Contents

EU citizenship: Still a Fundamental Status?	1
Part I: Should EU Citizens Living in Other Member States Vote There in National Elections?	
EU-Citizens Should Have the Right to Vote in National Elections Philippe Cayla and Catriona Seth	21
EU Citizens Should Have Voting Rights in National Elections, But in Which Country?	23
A European or a National Solution to the Democratic Deficit?	27
EU Accession to the ECHR Requires Ensuring the Franchise for EU Citizens in National Elections	31
How to Enfranchise Second Country Nationals? Test the Options for Best Fit, Easiest Adoption and Lowest Costs	33
What's in a People? Social Facts, Individual Choice, and the European Union	37
Testing the Bonds of Solidarity in Europe's Common Citizenship Area	43
'An Ever Closer Union Among the Peoples of Europe': Union Citizenship, Democracy, Rights and the Enfranchisement of Second Country Nationals	47
Five Pragmatic Reasons for a Dialogue with and Between Member States on Free Movement and Voting Rights Kees Groenendijk	51

Xii

Don't Start with Europeans First. An Initiative for Extending Voting Rights Should also Promote Access to Citizenship for Third Country Nationals	55
Voting Rights and Beyond	57
One Cannot Promote Free Movement of EU Citizens and Restrict Their Political Participation	61
Second Country EU Citizens Voting in National Elections Is an Important Step, but Other Steps Should Be Taken First Ángel Rocríguez	69
A More Comprehensive Reform Is Needed to Ensure That Mobile Citizens Can Vote	73
Incremental Changes Are not Enough – Voting Rights Are a Matter of Democratic Principle Tony Venables	77
Mobile Union Citizens Should Have Portable Voting Rights Within the EU	81
Concluding Remarks: Righting Democratic Wrongs	85
Part II: Freedom of Movement Under Attack: Is it Worth Defending as the Core of EU Citizenship?	
Freedom of Movement Needs to Be Defended as the Core of EU Citizenship Floris De Witte	93
The Failure of Union Citizenship Beyond the Single Market Daniel Thym	101
State Citizenship, EU Citizenship and Freedom of Movement	107
Free Movement as a Means of Subject-Formation: Defending a More Relational Approach to EU Citizenship Päivi Johanna Neuvonen	113
Free Movement Emancipates, but What Freedom Is This?	117

Free Movement and EU Citizenship from the Perspective	121
of Intra-European Mobility	121
The New Cleavage Between Mobile and Immobile Europeans	125
Whose Freedom of Movement Is Worth Defending?	129
The Court and the Legislators: Who Should Define the Scope of Free Movement in the EU?	133
Reading Too Much and Too Little into the Matter? Latent Limits and Potentials of EU Freedom of Movement Julija Sardelić	139
What to Say to Those Who Stay? Free Movement is a Human Right of Universal Value	145
Union Citizenship for UK Citizens	149
UK Citizens as Former EU Citizens: Predicament and Remedies Reuven (Ruvi) Ziegler	153
'Migrants', 'Mobile Citizens' and the Borders of Exclusion in the European Union	163
EU Citizenship, Free Movement and Emancipation: A Rejoinder Floris De Witte	169
Part III: Should EU Citizenship Be Duty-Free?	
EU Citizenship Needs a Stronger Social Dimension and Soft Duties	181
Liberal Citizenship Is Duty-Free	199
Building Social Europe Requires Challenging the Judicialisation of Citizenship	205
EU Citizenship Should Speak Both to the Mobile and the Non-Mobile European	211

xiv

The Impact and Political Accountability of EU Citizenship Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen	219
'Feed them First, Then Ask Virtue of Them': Broadening and Deepening Freedom of Movement	223
EU Citizenship, Duties and Social Rights	231
Why Compensating the 'Stayers' for the Costs of Mobility Is the Wrong Way to Go Julia Hermann	235
Balancing the Rights of European Citizenship with Duties Towards National Citizens: An Inter-National Perspective	239
Grab the Horns of the Dilemma and Ride the Bull	245
Why Adding Duties to European Citizenship Is Likely to Increase the Gap Between Europhiles and Eurosceptics Theresa Kuhn	257
Enhancing the Visibility of Social Europe: A Practical Agenda for 'The Last Mile'	261
Towards a 'Holding Environment' for Europe's (Diverse) Social Citizenship Regimes	267
Imagine: European Union Social Citizenship and Post-Marshallian Rights and Duties Dora Kostakopoulou	279
Why the Crisis of European Citizenship is a Crisis of European Democracy	287
Regaining the Trust of the Stay-at-Homes: Three Strategies Philippe Van Parijs	293
Social Citizenship, Democratic Values and European Integration: A Rejoinder Maurizio Ferrera	299