LIHONG HUANG AND HALLA B. HOLMARSDOTTIR

YOUTH AT THE MARGINS OF CITIZENSHIP

A Review of European Youth Policy

INTRODUCTION

According to the Oxford Dictionary of English the noun 'margin' appears to be objective and uni-dimensional (horizontal). The word describes an object in our physical world: at 'an edge or border of something', 'a line determining the limits of an area', 'a boundary line or the area immediately inside the boundary', or 'the blank space that surrounds the text on a page' (Thompson, Fowler & Fowler, 1995). The word becomes abstract with dimensions such as quantity, amount, and direction when describing phenomena that are human-related activities: margin of profit in commerce or economy, margin of safety in engineering or construction, margin of a normal behaviour in psychology. In sociological studies, the term 'marginalisation' describes both a social process of becoming or being made marginal as a group within the larger society and an intermediate position between social inclusion and exclusion (Hammer, 2003) in different dimensions such as education, economy, labour market, housing, social and political participation in a local community or the national government, in which young people often find themselves disproportionally overrepresented.Correspondingly, marinalization is not only linked to inclusion and exclusion, it is also linked to issues of human rights.

In June 2014, six years into the economic recession in Europe, the Commissioner for Human Rights at the Council of Europe claimed that youth human rights are at risk and called for a 'rights-based approach' in European youth policy to raise "awareness of the lack of specific attention afforded to young people in most European and international human rights instruments" (Muižnieks, 2014). A word-search through the significant international human rights related declarations adapted by international organisations and agencies since the end of the World War II reveals that neither youth as a term nor young people as a group has ever been specifically mentioned. For example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948) states the rights of "all human beings" (Article 1) and "everyone" (from Article 2 and onwards); the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989) includes "everyone under 18 years of age" (Article 1); the European Social Charter (CoE, 1961 and revised 1996)

specifically mentions "the rights of children and young persons to protection" (Article 7) but it limits the age of children and young persons to 18 years old and younger; and the Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the European Union (EU, 2009, legally binding on the Treaty of the European Union) has one entry mentioning 'young people' in Article 32 "Prohibition of child labour and protection of young people at work".

In order to understand why and how European youth's human rights are at risk and why it is necessary to call for 'rights-based' youth policy, this chapter reviews and analyses policy documents relevant to youth published by the two European intergovernmental institutions, i.e. the Council of Europe and the European Union. Two reasons make this study of the two European institutions interesting and relevant to young people as marginalised citizens in Europe. First, both institutions were established on the principle of human rights and democracy. Established in 1949 (the Treaty of London) and currently having 47 member states, the Council of Europe (CoE)[1] is "the continent's leading human rights organization" ever since it adopted the European Convention on Human Rights in 1950. Whereas formally established in 1992 and currently having 28 member states, the European Union is based on the rule of law as "every action taken by the EU is founded on treaties that have been approved voluntarily and democratically by all EU member countries"[2]. Second, young people as a specific social group has long been 'claimed' to be a common policy concern by both European institutions which is made evident by the works of EU-CoE Youth Partnership[3] since 1998. The Partnership aims to foster synergies of youth policies of the two institutions as well as of the member states on themes specifically relevant to European youth: participation/citizenship, social inclusion, recognition and quality of youth work.

This policy review will focus on one of the key themes of European youth policy: citizenship, with the aim to contribute to understandings of this concept as documented in European policies and its relevance to the current human rights 'at-risk' situation currently facing many youth in Europe. In a layman's understanding, a citizenship denotes the legal link between a person and a state. The possession of citizenship is normally associated with the legal right to work and live in a country and to participate in political life. As young people are first of all citizens of a state in Europe or in the world, does it mean that European young citizens also enjoy the rights associated with their citizenship? If young citizens enjoy equal status and rights as every other citizen, why is citizenship a specific topic of European youth policies? What is the meaning of citizenship in the European youth policies? In the following, this chapter first provides an account facts of young people's marginal positions in European society followed by a discussion of citizenship from the research literature. The section entitled 'Data and methods' gives a brief description of the data collection process of policy documents and analytic approach applied. The results of the review and analyses are presented in two accounts of policy development: 1) a chronicle account of the development of the citizenship concept in European policies after the World War II and 2) European youth policies on citizenship. At the end, the chapter we offer a tentative definition of citizenship for European youth policy together with critiques.

YOUTH AT MARGINS

In the following we present some factual accounts of young people's marginal positions currently in Europe and other parts of the world. In doing so we can classify these into three arenas namely, civil, political and social. These three arenas in the lives of youth are also related to the law, human rights and democracy, and to health, education, wealth and citizenship. We will come back to this link later on in this chapter.

First in terms of the civil arena, systems of criminal justice in most countries in the world hold children and young people criminally responsible (e.g. at age 15 in Norway, age 10 in England and age 12 in the United States), constrain when they have the right to work (e.g. at age 16 in Norway) and when they have the right to vote (i.e. at age 18 in most countries). In many cases young people are disproportionally treated as disposable (Giroux, 2012). Specifically, youth who are unwilling or who question the neo-liberal agenda (the logic of the free-market) are seen as disposable, both goods and young people are increasingly objectified and disposable (Giroux, 2012). Moreover, drawing on Greenwald (2011) Giroux (2013, p. 646) points out that "given that by age 23, almost a third of Americans are arrested for a crime, it becomes clear that in the new militarized state young people, especially poor minorities, are viewed as predators, a threat to corporate governance, and are treated as disposable populations" (Greenwald, 2011). Since many youth are seen as disposable they are also over-represented as convicted criminals in prisons, particularly in the US and the UK, but also other countries. In the US, for example, approximately 250,000 children (between the ages of 10 to 17) are prosecuted, sentenced or incarcerated as adults each year, of which 70 percent are serving for nonviolent offenses. In the year 2009 alone, the US police made 1.6 million juvenile arrests (Children's Defence Fund, 2011). In England and Wales, there were over 1.3 million arrests in 2010 of which almost 250,000 were aged 10-17, with 10-17 year olds accounting for 17 percent of all arrests, but representing only 11 percent of the population. In the same year, young people under the age of 21 represented approximately 26 percent of the first entrants into the criminal justice system (Ministry of Justice, 2012).

In the political arena, young people in Europe at ages of 18-30 participate in democracy and civic actions nearly as much as older generations do, but they are generally underrepresented in formal power structures. Data made available by the European Knowledge Centre for Youth Policy (EKCYP)[4] and data from the European Social Survey 2008 suggest that in many countries, young people are engaged in national elections nearly as much as the older people. Among 20 European countries with available information at EKCYP, the difference in the proportion of young people who vote compared to adults over 30 is only about 17 percentage points (i.e. about 66 percent of young people on average vs. 83 percent of adults over 30). Meanwhile, a large-scale study in seven EU countries (i.e.

Austria, Finland, France, Hungary, Poland, Spain and the UK) shows that the majority of European youth (87 percent) are engaged in one or several forms of political and civic actions (LSE, 2013). However, only a dozen of European countries have some young representatives (under or at the age of 30) in national parliaments or local governing councils. In those countries, about 20 percent of the population are youth, but young representatives only occupy approximately 5 percent of the parliament seats (Huang, 2013) and less than 4 percent of young people in Europe are members of political parties or a trade union (Eurostat, 2009) where the power of negotiation usually resides.

Third, in terms of the social arena, youth today are the best (or longest) educated generation in European history (Eurostat 2009). At work, however, young people tend to have higher rates of temporary and part-time employment, lower rates of pay, 50 percent more vulnerable to workplace injury from accidents, chemical exposure, and psychological pressure such as stress or harassment (Eurostat, 2009; European Commission, 2012a). During economic downturns young people tend to be the hardest hit and they are often the first to lose their jobs. In March 2014, as unemployment rates (at ages 15-74) reached 10.5 percent in EU28, the youth unemployment rate (at ages 15-24) was twice as high at 22.8 percent and as high as 56.8 percent in Greece and 53.9 percent in Spain (Eurostat, 2014). Meanwhile, in terms of social and economic aspects, young people are overrepresented in statistics of at-risk-of-poverty (Eurostat, 2009), being exposed to abuse and violence, having poor mental health and high rates of suicide (UNICEF, 2011).

In general, young people's human rights have been constantly undermined (or even violated) in several aspects of their lives in Europe and in other parts of the world. They are discriminated at the work place and in the market; they are unprotected and treated disposable by our society; they are excluded in decision-making positions and have no say in affaires that are vital to their very survival as human beings. All these issues also relate closely to the concept of citizenship, something we now turn our attention towards.

THE DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS WITH MARGINALISATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

According to the definition by the Oxford Dictionary of English, a citizen is "a legally recognised subject or national of a state" while citizenship is "the position or status of being a citizen of a particular country" (Thompson, Fowler & Fowler, 1995). In the literature, Crick (2000) argues that the concept of citizenship is said to have diverse conceptualisations across disciplines there is not a universally accepted definition, while others argue that there are only four citizenship models based on four competing ideologies (Hoskins 2012), i.e. the liberal model, the

communitarian model, the civic republican model and the critical model. Some scholars find the concept to be both descriptive and normative (Holford and van der Veen, 2006) or both normative and empirical (Taylor-Gooby, 1991). Within the context that citizenship describes a legal relationship between the people and the state, most commonly cited is Marshall's (1950) description of the concept as including rights of citizens (as related to human rights) in three interdependent aspects of a society: civil, political and social (as we have noted in the previous section). Normative arguments are often about how citizenship should be developed or what citizenship should be like as some suggest that citizenship can be constructed actively by people or should be a set of practices inherent in the activities of citizens (Turner, 1993; Jamieson et al. 2005), while empirical aspects of citizenship argue for a 'holistic analysis' on the ways in which all aspects of citizenship (civil, political and social) influence and impact each other (Lister and Pia, 2008).

Meanwhile, some scholars offer alternative interpretations of citizenship (Evans, 1995), between maximal citizenship having consciousness of self as a member of a shared democratic culture and participation and minimal form emphasising individual civil and legal status, rights and responsibilities. Others propose additional dimensions to the concept, for instance with global, cosmopolitan, or environmental citizenship from concerns about global inequality and climate change, and transnational and multicultural citizenship in response to the dilemmas raised by migration and by the cultural diversity within state boundaries (Stoker et al., 2011). Some scholars (Somers, 2008; Burgi, 2014) focus on the rights of citizenship that are violated considerably by the market, which include "legal and civil freedoms, and equal access to justice; participatory rights in democratic governance; and the social inclusionary rights that allow for the meaningful exercise of all the others" (Somers, 2008, p. 5). Yet others view the concept as a living process with actions and activities. Following the "ideal image of the citizen" as an active participant, but not citizenship as a formal relation to the political system (Morrow 2005, p. 381), and moreover some new terms have emerged: effective citizenship (Westholm et al., 2007), engaged citizenship (Dalton 2008), active citizenship (Hoskins and Mascherini, 2009), participatory citizenship (Hoskins et al., 2012) and passive citizenship (Amnå & Ekman, 2013).

Nevertheless, participation in civil, political and social lives is essential for citizenship in a democracy, but individuals or groups at marginal positions in any one or more dimensions in a society are often excluded from full or partial and meaningful participation in many aspects of society (de Haan and Maxwell, 1998; Duffy, 1995, 2001; Horsell, 2006). Instead of suggesting that individuals' lack of ability or inability prevents them from participating in the 'normal' activities of 'normal' citizens in a society (Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachau, 1999), we follow the argument of 'structured inabilities to participation' (Chakravarty and D'Ambrosio, 2006) when it comes to understanding the marginal positions of young people. This allows for a more complex, multidimensional understanding of the interplay, overlap and social distance between money, work, political power and citizenship.

5

However, contemporary discourses of citizenship in educational research offer a more comprehensive definition (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006: 653), though of much of the emphasis focuses on the political aspect of the concept, is worth repeating here:

> Citizenship in a democracy (a) gives membership status to individuals within a political unit; (b) confers an identity on individuals; (c) constitutes a set of values, usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit; (d) involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political life; and (e) implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures, and processes of governance.

This definition provides a preliminary conceptual framework of citizenship to guide the review and analysis of European youth policies that are presented in the sections following a presentation of data and analysis methods.

DATA AND METHODS

This chapter analyses policy documents adopted and research documents published by the two European institutions (i.e. the European Union and the Council of Europe). Data collection entailed two steps. The first step was to locate all policy documents accessible from official websites or online archives of the two institutions. Policy documents of the Council of Europe are in the form of declarations, resolution, recommendations and White papers of the Committee of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of European Local and Regional Authorities. Policy documents of the European Union include forms of treaties, directives, decisions and communications of the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union and the European Commission. The inclusion criteria of policy documents for analysis were the following keywords: 1) 'citizenship' appeared in the titles of policy documents or in body texts of key policy documents, 2) 'youth', 'young people' and/or 'young citizen' appeared in the titles or in the body text of research documents published by the two intuitions. This search resulted in 43 policy documents as listed in Table A in the appendix at the end of the chapter. The second step of data collection was to search body texts of the policy documents for 1) keywords: citizenship, youth, young people, young citizens, 2) the words and the sentences associated with those keywords.

The analytical method applied in this chapter is a classical exercise of qualitative content analysis (Bryman, 2004) using the Critical Hermeneutic Approach. The policy analysis follows the three 'moments' of the Critical Hermeneutic Approach outlined by Phillips and Brown (1993) used in their study on documents of organisations: 1) the 'social-historical moment' for bringing out the perspectives of the producers of the documents, in this case the European Union and the Council of Europe; 2) the 'formal moment' for examining the text looking for the keywords and their associations, in this case, citizenship, young, marginalisation and social exclusion; 3) the 'interpretation-reinterpretation moment' for the interpretation of the results from the previous two moments. The

results of analyses are presented in three sections as follow where the first is on the development of the concept of citizenship in European policies which represents the 'social-historical moment' of the two European institutions. The second section of results represents the 'formal moment' of examining the texts for the keywords and their associations. The results of 'interpretation-reinterpretation moment' are included in the section of conclusion at the end.

THE CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPEAN POLICIES

The European Union

The citizens' right of free movement among the member states in the European Union is an essential element of the development of the concept of a European citizenship. Table 1 shows chronically the official documents and policies that are important for the building of European citizenship in the Union. In 1957 when the six EU founding member countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and Netherlands) signed the *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community* (also called the *Treaty of Rome*) which granted workers the right to move and reside freely among the member states. The right of free movement among the member states was restricted only to workers both in the treaty *Single European Act* signed in 1986 for establishing a single market in Europe and in *Treaty on European Union* signed in 1992 when the European Union was formally established. However, the *Treaty on European Union* in 1992 introduced for the first time the concept of 'a citizenship of the Union' or the EU citizenship as a legal term which claims that every national member of a state was also an EU citizen.

Table 1. The legal rights development of citizenship in the European Union

Year	Legislation form	Policy
1957	Treaty of Rome	Workers have the right to move and reside freely among six EU countries
1986	Single European Act	Workers have the right to move and reside freely among 12 EU countries
1992	Treaty on European Union	Every national of an EU country is also an EU citizen.
1993	Council Directive 93/96/EEC	Students gained the right to move and reside freely among the EU countries
1995	Decision 95/553/EC	A common protection arrangement for all EU citizens by diplomatic and consular representations of member states
1996	Decision 96/409/CFSP	A common format emergency travel document of the EU member states
1997	Treaty of Amsterdam	"Every national of a member state shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall complement and not replace national citizenship" (Article 8-1).
2004	Directive	The right of free movement of EU citizens and their

	2004/58/EC	family members
2006	Decision 1904/2006/EC	Establishing for the period 2007-2013 the programme 'Europe for Citizens' to promote active European citizenship
2007	Decision 2007/2218(ACI)	Approval by the European Parliament of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2007/C 303/01)
2009	Communication COM(2009)313 final	On guidance for better transposition and application Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member states
	Lisbon Treaty	Citizenship of the Union in the form of a legally binding with European Charter of Fundamental Rights
2010	Communication COM(2010)0603	EU citizenship report 2010: Dismantling the obstacles to EU citizens' rights
2014	Regulation 390/2014	Establishing the 'Europe for Citizens' programme for the period 2014-2020

*follows the chronological order at European Commission website JUSTICE[5]

In 1993, the Union expanded the right of free movement and residence from workers only to include also students (Council Directive 93/96/EEC). Only in 2009, the free movement of persons (EU citizens and their families), beyond free movement of goods, service, workers, students and capital, became a legislative reality when the *Lisbon Treaty* was signed to grant citizenship of the Union in the form of a legally binding with European Charter of Fundamental rights. The Lisbon Treaty is the first in the EU treaties to include democratic principles (Part Two of the Treaty: Article 9-Article 12) which is said to have changed the meaning of EU citizenship and the relationship of the citizen with the nation state and the European institutions (Guild, 2010). The EU Citizenship Report 2010 clarifies (COM(2010)0603) that Article 20 of the *Treaty on Functioning of the European Union* (TFEU) defines the concept of European citizenship. Article 20 of TFEU states that every person holding the nationality of a member state shall be a citizen of the Union and shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties provided for in the Treaties including 1) the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the member states, 2) the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections in their member state of residence under the same conditions as nationals of that state, 3) the right to enjoy in a third country the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any member state, and 4) the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman, and to address the institutions and advisory bodies of the Union in any of the Treaty languages and to obtain a reply in the same language. Hence the Lisbon Treaty also marks a completion of building the legislative concept of citizenship in the Union which grants citizen rights in all civic and social and political domains as defined by Marshall (1950).

Moreover, the current *Treaty of European Union* (consolidated version 2012/C 326/01) specifically mentions in Article 3 that the Union shall "combat social

exclusion and discrimination, and shall promote social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and protection of the rights of the child" and contribute to "the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child" but the treaty never specifically mentions youth. Nevertheless, youth is specifically mentioned in the *Treaty on the Function of the European Union* (consolidated version 2012/C 326/01) Article 47 states "Member states shall, within the framework of a joint programme, encourage the exchange of young workers", and Title XII "Education, vocational training, youth and sports" Article 165 and Article 166 state that the Union will aim to "encourage the development of youth exchanges, encourage the participation of young people in democratic life in Europe, facilitate access of vocational training and encourage mobility of instructors and trainees and particularly young people". Consequently, youth is not a focus in the EU treaties in regards to their rights as citizens but youth has a specific position in education and training and participation in democratic life of Europe as part of the function of the European Union. As a part of the development process of European citizenship, the Union has established the *Europe for Citizens* programme (2007-2013 Decision 1904/2006/EC; 2014-2020 Regulation 290/2014) focusing on youth with objectives to "contribute to citizens' understanding the Union, its history and diversity" and "foster European citizenship and to improve conditions for civic and democratic participation at Union level" (Regulation 290/2014: Article 1).

The Council of Europe

As European cooperation is primarily based on the principles of human rights, democracy and the rule of law (as noted earlier the civil, political and social arenas of peoples' lives), the word citizenship appeared for the first time in Resolution 243 (1993) of the CoE Congress of Local and Regional Authorities on *Citizenship and extreme poverty: the Charleroi Declaration* and later in Resolution 41 (1996) on 'health and citizenship: care for the poorest in Europe'.

   The starting point for introducing the concept of youth citizenship in the Council of Europe is the principle of participatory democracy and education for the development of individual capacities, competences and attitudes by the people in Europe. In 1999, CoE launched an action plan for education for democratic citizenship (Decisions CM/DEL/DEC(99)668), which started a process of the production of several policy texts over the first decade into the 21st century on education for democratic citizenship (i.e. which eventually resulted in the *Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education* adopted in 2010. The Charter defines 'education for democratic citizenship' as "education, training, awareness-raising, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behavior, to empower them to exercise and defend their democratic rights and responsibilities in society, to value diversity and to play an active part in democratic life, with a view to the promotion and protection of democracy and the rule of law" (CoE, 2010, p. 5-6).

9

In general, policy documents of the European Union use the term European citizenship to specify legal rights of citizens from any EU member state, while the Council of Europe took its start point using the term 'democratic citizenship'. Compared to the concept of citizenship adopted by EU, the CoE's term of democratic citizenship "is based on a much broader understanding of the field of political and social inclusion which extends beyond the legal and legislative" arena (Breidbach, 2003, p. 9). Although none of the policy documents from the European Union or the Council of Europe currently gives a specific definition of citizenship, we observe a policy convergence (Steinar-Khamsi, 2004) between the two European institutions concerning young citizens from the 1990s as shown in the youth policy documents analysis in the next section.

THE YOUNG CITIZENS IN EUROPEAN POLICIES

Young people became a policy topic at the European level at first as a 'problem' in 1960 when the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly adopted Resolution 20 on social problems of youths and children, on stateless children, child welfare, juvenile delinquency and moral safeguards in press and media concerning youth and children. This resulted in the CoE Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation 592(1970) which encouraged increasing co-ordination between the various international organisations dealing with youth problems and to support the role of education. In 1972 the CoE established the *European Youth Foundation* with the mission to support European youth activities in the promotion of "peace, understanding and co-operation between the people of Europe and of the work, in a spirit of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (Statute of the European Youth Foundation, Article 1).

The first youth policy of the European Union was in the education sector when the EU adopted the Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education, which was the result of a meeting within the Council of 13 December 1976 concerning measures to be taken to improve the preparation of young people for work and to facilitate the transition from education to working life. Following the legislative process of free movement of people in the Union, in 1979 when the EU adopted the Council Decision 79/642/EEC for encouraging the exchange of young workers among the member states. Later, Council Decisions in 1987 (87/327/EEC) and in 1989 (89/663/EEC) for the mobility of university students (i.e. establishment of Erasmus programme) paved the way to achieve the rights of free movement for students in the Union in 1993 (93/96/EEC).

Youth citizenship as active participation

As noted earlier young people as citizens became a specific policy concern at the European level since 1985 when the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly adopted Recommendation 1019 on the participation of young people in political and institutional life which became the *European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life* in 1992. The Charter (revised in 2002)

emphasizes that young people are citizens in local communities where they live and they have "the right, the means, the space and the opportunity and where necessary the support to participate in and influence decisions and engage in actions and activities so as to contribute to building a better society" (p. 10). The revised Charter cautions that unemployed youth and youth residing in remote geographic areas are most at risk of being excluded in participation. Whereas the European Union defines active citizenship as "participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy" (Hoskins et al., 2012, p. 17). Interestingly, both European institutions emphasize participation in their definitions of youth citizenship but with different starting points. The CoE definition starts with the rights, opportunities and support of young citizens to participate in their local community while the EU definition gives with a defined frame (or arena) and rules of participation.

Eventually, with common objectives to co-operating in knowledge and evidence-based youth policy focusing on social inclusion, democratic citizenship and participation, the two European institutions went into policy cooperation on youth issues in the form of EU-CoE Youth Partnership[6] in 1998. These objectives reflect the background of youth policy concerns at the European level which from then on many European youth are perceived to be at the margins (or a marginalized group) in terms of: 1) accessing and exercising their rights and duties as citizens, 2) participating in democracy, and 3) social inclusion or exclusion.

Youth citizenship as learning to actively participate

Current European youth policymaking in practice at the institutional level, the Youth Department of CoE is part of the Directorate of Democratic Citizenship and Participation[7], while Youth is included in the EU programme for education, training, youth and sports (Erasmus+[8]). On the one side, the CoE has engaged in the development of education for democratic citizens through wide-ranging consultations and a number of policies (i.e. Rec (2000)24, Rec(2002)12, Rec(2003)8, and Recommendation 1682(2004)) from 1999 to 2010 which resulted in the *Charter on education for democratic citizenship and human rights education*. The Charter provides "an important reference point for all those dealing with citizenship and human rights education" (Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)7, p. 3) in 47 CoE member states and their youth organizations.

On the other side, as part of efforts to enhance European citizenship through informal learning, the European Union has adopted a series of youth programmes which involved over 2.5 million European young people as participants in hundreds of thousands projects from 27 Member States of the EU and other countries such as Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Switzerland and Turkey. The programmes, i.e. 'Youth for Europe' Phase I 1988-1991 (Council Decision 88/348/EEC), Phase II 1991-1994 (Council Decision 91/395/EEC) and Phase III 1995-1999 (Council Decision 818/95/EC), the 'European Voluntary Service for Young People' 1998-1999 (Decision 1686/98/EC), 'Youth Community Action

Programme, 2000-2006 (Decision 1031/2000/CE) focused on active/responsible/European citizenship and cultural/intercultural learning. Subsequently, the 'Youth in Action Programme' 2007-2013 (Decision 1719/2006/EC) had its number one objective "to promote young people's active citizenship in general and their European citizenship in particular" (Article 2, 1:a) by lifelong learning and intercultural learning. Eventually, active citizenship became a key objective of the EU lifelong learning programme from 2006 (Decision 1720/2006/EC) and the Union programme for education, training, youth and sports (Erasmus+) from 2014 to 2020. So far, the completed programmes are documented to be successful in several areas of improving learning of young people in, e.g. youth citizenship (European Commission, 2013a), youth volunteering (European Commission, 2012b), youth entrepreneurship (European Commission, 2013b).

In general, the first decade of the 21st century shows a process that the two European institutions took a similar direction of youth policies on citizenship. Young citizen's active participation in the civic, political and social arena is a major policy concern for both institutions (e.g. CoE: Resolution 91 (2000), Resolution ResAP(2001)3, Rec(2006)14; EU: White Paper COM(2001), Resolution2002/C 168/02, Resolution2003/C 295/02, Resolution2003/C 295/04 Decision 790/2004/EC, COM(2006)417, COM(2007)498, Resolution 22 May 2008). Meanwhile, active or participatory citizenship of young people has become an objective of education, formal and non-formal learning policies of both European institutions. This has resulted in the Council of Europe Charter on *Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education* (2010) and *The European Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sports* (Erasmus+ 2014-2020).

However, at the time of Europe sliding deep into an economic recession, the two European institutions take rather different approaches on their youth policy. As the guardian organisation of Human Rights in Europe, the Council of Europe adopted a recommendation on young people's fundamental rights in 2013. Whereas, in the European Union other youth related policy documents concerning youth unemployment with regard to the current economic crisis (e.g. EU Communication COM(2013)447final) do not include any mention of citizenship nor mentions specifically young people as citizens. This appears to be an inevitable result of different principles in the foundations of the two institutions, i.e. CoE's human rights principle verses EU's free market principle.

EUROPEAN YOUTH CITIZENSHIP: EVERTHING BUT RIGHTS

In contemporary Europe, challenged by the process of globalisation and transnational migration partially facilitated by the building process of the European Union, the concept of citizenship goes beyond a legal status, beyond the link between the citizen and the state, and beyond the right to work, live, and participate in political life within the territory of a nation state. In the past two decades, we have witnessed a series of policies on young citizens produced by the two

European institutions with a specific focus on exercising their duties as citizens, but not on accessing their rights as citizens. Two keywords appear in all young citizen related policy documents: participation and learning, containing only one message: young citizens have the right to participate in society, but before that they have to learn to participate. However, we have to be reminded of whose interests European youth policy really represents at a time of economic crisis when interests are in conflict between social groups. As some policy researchers have so correctly pointed out policy "only represents the values of the interest group that possesses the authority in policy making, although it often presents itself as universal, generalised and even commonsensical" (Yang, 2007, p. 250). European young people, according to the statistical facts presented previously in this chapter, are at margins of the society where they are usually excluded from authority positions in policies of education, economy, labour market, social justice and political aspects (see also Pihl this volume). As a result, in European youth policies young people are frequently either at-risk or more often than not seen as a problem to be fixed or as a potential trouble to be prevented.

Meanwhil, the concept of citizenship has apparently ambiguous meanings when it comes to policies specifically targeting young people in Europe. On the one hand, as an organisation working on the principle of democracy and human rights, the concept of citizenship in youth policies of the Council of Europe is all about fundamental rights and participation without legal status nor legal rights. As a union of states based on economic cooperation for a 'single market', the legal status and the legal rights associated with European citizenship are undermined by the market of which most young people are at positions in the margins (e.g. out or between labour market, low economic status or poverty). Therefore, we observe that the EU policies on young citizens are 'dancing' around at margins of citizenship: young citizens have the right to participate in our democratic society and they are provided with means (schools, youth organisation, and volunteering services) to learn to participate in schools. When young people are unemployed or in poverty, they are dealt with as a problem which has nothing to do with citizenship.

Nevertheless, this policy document analysis with a critical hermeneutic approach has resulted in a tentative definition of citizenship from understanding the concepts and issues discussed in European youth policy documents, by expanding the comprehensiveness of the definition by Abowitz and Harnish (2006):

> Citizenship in a democratic society (a) gives membership status to individuals within a community with political, social and civic entities; (b) confers an identity on individuals; (c) constitutes a set of values, usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular community; (d) involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of civic, social and political life; and (e) implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures, and processes of governance (p. 653).

This definition describes clearly the elements and duties of *becoming* a citizen, which is applicable specifically to people who are actually at the margins of a formal citizenship (or non-citizens): young people before they reach the age of 18 in their home country or community and adults (i.e. people above the age of 18) who move to a new country or a new community. This definition helps our understanding of the real meaning of youth citizenship in the European policies, i.e. a citizenship at the margins of a formal citizenship and a citizenship with everything but rights. Ultimately, we ned to remember that citizenship is not only about understanding what it is or might be, more than an 'integration agenda'. Instead it is about overcoming structural barriers to equality and justice for all members of society including youth, not only in Europe but also globally.

REFERENCES

Abowitz, K. & Harnish, J. (2006). Contemporary discourses of citizenship. *Review of Educational Research,* 76(4), 653-690.

Amnå, E. and Ekman, J. (2013). Standby citizens: diverse faces of political passivity. *European Political Science Review,* 1-21. Doi:10.1017/S175577391300009X

Breidbach, S. (2003). Plurilingualism, democractic citizenship in Europe and the role of English. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/BreidbachEN.pdf

Bryman, A. (2004). *Social research methods*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burchardt, T., Le Grand, J. & Piachaud, D. (1999). Social Exclusion in Britain 1991-1995. *Social Policy and Administration*, *33,* 227-244.

Burgi, N. (2014). Societies without citizens: The anomic impacts of labor market restructuring and the rosion of social rights in Europe. *European Journal of Social Theory,* (published online 6 May 2014) DOI: 10.1177/1368431014530927.

Chakravarty, S. R., & D'Ambrosio, C. (2006). The measurement of social exclusion. *Review of income and wealth*, *52*, 377-398.

Children's Defence Fund (2011). *State of America's children: 2011 report.* Available at: http://www.childrensdefense.org/child-research-data-publications/data/state-of-americas-2011.pdf .

Crick, B. (2000) *Essays on Citizenship.* London: Continuum.

Dalton, R J (2008). Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies*, *56*(1), 76–98.

de Haan, A., & Maxwell S. (1998). Poverty and social exclusion in north and south. *IDS Bulletin*, *29*(1), 1-9.

Duffy, K. (1995). *Social exclusion and human dignity in Europe: Background report for the proposed initiative by the Council of Europe*. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.

Duffy, K. (2001). Risk and opportunity: Lessons from the human dignity and social exclusion initiative for trends in social policy. *Canadian Journal of Law & Society/Revue Canadienne Droit et Societe*, *6*(2), 17-41.

European Commission (2012a). EU youth report 2012. Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/youth/library/reports/eu-youth-report-2012_en.pdf

European Commission (2012b). Focus on youth volunteering: European good practice projects. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

European Commission (2013a). Focus on young citizens of Europe: European good practice projects. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

European Commission (2013b). Focus on young people and entrepreneurship: European good practice projects. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Eurostat (2009). *Youth in Europe: A statistical portrait*. Luxembourg: Publication Office of the EU. Available at: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-78-09-920/EN/KS-78-09-920-EN.PDF .

Eurostat (2014). Euro area unemployment rate at 11.8%, EU28 at 10.5%. *Eurostat newsrelease: Euroindicators*, 70/2014. Available at: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/3-02052014-AP/EN/3-02052014-AP-EN.PDF

Evans, K. (1995). Competence and citizenship: Towards a complementary model. *Journal of Education and Work,* 11(2), 1-11.

Giroux, H. A. (2012). *Disposable youth: Racialised memories and the cultural of cruelty*. New York: Routledge.

Giroux, H. A. (2013). *Cultures of Violence in the Age of Casino Capitalism*. Available at http://www.truthdig.com/report/item/cultures_of_violence_in_the_age_of_casino_capitalism_20131219

Guild, E. (2010). *The European Union after the Treaty of Lisbon: Fundamental rights and EU citizenship*. Brussels: The Centre for European Policy Studies. Available at: http://www.ceps.eu/

Hammer, T. (2003). *Youth unemployment and social exclusion in Europe: A comparative study.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Holford, J. & van der Veen, R. (2006). Lifelong learning, governance and active citizenship in Europe: ETGACE project final report. Brussels: European Commission.

Horsell, C. (2006). Homelessness and social exclusion: A Foucauldian perspective for social workers. *Australian Social Work*, *59*, 213-225.

Hoskins B., Abs H., Han C., Kerr D. & Veugelers W. (2012), "Participatory citizenship in the European Union", *Institute of Education, Contextual Analysis Report 1*, commissioned by the European Commission, Brussels, http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/pdf/report_1_conextual_report.pdf , accessed 10 February 2013.

Hoskins, B. & Mascherini, M. (2009.) Measuring active citizenship through the development of a composite indicator. *Social Indicator Research*, 90, 459–488. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11205-008-9271-2.

Huang, L. (2013). Citizenship and participation: An instruction to WG5 at Youth-in-2020 conference of EU-CoE Youth Partnership, 1-3 Oct. 2013, Budapest, Hungary.

Jamieson, L., Wallace, C., Machacek, L., Boehnke, K., Ros, M., Condor, S., Bianchi, G. & Grad, H. (2005). 'Orientations of young men and women to citizenship and European identity', *Research*eu, EUR 23188*. European Commission: Community Research. Accessed on 29 September 2014 at: http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/youth-and-european-identity-final-report_en.pdf

Lister, M. & Pia, E. (2008). *Citizenship in contemporary Europe*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

LSE (2013). Youth participation in democratic life: Final report. London: LSE Enterprise Ltd. Accessible at: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/youth/tools/documents/lse_study_on_youth_participation_2013.pdf

Marshall, T. (1950). Citizenship and social class and other essays. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ministry of Justice (2012). Youth justice statistics 2010/11: England and Wales. London: Youth Justice Board. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/279892/yjb-statistics-10-11.pdf .

Morrow J. (2005), History of Western political thought, Palgrave MacMillan, New York.

Muižnieks, N. (2014). Youth human rights at risk during the crisis. Council of Europe. Available at http://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/-/youth-human-rights-at-risk-during-the-crisis#more-467

Phillips, N. & Brown, J.L. (1993). Analyzing communications in and around organizations: A Critical Hermeneutic Approach. *Academy of Management Journal,* 36, 1547-76.

Somers M (2008) Genealogies of citizenship: Markets, statelessness, and the right to have rights. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Steinar-Khamsi, G. (ed.) (2004). *The global politics of borrowing and lending*. New York: Teachers College.

Stoker, G., Mason, A., McGrew, A., Armstrong, C., Owen, D., Smith, G., Banya, M., McGee, D., & Saunders, C. (2011). *Prospects for citizenship*. London: Bloomsbury.

Taylor-Gooby, P. (1991). Welfare state regimes and welfare citizenship. *Journal of European Social Policy,* 1 (2), 93-105.

Thompson, D., Fowler, H. W. and Fowler, F. G. (1995). *The Consice Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Turner, B. (1993), 'Contemporary Problems in the Theory of Citizenship' in Turner, B. (ed.) Citizenship and Social Theory, (London: Sage).

UNICEF (2011). *The State of the world's children 2011: Adolescence, an age of opportunity.* New York: United National Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Westholm, A., Montero, J. & Van Deth, j. (2007). 'Introduction: Citizenship, involvement and democracy in Europe'. In J. Van Deth, J. Montero and A. Westholm (eds). *Citizenship and involvement in European democracies: A comparative analysis.* London: Routledge. 1-32.

Yang, R. (2007). 'Comparing policies'. In M. Bray, B. Adamson & M. Mason (eds). *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and methods.* Hong Kong: CERC, the University of Hong Kong.

APPENDIX

Table 1. Youth related policy documents in Europe

1960	CoE Parliamentary Assembly: Resolution 20 on the Social Problems of Youth
1970	CoE Parliamentary Assembly: Recommendation 592(1970) on Youth Problems in Europe
1972	CoE Committee of Ministers: Resolution (72) 17 on a European Youth Foundation
1976	EU Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education, meeting within the Council, of 13 Decem ber 1976 concerning measures to be taken to improve the preparation of young people for work and to facilitate the transition from education to working life
1979	EU Council Decision 79/642/EEC on establishing a second joint programme to encourage the exchange of young workers within the Union
1985	CoE Parliamentary Assembly: Recommendation 1019 on the participation of young people in political and institutional life
1988	EU Council Decision 88/348/EEC on adopting an action programme for the promotion of youth exchanges in the Community – 'Youth for Europe' programme (Official Journal L 158, 25/06/1988).
1991	EU Council Decision 91/395/EEC on adopting the 'Youth for Europe' programme (Phase II) (Official Journal L 217, 06/08/1991)
1992	CoE Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe: European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life
1993	CoE Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe: Resolution 243 (1993) on Citizenship and extreme poverty: the Charleroi Declaration
1995	EU Parliament and the Council: Decision 818/95/EC adopting the third phase of the 'Youth for Europe' programme (Official Journal L 087, 20/04/1995)
1996	CoE Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe: Resolution 41 (1996) on Health and Citizenship: Care for the Poorest in Europe
1998	EU Parliament and the Council: Decision 168/98/EC on establishing the Community Action Programme "European Voluntary Service for Young People"
1999	CoE Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe: Recommendation 59(1999) on Europe 2000 – Youth participation: the role of young people as citizens
	CoE Committee of Ministers: Decisions CM/DEL/DEC(99)668, Declaration and programme on education for democratic citizenship based on the rights and responsibilities of citizens
2000	EU Parliament and the Council: Decision 1031/2000/EC on the "YOUTH" Community Action Programme
	CoE Committee of Ministers: Recommendation Rec (2000)24 on the development of European studies for democratic citizenship
	CoE Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe: Resolution 91 (2000) Responsible citizenship and participation in public life

2001	EU Commission of the European Communities: COM(2001) European Commission White Paper: A New Impetus for European Youth
	CoE Committee of Ministers: Resolution ResAP(2001)3 Towards full citizenship of persons with disabilities through inclusive new technologies
2002	EU Council Resolution 2002/C 168/02 regarding the framework of European cooperation in the youth field
	CoE Committee of Ministers: Recommendation Rec(2002)12 on education for democratic citizenship
2003	CoE Committee of Ministers: Recommendation Rec(2003)8 on the promotion and recognition of non-formal education/learning of young people
	EU Council Resolution 2003/C 295/02 on making school an open learning environment to prevent and combat early school leaving and disaffection among young people and to encourage their social inclusion
	EU Council Resolution 2003/C 295/04 on common objectives for participation by and information for young people
2004	EU Parliament and the Council: Decision 790/2004/EC on establishing a Community action programme to promote bodies active at European level in field of youth
	CoE Parliamentary Assembly: Recommendation 1682(2004) calling for a European framework convention on education for democratic citizenship and human rights education to be drafted
	CoE European Year of Citizenship through Education
2005	EU Communication COM(2005)206final on European policies concerning youth: Addressing concerns of young people in Europe – implementing the European Youth Pact and promoting active citizenship
	CoE Committee of Ministers: Recommendation Rec(2006)14 on Citizenship and participation of young people in public life
2006	EU Parliament and the Council: Decision 1719/2006/EC on establishing the "Youth in Action" programme for the period 2007-2013
	EU Communication COM(2006)417 on European policies concerning youth participation and information for young people in view of promoting their active European citizenship
	EU Parliament and the Council: Recommendation 2006/962/EC on key competences for lifelong learning
2007	EU Communication COM(2007)498 on Promoting young people's full participation in education, employment and society
2008	EU Council Resolution 22 May 2008 on the participation of young people with fewer opportunities
2009	EU Council Resolution 2009/C 311/01 on a renewed framework for European cooperation in the youth field (2010-2018)
	EU Communication COM(2009)200 An EU strategy for youth – investing and empowering: a renewed open method of coordination to address youth challenges and opportunities
2010	CoE Committee of Ministers: Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)7 Charter on education for democratic citizenship and human rights education
2011	EU Council Resolution 8064/11 on encouraging new and effective forms of participation of all young people in democratic life in Europe
2012	CoE Committee of Ministers: Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)2 on the participation of children and young people under the age of 18

2013	CoE Parliament Assembly: Recommendation 2015(2013) on Young people's access to fundamental rights
	EU Communication COM(2013)447final on working together for Europe's young people: A call to action on youth unemployment (no young citizen or citizenship)

Lihong Huang
Youth Research Unit of NOVA,
Oslo and Akershus University College, Norway

Halla B. Holmarsdottir
Department of Education, Oslo and Akershus University College, Norway

NOTES

[1] http://www.coe.int
[2] http://europa.eu/eu-law/index_en.htm
[3] http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership
[4] http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership
[5] http://ec.europa.eu/justice/citizen/dates/index_en.htm
[6] http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership
[7] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/youth/
[8] http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/index_en.htm