.
- Information. The access to clear information is key to foster a sense of belonging. (The participants were aware that there are already multifarious networks, but additional material is always good!)
- Language. The multilingualism of Europe seems to be an issue during the discussion. Some agree on having English as a compulsory second language in schools, some suggest it would be better to keep a choice and make students decide which language they want to study. English as a *lingua franca* or pursuing the multilingual policies of the EU? In any case, the discussion was to find a way to better mutual understanding among citizens across borders.

We would hereby like to express our gratitude to the ULB Institut d'Etudes européennes (IEE) & SECO for providing venues and logistical assistance during this two-day event. Our thanks also goes to all the volunteers for their efforts.

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Designed by: Petar Markovic

# LET'S STAY IN TOUCH!

Thank you for contributing to our programme, discussions and the demands to the EU institutions! We hope you find this report useful and we invite you to tell us your opinion and help us reframe European citizenship so that it becomes a first truly transnational citizenship of the modern era. For more insight, please visit our webpage and the section on the 2019 edition of the Summer University on European Citizenship where you will find all the background discussion documents in one place.

Our doors are always open in case you happen to be in Brussels:  
SECO, Rue d'Arlon 53, 1000 Brussels, Belgium



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