UACES 42nd Annual Conference

Passau, 3-5 September 2012

www.uaces.org

The Case for European Citizenship? Transnational Market Citizens in the European Union

This paper is an attempt to explore migrants' experiences of European Union (EU) citizenship in a qualitative environment. It is an initial step as part of a larger research project on how EU citizens' experiences and notions of citizenship are affected by intra-EU economic migration. Based on exploratory evidence with EU students in Sweden, the paper seeks to examine how exercising EU citizenship's freedom of movement rights is likely to transform their citizenship and identity.

From the outset it seems that Sweden is a prototype case of how a fully integrated EU might cope with its migrant citizens. According to survey data (MIPEX, 2010), Sweden has been the most successful EU country to integrate migrants through its mainstreaming policies on equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities.[1] Sweden was the only EU member state to adopt the same immigration policies towards both EU-15[2] and Central and Eastern European (CEE)[3] migrants, introducing only those EU regulations that are applicable in the other 26 EU member states as well. The student segment of the migrant population is also encouraged to integrate into Swedish society through promoting diversity in the classroom and policies assuring that general as well as more explicit support attending students' individual needs are attainable (MIPEX, 2010).[4] Since higher education is free for *all* students from the EU and considering that other international students face excessive fees, an increasing number of EU students are expected to arrive at Sweden. Thus Sweden's

---

[1] There are differences in the treatment of migrants in other EU member states mainly on the basis of their country of origin.

[2] EU 15 member states are: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the UK

[3] New member states since 1st May 2004: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland
New member states since 1st January 2007: Bulgaria and Romania

[4] There is a variation on the facilities available to students across the country, but in comparison to other EU member states and in fact other countries listed in the survey, Sweden scored first.

far-reaching and flourishing integration policies suggest that the empirical framework on EU citizenship that fits the Swedish case can be tested in the other EU countries.

EU citizenship has been at the core of European integration policies as part of a bricolage approach (Laffan, 1996). Initially it was introduced as a form of market citizenship sustaining further economic integration (Preuss, 1996) and more recently it has been promoted as the likely basis of a collective European or EU identity supporting political integration (Shore, 2000). However, EU citizenship has been widely criticised by commentators for its market origins (Everson, 1995) and (supposed) failure to promote a collective EU identity among its citizens especially compared to the more traditional, nation state citizenships (Smith, 1992; Bellamy, 2008). Empirical research on how EU citizenship transforms the lives of its citizens tend to look at one element of EU citizenship, mainly identity (Fligstein, 2008; Risse, 2010; Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009) without deliberating much on the others which are rights and participation (COM, 2001). However, EU-generated surveys draw our attention to the fact that a growing number of EU migrant citizens make use of their freedom of movement rights (Eurostat, 2012) and that there is a distinction between citizens' identities due to their participation in the EU internal market (TNS Opinion and Social, 2011). Empirical studies have begun to analyse the effects economic mobility has on migrants' identity, but they are inclined to take a more sociological approach including only a limited discussion on the political framework of EU citizenship and its real meaning to EU citizens (for example Recchi and Favell, 2009; Recchi and Triandafyllidou, 2010; Roeder, 2011). These studies find that those individuals who are actively participating in the economic market of the EU feel more European or more attached to the EU than those who do not (Rother and Nebe, 2009).

This paper seeks to begin filling the gap in the existing literature by bringing together the institutional elements of EU citizenship in a qualitative environment. It draws on original empirical evidence in order to really explore in more detail what EU citizenship entails for its citizens and what the likely effects of intra-EU economic mobility on EU citizens' identity are. The empirical evidence on young (aged 18-35), university-level educated EU students in Sweden was collected by the author between April and June 2012. For the purpose of clarity, the paper refers to EU

students as the migrant and home or Swedish students as the non-migrant EU citizens. The four focus groups included 23 EU students who came to Sweden from a number of EU member states and included exchange, Erasmus and full time students. The eight home students who participated in the Swedish group were in full time university education. Overall, the evidence suggests that all three elements of EU citizenship are relevant to the lives of EU citizens, but to a different extent and possibly in a different way than it has been discussed by commentators before. Intra-EU migration seems to be perceived as exercising EU citizenship rights and as such, participating at the EU level. Thus, economic mobility has the potential to transform EU citizens' identity. The evidence illustrates that economically mobile EU citizens are more likely to develop a collective EU identity compared to their non-mobile counterparts and suggests that EU citizenship is a type of transnational market citizenship. However, this finding is only applicable to that transnational, well educated segment of EU citizens; citizens' personal experiences and member states' immigration policies are still major determinants of EU citizenship.

The paper is structured as follows: the first part discusses EU policy makers' vision on how EU citizenship is meant to serve as the basis of a collective EU identity, rights and participation and explores whether or not students in Sweden find that these elements are significant in their daily lives. The second part studies the link between EU identity construction and EU citizenship by exploring in more detail if there are considerable differences between participants' notions of citizenship and identity on the basis of migration.

Transnational Market Citizens in the EU Marketplace

Citizenship in Europe is source and the entanglement of identity, rights and participation (Bellamy, 2008). Identity stimulates reciprocity and mutual awareness leading to solidarity towards the polity and fellow citizens and, at the same time, defines the notion of the "other", the non-citizen. Citizens' rights guarantee equal treatment and are realised through actual participation in the polity's decision making process. For many of the focus group participants, citizenship is also the link between a democratic polity and the individual, because citizenship "implies

3

agreement from the citizen in his relation to [the] state. In a more authoritarian state ... the agreement is not really present so it's [a] different form of relation[ship] more like subjection than citizenship" (Male, French).

Based on the national examples, EU citizenship was established in the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. The rationale for its introduction was to further EU integration and to strengthen the legitimacy of the EU by creating a common European identity through EU citizens' EU level participation (COM, 2001). EU citizenship is the first direct link between a regional polity and the individual, but access to its rights remains to be granted on the basis of being a citizen in one of the EU member states (Art. 20(1), TFEU), thus EU citizens are citizens of at least two polities simultaneously. In this sense EU citizenship has a multilevel framework because its citizens are linked and arguably feel attached to different levels, the member state and the regional. For many of the EU students the multilevel nature of EU citizenship was important in their experiences in Sweden because "It's like you are citizen of your city and then of your region, maybe of your country and then [the] European Union… then there [are] some citizens of the world" (Female, Polish). EU citizenship is transnational because it is not limited to traditional state borders but relate to cross-country practices and intra-regional migration flows derived from EU citizens' economic rights (Balibar, 2004). Several participants both home and EU students believed that EU citizenship was only relevant to their lives once they crossed their member state borders and that it was unlikely to affect the lives of those who do not migrate. "Of course we are much more European citizens ... only if we travel we can experience the differences and the existence of a European community" (Male, Italian).

In order to illustrate the effects of exercising EU economic rights on identity, we need to clarify how identity is traditionally constructed through citizenship and why these more accepted, possibly more democratic, methods have not worked in the EU according to the empirical evidence. It has been argued that citizens' identity is developed through simultaneous processes including cognitive awareness of being a member of a social group and the emotional value attached to their membership (Tajfel, 1974). Not every citizen knows each other, hence their collective identity is built on their understanding that members of their social group have and share the same identity. In this sense citizenship defines an 'imagined community' (Anderson,

1991). Collective identity can also be promoted through a common culture, history and territory because these aspects outline a sense of "we" in relation to the "other", the non-citizens (Bellamy, 2008).

The empirical evidence suggests that there is a difference between individuals' awareness of their EU citizenship status depending on whether or not they have exercised their freedom of movement rights. EU students were more likely to understand what the concept of 'EU citizen' entails and recognised themselves as EU citizens. "You know, studying here it's always about I'm member of the European Union, I have a lot of advantages so you get this feeling that you are a European citizen" (Female, German). Home students knew about Sweden's EU membership, but were not aware of what the notion 'European citizen' referred to because, in their view, it was not relevant to their everyday lives.

> I heard it [the idea of European citizen] for the first time in our political theory course when we were talking about citizenship. I've never came [to] contact with the concept of the European citizen before and I found it surprising, because I consider myself … not ignorant. I try to follow current events and also the European Union so I was also surprised... no one had tried to convince me that I am a European citizen. (Female, Swedish)

Only a few EU and home students were aware of their EU citizenship status suggesting that on a cognitive level they have not developed a collective EU identity. Although some participants said that they felt an emotional attachment to the EU, the strength of their attachment varied mainly due to citizens' attachment to a number of other social groups like international or Swedish student unions and intersecting social factors such as gender and ethnic origins.

For many of the participants a common European history and culture existed but, they linked this idea to Europe rather than the EU and questioned who can and who should join the EU.

> If there are no limitations on who joins, then even Israel wants to join Europe someday, which is quite far. So it has to be [through] some

5

process that countries have to follow and it will take some time for them to join Europe. Even if it's relevant and possible, good for them and for Europe to let them join, because you can make them join ... but where will we stop? ... So there is always this question - do you really want to open this? Because there is no limit, everyone wants to be in Europe. (Italian, Male)

Based on the literature, EU citizens' collective identity could also be promoted by and changed through top-down processes (Risse, 2010). The EU introduced symbols including Europe day and a European hymn to make the 'imagined community' of Europeans real in the minds of EU citizens (Ibid). However, top-down attempts to engender EU citizenship had unexpected consequences. For example, prior to the Eurozone crisis, the Euro used to be associated with an exclusive and privileged group of citizens (Risse, 2003). Furthermore, focus group participants cited how having a European passport and a European Health Insurance Card was important for them personally, but none mentioned the more traditional symbols of a European nationhood like the European flag or anthem. Thus, a collective EU identity on the basis of EU membership and symbols has not developed among the interviewees.

Another way to promote identity is through citizens' participation in the polity's decision making. This approach is favoured by EU institutions and actors as the European Commission's (2001) statement demonstrates. However, EU citizenship is institutionally limited because the rights and duties of EU citizens are scattered in a number of legal documents and treaties (Art. 20(2), TFEU). The Lisbon Treaty only lists a few of these rights, implying an institutional distinction where some rights of EU citizens are regarded more important than others. Coupled with the limited information available to ordinary citizens, students at the focus groups said that it was difficult to keep up to date with their EU rights and entitlements.[5] EU students also indicated that when information is published, the line between what originates

---

[5] EU citizens' rights are not listed in a single EU treaty, which can be seen as a setback for further development. Whilst most rights are listed in the EU Charter, but the Charter is not included in any of the EU's official treaties, certain member states can opt out (see Protocol No. 30 on the application of the Charter to Poland and to the United Kingdom) and most of its articles do not differentiate between EU and third-country nationals leading to further confusions.

directly from the EU and the member states is blurred because the channel of communication is national.

From the rights included in the relevant chapter of the EU treaty, participants were aware of their freedom of movement rights (Art. 21 (1), TFEU) and right to vote and stand for election at the municipal (Art. 22(1), TFEU) and European Parliamentary (EP) elections (Art. 22(2), TFEU) in the member state of their residence. From the 31 EU citizens interviewed, only one had heard about his right to consular and diplomatic protection in a non-EU country (Art. 23, TFEU). The right to petition to the European Ombudsman was not mentioned (Art. 24, TFEU). The ordering of these rights in the treaty and EU citizens' awareness of some rights propose that only certain rights could serve as the basis of EU-level participation and collective identity, namely political participation in the EU and freedom of movement rights.

Most participants at the focus groups revealed that their right to vote for the EP and vote and stand as a candidates in the local elections in Sweden was important for them. However, home students were more likely to vote in the municipal elections and did not participate in the EP elections. Only 3 of the 23 EU students interviewed had participated in the EP elections and Swedish local elections. Some were not eligible to vote due to residency limitations and others did not feel that local parties reached out to EU migrants.

> I think in Sweden it's a good thing that we can vote for local elections, even though I've never done that, because I'm not that involved in such Swedish community where I actually know what different party does what and I feel that they don't really reach out to the international community. (Female, German)

EU-wide surveys reveal that voter turnout at the local and EP elections vary. Participation at municipal elections in 2010 was between 50 – 60% (COM, 2012), much higher than the turnout for the European Parliamentary elections in 2009 at 43% (EP, 2012). Interestingly, Sweden elected the second highest number of

migrant EU citizens at 17.1% (COM, 2012).[6] The low level of turnout in EP and municipal elections and the variation between member states indicate that an analysis about EU citizens' EU level political participation cannot serve as a basis of their EU identity. The empirical evidence also suggests that the EU and its citizenship have won the minds and not the hearts of the participants. As one EU student remarked: "there [are] advantages socially, technical advantages, travelling, but in the end I don't even feel like I have that European citizenship when I vote for the European Parliament" (Male, Italian). Based on the evidence, EU and home students tend to distinguish between the type of identity they experience at the national and EU levels. The evidence suggests that an innovative form of citizenship exists at the EU and that the differences between participants' notions and experiences of EU citizenship is determined by whether or not they made use of their freedom of movement rights.

Economic mobility in the EU internal market as the basis of EU identity

It has been argued that changes in the identity of EU citizens might be noticeable if we compare migrant and non-migrants' identity (Favell, 2008; Roader, 2011), but existing research has been reluctant to reflect on these changes within the framework of EU citizenship (the exception is Bellamy (2011)). Although freedom of movement rights for EU nationals dates back prior to the introduction of EU citizenship and was originally established in order to integrate individuals in the Single Market of the European Economic Community (Everson, 1995), not much has changed since 1986 in terms of how the EU relates to its citizens. Although EU citizenship has been institutionalised in the Maastricht Treaty and citizens' rights are continuously evolving, both the EU and its citizens tend to utilise projects which turn member state nationals into economically migrant EU citizens.

For instance, EU institutions focus on promoting higher education across member state boundaries because the 'learning mobility' of young EU citizens "fosters a sense of European identity; it helps knowledge circulate more freely; and it contributes to the internal market, as Europeans who are mobile as young learners

---

[6] France elected the most with 32,8%.

8

are more likely to be mobile as workers later in life" (COM, 2010). Existing research also demonstrates that young people are more prone to policy influences than older ones (Flanagan, 2009), their citizenship experiences and notions do not fade away at the later stages (Sloam, 2012) and that the higher educated segment of the EU population feels more European than the lower-educated one (Rother and Nebe, 2009). Thus the highly educated and mobile students are the prototype EU citizens whose early experiences in the internal market have the potential to determine the type of EU citizenship that is likely to persist into the future.

However, mobile students do not deliver a traditional form of citizenship to the EU when they shop around for education, but act as "costumers in quantifiable exchanges" (Root, 2009: ix). In this sense EU students operationalise a form of individualistic market citizenship concerned with regional market integration. The original empirical evidence on the young and migrant segment of EU citizens in Sweden also suggests that a political structure of EU citizenship is implemented through chiefly economic considerations. In order really explore the type of EU citizenship students experience, a distinction between home and EU students is necessary and research should be mindful about the different immigration policies member states have on intra-EU migrants as well as the low number of intra-EU migrants compared to the whole of the EU's population.

On the one hand, immigration policies are decided by member states and whilst EU migrants from EU-15 member states have not faced labour market restrictions, EU migrants from the 2004 and 2007 CEE member states have had to comply with a number of restrictive measures. Sweden has been the only member state to apply standard EU regulations for the inflow of EU migrants regardless of their country of origin. As expected, the empirical evidence shows that the assessment and the substance of EU citizenship for EU migrants from CEE countries are influenced by member states' immigration policies. Bulgarian, Romanian, Hungarian and Polish EU citizens participating in the focus groups noted that, in their view, member state policies on intra-EU migration differentiate between EU citizens on the basis of their origin and thus affect the type of EU citizenship and the strength of EU identity they experience.

> Sweden is a fun example, because in Sweden I do have all the rights as other European citizens, but other countries I have lived in I didn't have this privilege. For example, I need a work permit to work in Holland or in Germany, in Austria … in very large parts of Europe. (Female, Bulgarian)

EU students tend to believe that an East-West divide along the Iron Curtain exists in the EU. CEE EU students felt that they are different from Western Europeans and this strongly affected their identities with both the EU and their fellow EU citizens. This finding is more puzzling if we consider that most of these students were born after the end of the Cold War. Interestingly, EU-15 students also claimed that they have more in common with other EU-15 students and felt 'more like home' in any of the EU-15 member states compared to the CEE countries.

> I think in Europe there is also like different areas or there is not one Europe, there are many… I very often go to France and Spain, to England and even Sweden and I feel almost at home. But when I go to Eastern Europe, again, no offence, but I still feel a little bit weird. It's Europe but I don't know, doesn't feel so home. (Male, Portuguese)

On the other hand, migrant EU citizens are by far in the minority if we consider the EU's population as a whole. In 2011, 12.8 million EU citizens lived in another EU member state making up (only) 2.5% of the EU's population (Eurostat, 2012). However, we get a different perspective if we compare the number of migrant EU citizens with the population of member states; 10 of the EU's 27 member states have less than 12.8 million citizens (Ibid.). In terms of migration, over one third of migrants in the EU are EU citizens. Although Sweden has an open door policy towards migrant EU citizens, migrants are represented in all employment sectors and receive compatible wages based on their qualifications (Wadensjö, 2007), only 270,000 non-national EU citizens reside in Sweden (Eurostat, 2012). Their low number is due to language issues and fewer vacancies in the Swedish labour market (Doyle et al. 2006).

Only a small number of EU students study in Sweden, 13,319 in 2012 (VHS, 2012), which is surprising considering that higher education is free for all EU nationals.

Hence EU students are the exception rather than the rule in Sweden. As part of EU exchange study programmes, 13,000 EU students visited Sweden and only 5,000 students from Sweden left to study in other member states, mainly the UK (HSV, 2012). In comparison, the number of non-EU, international students are double the number of EU students, even though they have to pay excessive university fees since 2011 (VHS, 2012). Interestingly, focus group participants also expressed a concern over the generalisability of EU citizenship. They felt that only certain types of EU citizens are able to make use of their freedom of movement rights, because of the high costs of intra-EU migration. They believed that these costs have considerable impact on EU citizenship.

> [S]ince we can move it starts to be relevant to be European. But that's the problem I think, not for us but for people that don't move. Why should they feel European? They do not take advantage of it. Okay it's like an extra-upper institution that they don't really understand and I think it will create very soon a gap between like cosmopolitan citizens, whether they are European or not, and national citizens that can't be anything but national. (Male, French)

> [M]aybe we are moving towards a sense of European belonging in the middle classes. But in the lower classes national identity is very strong, because they have not been abroad, they haven't travelled to all these European countries and they are not citizens of the world in the same extent as middle class people [are]. So maybe we are evolving into something like a middle class European citizenship. (Female, Swedish)

Nonetheless, even if limited in numbers, intra-EU migration matters in terms of how EU identity is constructed according to the findings of recent EU-wide surveys (TNS Opinion & Social, 2011) as well as earlier empirical research concerning intra-EU migration and identity construction (Recchi and Favell, 2009). The evidence supports the assumption that there are significant differences between the identity and identities of EU students owing to whether or not they have migrated to study in a different member state in the EU. Home students did not seem to have a European identity.

11

I always think about this European notion that prior to the political science [course] for me 'European' was a name only heard in American movies. And you know it was an American way of, instead of learning all the different countries or the nationalities, to say just "Europeans" because it was easier. I never felt like a European myself and I'm not ignorant either but I've never come across that people talked that we were Europeans instead of Swedish. So I thought it was very peculiar [when we talked about this]… still it's something for us in political science. We are, how to say, aware of it in another way than the usual Swedes [are], I would say! (Female, Swedish)

Some Swedish students have never even heard of European citizenship and those who were familiar with the concept considered themselves as European and Swedish simultaneously. However, home students did not regard themselves as European in terms of identity and felt disconnected from the EU. The two most important underlying reasons for their approach were that Swedish citizenship was seen as more "advantageous" than EU citizenship and that "being Swedish" was not associated with the same type of national sentiments as in other EU nations. "Swedish people in comparison to other nations … we're not very Swedish. We don't, you know, talk a lot about our own Swedish culture and just identity overall" (Female, Swedish). Hence, home students described a post-national community (Habermas, 1999) of Swedes with Swedish values in Sweden rather than national symbols in the more traditional sense.

I think that the Swedish culture is perhaps not as strong in terms of food and national songs and more this kind of attributes. But I think that Swedish values are different and very strong … Not necessarily seen in foods or people are very open minded when it comes to country influences in terms of food and ethnicity … But I think in terms of values, we have a strong consensus on what the Swedish values are like. (Female, Swedish)

In contrast, EU students did not attribute their "European" sense of belonging solely to their experiences in Sweden, but many of them believed it was also a consequence of their previous experiences in a number of EU member states. None of them said that they had a Swedish identity, mainly because they did not feel integrated into Swedish society which they described as exclusivist owing to language issues, cultural differences and, in their views, the distance that Swedes tend to keep from non-Swedes. Thus negative experiences in terms of integration into the local community weakened the likelihood of developing a Swedish identity for migrant EU citizens. Interviews with home students confirmed the former perception; they were more likely to socialise with other Swedish rather than EU students, mainly because of language issues and the limited time international students stayed at Sweden.

> I interact with them [non-Swedish students] … but it's hard for them to just jump in a conversation they don't understand... I can guess that they feel excluded in social [life]... even if we are not meant to do that. I think they can feel excluded and just random socialising events. … [A]nd from my personal point of view. I have this constellation that they are just here for a semester; this won't be a long-lasting relationship. I need to put some effort into a relationship that will last forever... but I feel more inclined to [socialise] with them, because I am not good with keeping contact with international connections. Then I would prioritise Swedish people unfortunately. (Female, Swedish)

The original evidence suggests that intra-EU economic mobility of students changes their identity due to the combination of two things; the integrating, community character of economic mobility and the attractiveness of upward social mobility (Recchi, 2009). On the one hand, economic mobility as a "mode of sociality" and a "form of social exchange relations" (Aradau, et al., 2010: 946) seem to turn a chiefly economic practice into a meaningful action because it brings a variety of EU citizens together in a truly European society. Thus migrant EU citizens as the contemporary 'strangers' (Simmel, 1950) of the EU internal market develop a more advanced form of "European-ness" and EU citizenship than non-migrants.

When you talk to Swedish people often they don't feel European. Often they feel... Scandinavian or whatever. So one might think when you come to Sweden that [you] would actually distance yourself from this European feeling. But then on the other hand it's really difficult to integrate yourself into the Swedish community and you sort of stay out. Me, after 3.5 years I still have more international friends than Swedish friends. And maybe that actually goes in the other direction. That we feel more European because we are in this international community and we are in contact much more with other nationalities. So we are more a family here of the Europeans that come to Sweden. (Female, German)

Therefore the type of people EU students socialise with appears to be influential for the identity they develop in the host member state. EU students in Sweden tend to socialise with other European and international students instead of the local Swedish population and by socialising with other migrants, EU students are more likely to develop a European identity. Similarly, home students seem to strengthen their national identity because they interact mainly with other Swedes.

[W]hen you are here, when you are out with your friends and you feel like it's an international community of Europeans. You don't go like yeah that's German people [and] that's French people. We are like Europeans, but no one says it. It's just in the air. You feel it, like we are from the same place, but different areas of it. (Male, British-Hungarian)

On the other hand, most EU students agreed that their experiences in the EU internal market and Sweden made them feel more European than before. The empirical evidence suggests that there is a difference between students' identity based on the extent to which they had benefited from different EU projects. EU students appeared to have more of a rational, individualistic approach to their EU citizenship status and constructed their identity accordingly.

I think we are European to a very large extent, but the idea is too new to us. We don't realise it because the EU has done an awful lot of things for

us, like studying in Sweden would have been a lot more difficult for me if I were not in the EU. (Female, Bulgarian)

When we think about advantages and benefits of the European Union, we always talk about our personal experience that is to travel and study abroad. So this is clearly a very-very good point, because we experience it. But I think since we don't personally experience the other advantages of the European Union, maybe we don't see them really. The European Union is build up from this constant moving of people and this is the only way actually to move, even physically like to have children. (Male, French)

Even if on the basis of a rational approach, EU students seemed to be able to develop a sense of "we", the Europeans and "the other", the non-Europeans.

Being an Erasmus student, I felt really European among all the other Erasmus students and getting money for moving to another country, which is nice…you always have this special status as an EU student. In Sweden you always have an extra line which goes a lot quicker than the other applicants from non EU countries. And also studying here it's always about I'm member of the European Union so I have a lot of advantages so you get this feeling that you are a European citizen. And there's something else here, the non-European citizen, the distinction of others that makes you feel more European. (Female, German)

Therefore, EU students as transnational market citizens in the EU marketplace constructed a sense of EU identity. Migrant students were more likely to develop a sense of European identity and European citizenship than home students and their socialising experiences with other EU and international students resulted in a more developed sense of what is European and not. Additionally, EU students' professional, economic and personal benefits from EU citizenship assisted them to make sense of their regional status. Based on the evidence there is a clear distinction between the EU citizenship and identity of migrant and non-migrant citizens.

In addition, participants in the focus group had multi-layered collective identities. The multi-layers of their identities were reflective of the different social groups they belonged to and intersecting social factors like gender, race, social class and so on (Yuval- Davis, 2007). Although home students asserted that they did not have multiple identities, some expressed a sense of belonging to Sweden, their gender and ethnic groups. EU students with ethnic backgrounds remarked that they felt another layer of identity due to their cultural traditions expressing a sense of "mixed identity".

> I feel a bit schizophrenic about my kind of citizenship and identity … My immediate family [includes] Irish, Caribbean, Austrian, Ugandan and British, so citizenship isn't necessarily associated with one nation. The nation you live in has … historical meaning for us and you know being in Sweden and being British, but being part European citizen as well, those labels for me don't feel quite right. I feel like I'm juggling all of them all the time. It's interesting. … I think I always thought of myself as part of lots of different places. (Female, British)

The original evidence indicates that Europeans tend to have multi-layered identities and that in the construction of these identities country of origin, country of residence, EU labour market conditions, intersecting social factors and economic mobility determine the extent to which they are likely to develop the EU layer.

> I guess you can define Europe geographically, culturally, religiously, politically. There are so many levels which you can consider yourself a European. So I think it depends mostly on the context, depends at which layer you regard yourself as European. (Male, French)

In this sense EU citizens do not simply have a single national or regional identity, but a number of identities that are blended together in different layers. The evidence suggests that students' identity layers form collective identities in their own right, because students know that they share these layers with the other members of the social group. Students tend to have national and, to a certain extent, European

identities and "dual citizenship both European and Swedish … the European is rather new, but it's like two layers of identity, two layers of citizenships" (Female, Swedish). Most students were affected differently at each identity layer and they created their identities based on the relationship and positioning of these layers. Students' roles within the relevant layers also seem to be influential. Therefore, the evidence seems to support feminist literature about the existence of multilayered identities in Europe (Yuval- Davis, 2001).

Conclusion

EU citizenship established the first direct link between the individual and the regional in order to legitimise the EU's economic and political integration. However, the process of "putting flesh on the bones of European Union citizenship" (O'Leary, 1999) has been undermined by EU citizenship's structural constraints, multilevel framework, the legacy of the market citizen and low turnout in EU elections. This paper has intended to show that EU citizenship is not simply a meaningless legal framework, but that citizens' economic participation in the EU internal market transforms their identity and has the potential to turn EU citizenship into a meaningful status that supports EU integration. Based on the original evidence, the paper also tried to illustrate how a transnational market form of citizenship appears to be relevant to the daily lives of young EU citizens.

This paper is part of a larger research project on how intra-EU economic migration affects migrants' citizenship and identity. It was aiming to explore how EU citizenship is experienced in a qualitative environment by focusing on EU citizens' EU level participation, rights and identity. The original empirical evidence suggested that because EU and home students were familiar with their freedom of movement rights and EU students in particular could distinguish between the "we", the European and the "other", the non-European due to their experiences in the internal market, the legacy of the market citizen in the EU is in fact constructive toward a genuine EU citizenship. This is because migrant EU students were more likely to acquire a sense of EU identity than home students. Hence, future research on EU citizenship may benefit from distinguishing between EU citizens on the basis of whether or not they

are economically active in the internal market. Future research could explore in more detail the differences between *active*, economically mobile, migrant EU citizens and *passive*, economically non-mobile, non-migrant EU citizens in order to have a fruitful discussion about how citizenship is constructed in the EU. The original evidence illustrated that the way in which citizenship is constructed in the EU does not seem to echo more traditional, national approaches but a more versatile process. Academic research on EU citizenship could also explore the impact of additional factors including country of origin (CEE or EU-15), country of residence, time spent in the host country, cultural and language issues as well as intersecting social factors such as gender, education level, age and social class.

The empirical evidence about the experiences of EU students in Sweden has shown that the factors likely to support the development of an EU citizenship are active involvement in the internal market, social exchange relations through economic migration and the exploitation of economic and professional advantages derived from EU citizenship rights. The factors likely to limit the development of a collective EU citizenship and prevent students from initiating new identities are little or no participation in the EU internal market, socialising practices with fellow nationals and language issues. The original evidence also suggests that intersecting social factors have considerable influence on citizens' identity including gender, education level and age. All EU citizens included in the research had multi-layered identities, but migrant EU citizens were more likely to have an EU layer added to their multiple identities than non-migrants. Besides, EU citizens with ethnic backgrounds were more likely to have a mixed identity and tend to attribute more significance to a number of other identity layers (culture, gender, etc.).

The provisional assumptions that can be drawn from the analysis in this paper are that EU citizenship through freedom of movement rights is beginning to draw a line between its citizens. Active EU citizens are more likely to experience a collective sense of EU identity and seem to find it easier to distinguish between the "European" and the "other" (the non-European) than passive EU citizens. At the same time, intra-EU migration multiples the different identities citizens have depending on personal characteristics. From the empirical evidence it is apparent that students are aware of their political rights, but they simply do not make use of them. Therefore their EU

identity stems from the extent to which they exploit their economic rights rather than political participation. Swedish students do not seem to have a sense of EU identity and they see Swedish citizenship as more of a post-national establishment on the basis of common values. EU students tend to have an EU identity, but their gender, ethnic background, country of origin and level of integration into Swedish society, as well as the length of time they had spent in Sweden influenced the strength of their EU identity to a great extent. More research on how EU citizenship is constructed among economically mobile and non-mobile EU citizens across and between EU member states is needed to explore the differences and similarities host member states, country of origin and intersecting social factors have.

Bibliography

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*, (Revised Ed.), London: Verso

Aradau, C., Huysmans, J. and Squire, V. (2010) 'Acts of European Ccitizenship: A political sociology of mobility' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(4), 947-967

Bellamy,R. (2008) *Citizenship: a Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bellamy, R. (2011) 'Introduction: the identities and rights of European citizens' *EU Citizenship and the Market,* Available on: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/european-institute/comment_analysis/publications/Final.pdf [Last visited 08/08/2012], 2-6

Balibar, E. (2004) *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press

Checkel, J. T. and Katzenstein, P. J. (Eds.) (2009) *European Identity,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

COM (2001) *Third Report from the Commission on Citizenship of the Union*

COM (2010) 'Youth on the Move: A Guide to the Rights of Mobile Students in the European Union' *Commission Staff Working Document*, Available on: http://ec.europa.eu/education/yom/wpguidance_en.pdf [Last visited 31/07/2012]

COM (2012) *Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on the application of Directive 94/80/EC on the right to vote and to stand as a candidate in municipal elections by citizens of the Union residing in a Member State of which they are not nationals*

Doyle, N., Hughes, G. and Wadensjö, E. (2006) *Freedom of movement for workers from Central and Eastern Europe: experiences in Ireland and Sweden*, Stockholm: Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies

EP (2012) Turnout at the European elections (1979-2009), Available on: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/000cdcd9d4/Turnout-(1979-2009).html [Last visited 01/08/2012]

Eurostat (2012) *Population and social conditions: Statistics in focus*, Available on: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-12-031/EN/KS-SF-12-031-EN.PDF [Last visited 02/08/2012]

Everson, M. (1995) 'The legacy of the market citizen' in Shaw, J. and More, G. (Eds.) *New Legal Dynamics of European Union*, Oxford: OUP, 73 – 90

Favell, A. (2008) *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free movement and mobility in an integrating Europe*, Oxford: Blackwell

Flanagan, C. (2009) 'Young People's Civic Engagement and Political Development' in Furlong, A. (ed.) *Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*, Abingdon: Routledge, 293–300

Fligstein, N. Polyakova, A. and Sandholtz, W. (2012) 'European integration, nationalism and European identity' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50 (1), pp. 106-122

Fox, J. (2005) 'Unpacking "transnational citizenship"' *Annual Review of Political Science,* 8, 171–201

Habermas, J. (1999) 'The European nation-state: on the past and future of sovereignty and citizenship' in: Habermas, J., Cronin, C. and De Greiff, P. (Eds.) *The inclusion of the other*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 105–127

HSV (2012) 'Studying at HEIs' *Swedish National Agency for Higher Education*, Available on: http://www.hsv.se/highereducationinsweden/studyingatheis.4.28afa2dc11bdcdc557480002471.html [Last visited 02/08/2012]

Laffan, B. (1996) 'The Politics of Identity and Political Order in Europe', *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 34:1, 81-102

MIPEX (2010) *Migrant Integration Policy Index: Sweden*, Available on: http://www.mipex.eu/sweden [Last visited: 05/08/2012]

O'Leary, S. (1999) 'Putting flesh on the bones of European Union citizenship' *European Law Review,* 24(1), 68-79

Preuss, U. (1996) 'Two Challenges for European Citizenship', *Political Studies*, 44(3), 534-552

Risse, T. (2003) 'The Euro between national and European identity', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10:4, 487-505

Risse, T. (2005) 'Neofunctionalism, European identity, and the puzzles of European integration' *Journal of European Public Policy,* 12 (2), 291–309

Risse, T. (2010) *A community of Europeans? Transnational identities and public spheres*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

Recchi, E. (2009) 'The social mobility of mobile Europeans' in Recchi, E. and Favell, A. (Eds.) (2009) *Pioneers of European Integration*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 72-91

Recchi, E. and Favell, A. (Eds.) (2009) *Pioneers of European Integration,* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

Recchi, E. and Triandafyllidou, A. (2010) 'Crossing over, heading West and South: mobility, citizenship and employment in the enlarged Europe' in Menz, G. and Caviedes, A. (Eds.) *The changing face of labour migration in Europe*, London: Palgrave, 125-148

Roeder, A. (2011) 'Does mobility matter for attitudes to Europe? A multi-level analysis of immigrants' attitudes to European Unification' *Political Studies*, 59 (2), 458-471

Root, A. (2009) *Market Citizenship: Experiments in Democracy and Globalization*, London: Sage

Rother, N. and Nebe, T. M. 'More mobile, more European? Free movement and EU identity' in in Recchi, E. and Favell, A. (Eds.) (2009) *Pioneers of European Integration*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 120-155

Shore, C. (2000) *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*, London: Routledge

Simmel, G. (1950a) 'The Stranger' in Wolf, K. H. (Ed.) *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, New York: Free Press

Sloam, J. (2012) 'Rejuvenating Democracy?' Young People and the 'Big Society' Project' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 65(1), 90-114

Smith, A. D. (1992) 'National identity and the idea of European unity', *International Affairs*, 68(1), 55-76

Tajfel, H. (1974) 'Social Identity and Intergroup Behaviour' *Social Science Information*, 13, pp. 65-93

TNS Opinion & Social (2011) *Special Eurobarometer, 346: New Europeans*

VHS (2012) 'Deadline for application fee payment has passed' *Swedish Agency for Higher Education Services*, Available on: http://www.vhs.se/sv/In-English/Press-information/Deadline-for-application-fee-payment-has-passed/ [Last visited 02/08/2012]

Wadensjö, E. (2007) 'Migration to Sweden from the New EU Member States' *IZA Discussion Paper Series*, No. 3190

Warleigh, A. (1998) 'Frozen: Citizenship and European unification' *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 1(4), London: Franc Class, 113-151

Yuval-Davis, N. (2001) 'The 'multi-layered citizen' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1(1), 119-136

Yuval-Davis, N. (2007) 'Intersectionality, citizenship and contemporary politics of belonging' *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy,* 10(4), 561-574