Building a People’s Europe
4-6 May 2017, Florence

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BUILDING A PEOPLE'S EUROPE

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INTRODUCTION

‘Unity in Diversity’ - the motto of the European Union describes the complex idea of European identity. Its diversity is reflected in a historical past that had divided the continent into rival nations and that had brought about its current composition: politically independent, but otherwise interdependent states with distinct national identities, each of them again internally diverse in terms of languages, cultures and historical memories. Its political unity stems from the shared values and common institutions of the European Union. The respect for human rights and the rule of law are important cornerstones of this Union that acknowledges at the same time the distinct national identities and the common destiny of its peoples. The uniting element for all Europeans of different origins and identities is their common citizenship.

60 years ago, when the Treaty of Rome gave birth to the European Communities that later became the European Union, there was already a clear commitment for the new community to become more than a regional economic organisation. The Preamble of the Treaty mentioned an “ever closer union among the peoples of Europe”. At the heart of the agreement were the four fundamental freedoms of the common market: free movement of goods, services, capital and workers. With the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 free movement of workers became a freedom of European citizens to reside in other Member States, to seek employment and not to be discriminated on grounds of their nationality. Since 1979, the citizens of Europe have directly voted for their representatives in the European Parliament and since 1993 they can also vote in local elections when they reside in another Member State.

Has the European Union been successful in shaping a common identity based on citizenship? There are reasons for doubt. Participation in European elections is low and declining. Fueled by the rise of populist parties, political confrontation and contestation over European issues have increased, but these battles are fought nearly exclusively in national political arenas. There is no more “permissive consensus” on European integration and enlargement. Free movement has become a matter of intense political debates in many Member States and was the most prominent topic in the campaign for Brexit. New fences are built inside the Schengen Area in order to stop asylum seekers from reaching their destinations. Most Member States remain reluctant to welcome both economic migrants and refugees, although, demographically, Europe is becoming an old and shrinking continent. Unlike overseas countries of immigration, European states are still reluctant to grant citizenship to first and second generations of immigrant origin.

The present dossier illustrates some of these phenomena through facts and figures. It informs about ‘Access to Citizenship and Political Participation’ and gives insights into ‘Attitudes towards Citizenship and Immigration in Europe’. The dossier has been created in a collaborative effort by the Global Citizenship Observatory and GlobalStat Database at the EUI’s Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies in close cooperation with nccr – on the move, a Swiss National Center of Competence in Research based in Neuchatel.

RAINER BAUBÖCK GABY UMBACH
GlobalCit Director GlobalStat Director
ACCESS TO CITIZENSHIP AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

AGEING EUROPE

With decreasing birth rates and rising life expectancy, Europe is becoming quite literally the world’s oldest continent. These trends lead to a shrinking of the working age population that needs to sustain pension and health care services for a rapidly growing population beyond retirement age. Resulting from this trend, economists predict a looming decline in innovation due to outdated skills of a predominantly old workforce, while demographers predict serious labour shortages and great difficulties in sustaining European welfare states.

CITIZENSHIP BY BIRTH IN THE TERRITORY

Europe has become an immigration continent. Yet in most EU Member States, citizenship is acquired by descent rather than through birth in the territory. Second and third generations of immigrants often grow up as foreign nationals in their country of birth.

CONDITIONS FOR ORDINARY NATURALISATION

Immigrants enjoy secure residence and full political rights only once they become citizens. By becoming nationals of a Member State, they also become EU citizens. However, the conditions for naturalisation vary enormously across EU Member States.

Naturalisation rates depend on how difficult it is to become a citizen, but also on the number of new arrivals of immigrants that do not qualify yet for citizenship and on whether migrants can improve their position by becoming citizens. Migrants from wealthy countries and EU citizens are less interested in acquiring a new citizenship.
NEED TO RENOUNCE FOREIGN CITIZENSHIP

There is a global trend towards tolerating dual citizenship. It is especially strong among countries of origin that no longer withdraw their citizenship if a foreign nationality is acquired. European states generally accept dual citizenship resulting from mixed nationality parents or in cases in which citizenship has been acquired by being born in the territory. However, a significant group of states still require immigrants who apply for naturalisation to renounce their foreign nationality.

VOTING RIGHTS FOR NON-RESIDENT CITIZENS

Democratic participation has expanded beyond territorial borders worldwide. Until 1990 only a few states allowed their expatriates to participate in elections. Today, nearly all EU Member States permit their citizens to vote from abroad. Ireland, Greece, Malta and Cyprus require that all voters must be present in the country on election day. Other EU Member States restrict their expatriates’ access to the franchise through a condition of previous residence, a maximum period of absence, through hurdles for voter registration, or by using voting methods that reduce participation rates (such as embassy voting). Only in Croatia, France, Italy, Portugal and Romania can expatriates vote for their own parliamentary representatives.

VOTING RIGHTS FOR THIRD COUNTY NATIONALS IN LOCAL ELECTIONS

Democracy loses legitimacy if large parts of the resident population remain excluded from representation. However, no European country grants national voting rights to all foreign residents. Political inclusion of immigrants in national politics can only be achieved through facilitating and encouraging their naturalisation. By contrast, including immigrants in local politics is more frequently achieved through extending voting rights to all residents. EU citizens can vote in local elections in other EU Member States and 12 of these states grant local voting rights to all foreign residents. The UK gives national voting rights to Irish and Commonwealth citizens. Portugal and Spain extend voting rights to foreign nationals on a basis of reciprocity.

Source: GlobalCit, Electoral Law Indicators (2017).
PARTICIPATION IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS

Turnout in European Parliament elections has declined continuously from 62% in 1979, when the first direct elections were held, to 43% in 2009 and 2014. Participation is significantly lower than in national elections.

With 90% turnout, participation in EP elections is highest in Belgium, where voting is compulsory and lowest in Slovakia, where only 13% of voters participated in 2014. In most EU Member States, citizens of other Member States may vote in European Parliament elections under the same conditions as resident citizens. However, they still face restrictions based on a minimum length of residence in the country or more cumbersome registration procedures in some Member States.

Turnout in 2014 EP elections

POLITICAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS EU CITIZENSHIP

Two thirds of Europeans feel that they are citizens of the EU. 28.6% of respondents say they definitely feel like EU citizens and 40.6% to some extent. This perception is below EU average mainly in Southern and Eastern countries, Austria, France, Italy and the UK. Luxembourg ranks highest with 92% of the population feeling they are EU citizens. Greece is the only country in which the majority of people (53%) do not feel that they are EU citizens.

LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

Only slightly more than half of all Europeans know their rights as EU citizens. However, this percentage has increased since 2010. Knowledge of EU citizens’ rights is below average in most Eastern European countries, but also in some Western European countries, such as France, Italy and the UK.
CHANGING FACE OF IMMIGRATION INTO THE EU
Western, Southern and Northern Europe have received large numbers of immigrants from outside Europe for many decades. Although Europe continues to receive significant numbers of regular workers and family members, in recent years migration flows consist of larger numbers of people fleeing from war and violence. These vulnerable groups often rely on smugglers and traffickers to reach European destinations. As a result, immigration has become much less predictable and manageable and politically more contested.

Increased immigration cannot fully compensate for the effects of ageing and shrinking populations on the economy and on social welfare. However, it still helps to mitigate them in the short run. The recent wave of migrants and refugees consists primarily of younger working-age population. Investing into their education and training creates considerable short-term.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EU-MIGRATION
The vast majority of Europeans have very or fairly positive feelings towards immigrants from other EU Member States. 61% of the citizens surveyed in autumn 2016 expressed a positive attitude, which is an increase of 3% compared to the previous survey.

Negative feelings about EU immigrants are higher in the South, East and the UK. The percentage of UK citizens with a positive attitude towards immigration from other EU Member States has however increased by 9% after the Brexit referendum.

FEELINGS TOWARDS IMMIGRATION FROM OUTSIDE THE EU
The majority of Europeans feel negative about immigrants from outside the EU. Only 37% expressed positive attitudes compared to 56% of Europeans who felt negatively about immigration from outside the EU. There is however a 3% increase in support since spring 2016 and negative feelings towards extra-EU immigration declined in 16 Member States, most strongly in the UK (-10%).
PREFERENCES FOR A COMMON POLICY ON IMMIGRATION

A large percentage of Europeans support a common EU policy on migration. Over the past several years, around 70% of Europeans believe that the EU is the right political level to best tackle migration issues. Support has, however, slightly dropped since 2015, when more than 1 million refugees and irregular migrants arrived in Europe. In 2016, the Czech Republic was the only country in which a majority of respondents opposed a common EU policy on migration (55% “against” vs. 41% “pro”). Luxembourg and Germany (85%) are leaders in support of a common EU migration policy.

THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FACING THE EU

Since autumn 2014, immigration has been the most important policy issue to Europeans. Although there is a decline since the height of the refugee inflow in summer 2015, immigration remains among the two most frequently mentioned policy issues of concern in 27 out of 28 Member States.
GLOBALCIT relies on a network of academic experts who write country reports, collect legal documents and provide input for our comparative databases. Currently our network includes 168 country experts and 132 external contributors.

**Research**

**Themes:** GLOBALCIT publishes databases, analyses and indicators on access to citizenship and electoral rights

**Scope:** GLOBALCIT currently covers 92 countries in the Americas, Asia, Europe and Oceania

**Projects and funding:** GLOBALCIT has received funding for projects from the European Integration Fund, the British Academy, the European Parliament and the Research Council of the EUI.

**Resources for academic and policy communities**

**Country profiles:** up to date reports, legislation, news and statistics on citizenship and electoral rights.

**Legal databases:** most comprehensive online collection of citizenship and electoral laws, with user-friendly search menus and direct links to full texts.

**Comparative databases:** allow users to compare acquisition and loss of citizenship and barriers to electoral franchise across countries and over time

**Indicators:** measure how inclusive legal provisions are. Users can create their own charts and maps as well as download the data.

**Forum debates:** expert online discussions on questions that are at the centre of academic and political debates.

**Commentaries:** comments and analyses of current issues.

**News:** unique repository of media reports on significant legislative changes, court decisions and policy developments.

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**Key figures**

Over 300 publications including Country Reports, Comparative Analyses and Working Papers

7,000 monthly visitors to the EUDO CITIZENSHIP website on average in 2016

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**GLOBALCIT Team**

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**Timeline**

- **2008**
  - EUDO CITIZENSHIP established as one of four European Union Democracy Observatories

- **2009**
  - Comparative databases on modes of acquisition and loss of citizenship

- **2012**
  - Geographic expansion to the Southern and Eastern European neighbourhood

- **2013**
  - Launch of Citizenship Indicators

- **2014**
  - Thematic expansion from citizenship status to access to the franchise

- **2015**
  - Geographic expansion to North and South American states

- **2015**
  - ELECLAW indicators on access to the franchise

- **2017**
  - EUDO Citizenship becomes the Global Citizenship Observatory (GLOBALCIT)
Mission
GlobalStat is a public information tool for users around the world that offers a large amount of statistical data free of charge from international sources for all 193 UN member states, from 1960 to present day. Presenting data in a user-friendly way, it focuses on the economic, environmental, political, social, and cultural performance of nations and adopts a 'beyond GDP' approach to the collection of data. Its ultimate aim is to provide information about the way human beings live, the freedoms they enjoy and the limitations they face.

ABOUT GLOBALSTAT

Today’s increasing relevance of statistics translates only slowly into a transparent visibility of data within the public domain. In order to close the gap between data proliferation and their actual use, new tools are needed to improve the clarity and speed with which statistical data can be accessed as important independent sources of information. GlobalStat takes up this challenge.

It is structured in 12 thematic and three horizontal areas. Thematic areas are divided into sub-themes that include statistical data series. Horizontal areas offer insight into data on cross-cutting aspects of sustainable livelihood, national wealth, human well-being and quality of life. GlobalStat currently contains over 500 indicators and is designed to grow over time.

By presenting data as diverse as income distribution, water resources, migration, land use, food production, nutrition, or life expectancy, GlobalStat contributes to a better understanding of the potential interrelations between human development and globalisation trends. All data and metadata are accessible free of charge for personal information purposes and research.

TIMELINE

September 2011
- Partnership between the European University Institute’s Global Governance Programme (GGP) and the Francisco Manuel dos Santos Foundation
- Gaby Umbach is the Founding Director of GlobalStat

May 2015
- Official launch of the GlobalStat website

October 2015
- GlobalStat starts a collaboration with the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS)

June 2016
- GlobalStat is embedded in the EPRS website

PROJECT PARTNERS

Since October 2015, a partnership between GlobalStat and the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS) offers an ever-increasing portfolio of data-based services and publications to GlobalStat users, Members of the European Parliament (EP), their staff, and to the staff of the EP. Since September 2016, GlobalStat is also integrated as the new ‘Statistics Warehouse’ resource into the EPRS’s intranet in order to provide direct access to GlobalStat for EPRS clients.

A cooperation with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) started in mid-2016 and will contribute substantially to the further development of GlobalStat’s data visualisation tools and website.

PROJECT TEAM

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The nccr – on the move at a Glance

The nccr – on the move, the National Center of Competence in Research (NCCR) for migration and mobility studies, has been operational since June 2014. It is financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Managed from the University of Neuchatel, the network consists of some 70 researchers from social sciences, economics and law, who collaborate in 19 projects that are based at the universities of Neuchatel, Basel, Bern, Fribourg, Geneva, Lausanne, Lucerne, and Zurich.

The Migration-Mobility Nexus
Designed to develop new perspectives on changing migratory realities, the nccr – on the move brings together research projects from social sciences, economics and law – combined to address the overall research question: What is the character of contemporary migration and mobility patterns within the so-called Migration-Mobility Nexus? Empirically, the Migration-Mobility Nexus embodies the hypothesis that two logics of regulating and experiencing human movement have emerged and currently feed into each other in contemporary Europe: migration and mobility. Theoretically, it attempts to conceptualize the alleged historical transformation through the two paradigmatic lenses of migration research and mobility studies.

Making Data Available
The nccr – on the move provides longitudinal data by linking information from administrative registers (such as the Swiss population register, the Swiss aliens register, and the structural survey) to make it possible to reconstitute individual and households life trajectories. The center is also tackling some of the “lacunae” in Swiss migration statistics with its Migration-Mobility Survey. Other data collected by the research teams is visualized and made accessible to a wider public – for example, the citizenship databases.

Advancing Young Researchers
The nccr – on the move fellows receive a disciplinary, cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary training. Amongst others, the center offers a four-year doctoral program and a yearly summer school is dedicated to thematic and interdisciplinary aspects of migration and mobility research.

Providing Platforms for Academic Exchange
Exchange with leading academics in the area of migration and mobility studies is taking place in the form of public lectures and annual conferences, which provide an opportunity to discuss ideas and concepts across scientific boundaries. The main tools for promoting interdisciplinary collaboration are thematic workshops that trigger output-oriented debates.

In addition to publishing research results in high-ranking, peer-reviewed journals, vernacular journals or as book chapters and books, the members are encouraged to publish in the nccr – on the move Working Paper Series.

Reaching out to a Broader Audience
The nccr – on the move enters into a dialogue with private and public audiences. One of the platforms is the blog with posts on political issues, practical experiences, and frequently used terms. The Policy Briefs in a nutshell provide answers to topical questions and the online magazine highlights integrates different research findings by discussing one focus topic from several perspectives.

Times and again, the nccr – on the move organizes face-to-face encounters with selected actors. These presentations or expert exchange roundtables treat topics, which are relevant to the respective participants.
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Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS), created in 1992 and directed by Professor Brigid Laffan, aims to develop inter-disciplinary and comparative research on the major issues facing the process of European integration, European societies and Europe’s place in 21st century global politics. The Centre is home to a large post-doctoral programme and hosts major research programmes, projects and data sets, in addition to a range of working groups and ad hoc initiatives. The research agenda is organised around a set of core themes and is continuously evolving, reflecting the changing agenda of European integration, the expanding membership of the European Union, developments in Europe’s neighbourhood and the wider world.

The Global Governance Programme

The Global Governance Programme (GGP) is research turned into action. It provides a European setting to conduct research at the highest level and promote synergies between the worlds of research and policy-making, to generate ideas and identify creative and innovative solutions to global challenges. The Programme is part of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the European University Institute, a world-renowned academic institution. It receives financial support from the European Commission through the European Union budget. Complete information on our activities can be found online at: globalgovernanceprogramme.eui.eu

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