RETRACING THE RIGHT TO FREE MOVEMENT: MAPPING A PATH FORWARD

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As a founding principle of the European Union ("EU"), a prerequisite for the exercise of most other EU rights, and a key component of EU integration, the freedom of movement right has carried great political and practical importance. It has also been one of the most contested, politically abused, and poorly understood of EU rights, particularly in the context of mobility of nationals from Central and Eastern Europe ("CEE"). Notably, misinformation regarding the free movement right was spread by the media, politicians, and the public, which helped to propel both the UK's renegotiation of its EU membership and, ultimately, its exit from the Union ("Brexit"). Other EU-15 State politicians have also been perpetuating myths about freedom of movement and immigration. Scholars addressing free movement, even in the context of Brexit, have devoted little attention to this right's conceptualization as it has evolved over time, to how EU branches other than the European Court of Justice have approached it, or to how CEE nationals have been positioned and impacted by mobility's legal framework. Although some critical scholars have critiqued derogations from the free movement right imposed on CEE nationals in the aftermath of their States' accession to the EU, they have also failed to situate their analysis within a broader look at the creation and application of the legal framework behind mobility. CEE movers in the UK and other EU-15 States have tended to be racialized by the media, politicians, and the public – that is, described and approached by individuals and institutions in ways which denigrate or assume their inferiority. Hence, several tenets of critical race theory ("CRT") and critical whiteness studies ("CWS") that expound the relationship between race, power, society, and law are helpful to the analysis of their mobility.

This Article argues that the freedom of movement right has always been limited, and that CEE nationals' mobility rights have been especially restricted by both EU statutes and case law and further

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impeded by restrictive Member State policies. Ultimately, the right of free movement has been created and consistently applied in a way as to benefit EU-15 States' economies, while approaching CEE movers as mere units of production. This broader understanding of this right is necessary to make Brexit negotiations more meaningful, and debates about intra-EU movers in other EU-15 States more responsible. Moreover, the discussion here also critiques CRT and CWS for overlooking the significance of immigrant background and of white minority ethnicities in the conceptualization and experience of equality. This article suggests that both theoretical frameworks need to not only look beyond the black-white binary, but also consider contemporary transnational power dynamics to arrive at a more flexible and nuanced picture of micro-level racial and ethnic power relations in today's globalized world.

I. INTRODUCTION

Soon after its inclusion in Spaak's 1956 blueprint for the establishment of the European Common Market,[1] freedom of movement of persons became widely regarded as a central aspect of the European integration project.[2] As a prerequisite for the exercise of most other EU rights[3] (including the right to equality) and a tangible symbol of EU integration, the right carries great social, economic, and political importance.[4] Mobility has been proclaimed to be a fundamental right, a founding principle, and a core right of EU citizenship by the European Commission (the "Commission"),[5] the European Parliament,[6] the Court of Justice of the European Union (the "ECJ"),[7] and key EU representatives.[8] As revealed through Eurobarometer surveys, the public also considers it to be one of the most prized EU achievements.[9] Western

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1. Intergovernmental Comm. on European Integration, *The Brussels Report on the General Common Market (Referred to as the Spaak Report)*, 1 (June 1965).

2. Michael Johns, *Post-Accession Polish Migrants in Britain and Ireland: Challenges and Obstacles to Integration in the European Union*, 15 EUR. J. MIGRATION & L. 29–45 (2013) https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/ejml15&i=33.

3. Joined Cases C-64 & 65/96, Land Nordrhein-Westfalen v. Uecker, & Jacquet v. Land Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1997 E.C.R I-3182.

4. *See* CAMINO MORTERA-MARTINEZ & CHRISTIAN ODENDAHL, WHAT FREE MOVEMENT MEANS TO EUROPE AND WHY IT MATTERS FOR BRITAIN (2017).

5. *Commission Communication on Guidance for Better Transposition and Application of 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*, at 3, COM (2009) 313 final (July 2, 2009) [hereinafter European Commission].

6. *See, e.g.*, Resolution on Freedom of Movement for Workers Within the European Union, EUR. PARL. DOC. P7 TA0587 (2011).

7. *See, e.g.*, Case C-413/99 Baumbast v. Sec'y of State for the Home Dep't, 2002 E.C.R. I-7136.

8. *See, e.g.*, Viviane Reding, Vice-President of European Commission, Justice Commissioner, Address at the Conference for Mayors on EU Mobility at Local Level: Free Movement of EU Citizens: turning challenges into opportunities at local level (Feb. 11, 2014).

9. They majority of EU citizens considers it to be the main EU right and the aspect of the EU most important to them personally. *See* European Comm'n, *Report on European Union Citizenship*, at 29–37, Flash Eurobarometer 365 (Feb. 2013), http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/flash/fl_365_en.pdf; European Comm'n, *Public Opinion in the European Union: Report*, at 64, Standard Eurobarometer

Member State ("EU-15")[10] nationals have strongly supported unrestricted mobility among EU-15 States.[11] For example, in 1986, 74% supported an unlimited right to reside in all other EU-15 States.[12] After the 2004 accession of A-8 States[13] and the 2007 accession of A-2 States[14] of ten Central and East European ("CEE") countries (collectively, the "Eastern Enlargement"),[15] almost 90% of EU citizens polled considered mobility to be a fundamental right of their EU citizenship.[16] A majority of those polled in 2013 described it as the core EU right,[17] and the most positive achievement of the EU.[18]

In 2014, fourteen million EU nationals relied on their right to reside in other Member States.[19] Driven by employment opportunities and large

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79 (May 2013), http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/eb/eb79/eb79_publ_en.pdf.

10. "EU-15" is considered the fifteen Member States before 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. *Glossary of Statistical Terms: EU15*, ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT, https://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=6805, (last visited Nov. 8, 2018).

11. *See* Commission of the European Communities, *Public Opinion of the European Community*, EURO-BAROMETRE No. 26 (Dec. 1986), http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb26/eb26_en.pdf.

12. *Id.*

13. "A-8" refers to Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia; Malta and Cyprus were also included in the 2004 enlargement. Saara Koikkalainen, *Free Movement in Europe: Past and Present*, MIGRATION POL'Y INST. (Apr. 21, 2011).

14. The A-2 states comprised of Bulgaria and Romania. *Id.*

15. *Commission Communication on the Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges*, at 2, COM (2006) 649 final (Nov. 08, 2006). Both the European Council and the Commission consider the 2007 enlargement to have constituted the second wave of the 2004 enlargement. *See generally id.*

16. *See generally* European Comm'n, *Report on European Union Citizenship*, at 4, Flash Eurobarometer 365 (Feb. 2013), http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/flash/fl_365_en.pdf.

17. *Id.*

18. European Comm'n, *First Results on Public Opinion in the European Union*, at 8, Standard Eurobarometer 79 (July 2013), http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/eb/eb79/eb79_first_en.pdf.

19. European Commission Memo 14/9, European Commission Upholds Free Movement of People, at 1 (Jan. 15, 2014).

gaps in earnings,[20] post-2004 mobility has been predominantly from CEE to EU-15 States, with the largest group of movers being from Romania and Poland.[21]

Despite—or due to—its conceptual and practical significance, mobility has been a controversial concept at times. It was one of the most contested topics during the Eastern Enlargement process, unpopular among EU-15 citizenry and officials.[22] As far back as 1991, 63% of EU-15 citizens polled had wished to restrict potential future CEE migration, and 20% desired to ban it altogether.[23] On the eve of the Enlargement, 16% of EU-15 citizens considered immigration to be a 'major' issue facing their countries - at par with terrorism, and rising prices. [24] Allegedly fearing welfare tourism (although studies indicated that such concerns were not warranted),[25] EU-15 States adamantly opposed an immediate post-accession access to free movement and to social benefits by CEE nationals.[26] Despite CEE politicians' objections, temporary restrictions on CEE workers' free movement were included in both

20. Mikkel Barslund & Matthias Busse, *Forum: Labour Mobility in the EU: Dynamics, Patterns and Policies*, 3 INTERECONOMICS 116, 117 (2014).

21. European Job Mobility Lab., *Mobility in Europe 2011*, at 66–71 (Nov. 2011), ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=13341&langId=en; Koikkalainen, *supra* note 13; Fries-Tersch et. al., *2017 Annual Rep. on Intra-EU Labour Mobility: Final Report Jan. 2018*, at 31 (Jan. 2018), https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/2017_report_on_intra-eu_labour_mobility.pdf.

22. SAMANTHA CURRIE, MIGRATION, WORK AND CITIZENSHIP IN THE ENLARGED EUROPEAN UNION CH. 2 (2016); *see generally* Michael Haynes, *European Union and Its Periphery: Inclusion and Exclusion*, 33 ECON. AND POL. WEEKLY PE87 (1998).

23. Comm'n of the European Communities, *Public Opinion in the European Community*, at 42, Eurobarometer 35 (June 1991), http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb35/eb35_en.pdf.

24. European Comm'n, *Eurobarometer Spring 2004: Public Opinion in the European Union*, at 22, Joint Full Report of Eurobarometer 61 And CC Eurobarometer 2004.1 (July 2004), http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/eb/eb61/eb61_en.pdf.

25. Jon Kvist, *Does EU enlargement start a race to the bottom? Strategic interaction among EU member states in social policy*, 14(3) J. OF EUR. SOC. POL'Y 301, 301 (2004); Michael Dougan, *A Spectre is Haunting Europe … Free of Movement of Persons and the Eastern Enlargement*, *in* EU ENLARGEMENT: A LEGAL APPROACH 111-41 (Chrisophe Hillion ed., 2004).

26. AGNIESZKA KUBAL, SOCIO-LEGAL INTEGRATION: POLISH POST-2004 EU ENLARGEMENT MIGRANTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM 74 (2012).

accession treaties – imposed on CEE states acceding in 2004 until April 2011 – and on those acceding in 2007 until December 2013.[27]

When transitional limitations came to an end, renewed popular and political debates about "benefit tourism" and "poverty immigration" spread across EU-15 States.[28] In a 2011 Eurobarometer survey, the majority of nationals in every EU-15 State other than Sweden and Luxembourg agreed with the statement that the internal market had "flooded" their country with "cheap labour."[29] Moreover, the 2008 economic crisis fueled Eurosceptic populist discourse condemning the freedom of movement right and increasingly incorrectly labelling intra-EU movers (especially from CEE states) as "migrants"[30] and "foreigners."[31] Poles, Bulgarians, and Romanians have been especially targeted.[32] In a 2013 letter to the President of the European Council for Justice and Home Affairs, Ministers representing Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom called for limitations on mobility

27. *See* Kubal, *supra* note 26, at 74–76; European Comm'n, *Rep. on Transitional Arrangements Regarding Free Movement of Workers from Bulgaria and Romania*, MEMO/11/773 (Nov. 11, 2011). Restrictions on the mobility of nationals from Cyprus and Malta, which had replaced Bulgaria and Romania in the accession negotiation process, were never even considered – likely due to their small populations. *See* Kubal, *supra* note 26, at 77–78.

28. Béla Galgóczi et al., *Intra-EU labour migration: flows, effects and policy responses* 5 (Eur. Trade Union Inst., Working Paper No. 2009.03, 2011), https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2264049;
see also Eva-Maria Poptcheva, *Freedom of movement and residence of EU citizens: Access to social benefits*, at 3, European Parliamentary Research Serv. (2014), http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/bibliotheque/briefing/2014/140808/LDM_BRI(2014)140808_REV1_EN.pdf.

29. *See generally* European Comm'n, *Report of the Internal Market: Awareness, Perceptions and Impacts*, at 18, Special Eurobarometer 363 (Sept. 2011) [hereinafter Eurobarometer 2011].

30. Synonymous with the American term "immigrants."

31. Theodora Kostakopoulou, *Mobility, Citizenship and Migration in a Post-Crisis Europe*, IMAGINING EUR. at 5 (June 2014), http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/imaginingeurope_09.pdf.

32. *See, e.g.*, Iwona Sobis et al., *Polish plumbers and Romanian strawberry pickers: how the populist framing of EU migration impacts national policies*, 5 MIGRATION & DEV. 431, 436 (2016).

of "immigrants" from other EU States due to CEE movers' alleged abuse and strain on the social systems of "benefit magnet" Member States.[33]

From early 2000s, UK debates about its EU membership became conflated with mobility and immigration issues.[34] As part of the UK's membership renegotiation, Prime Minister David Cameron sought to decrease mobility into the UK, or at least EU citizens' welfare access, even by economically active movers.[35] The British public's support for the UK's "New Settlement" with the EU focused on restricting EU movers' access to benefits.[36] Concerns regarding free movement, and especially CEE workers' mobility and their access to benefits, ultimately played a key part during the Brexit campaign and its outcome.[37]

The conflation of EU membership, free movement right, and immigration by the media, politicians, and the public—during both the renegotiation process and the Brexit campaign—has been based on several inaccuracies. Central among them were the misconceptions that the ECJ had been overstretching Treaty[38] provisions and secondary laws on free movement rights,[39] that Member States have little discretion to

33. *See* Letter from Johanna Miki-Leitner, Fed. Minster of the Interior, Austria, et. al., to Alan Shatter, President, European Council for Justice & Home Affairs (2013) http://docs.dpaq.de/3604-130415lettertopresidencyfinal12.pdf.

34. James Dennison & Andrew Geddes, *Brexit and the perils of 'Europeanised' migration*, 25 J. OF EUR. PUB. POL'Y 1137, 1141 (2018).

35. European Parliament, *The UK's 'new settlement' in the European Union: Renegotiation and referendum*, THINK TANK (Feb. 25, 2016) http://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=EPRS_IDA(2016)577983.

36. *Id.*; Eiko Thielemann & Daniel Schade, *Buying into Myths: Free Movement of People and Immigration*, 87 Pol. Q. 139, 140 (2016).

37. *See generally* MORTERA-MARTINEZ & ODENDAHL, *supra* note 4, at 3–4.

38. Unless otherwise indicated, "Treaty", as used throughout this Article, refers to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, and, after 1993, to the Treaty on European Union, including their amendments.

39. *Id.* at 3. Cameron himself incorrectly noted in his letter to Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, that ECJ had widened the scope of free movement beyond its statutory limitations. *See* Letter from David Cameron, the Prime Minister, U.K., to Donald Tusk, President of the European Council (Nov. 10, 2015), www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/475679/Donald_Tusk_letter.pdf.

affect movers' access to welfare benefits,[40] and that movers choose where to move based on the attractiveness of host States' welfare benefits, adversely affecting host economies.[41] Such misinformation has not been confined to the UK; other EU-15 State politicians have been perpetuating similar myths.[42]

More generally, the freedom of movement right has been "legally over-complicated, politically abused, . . . and popularly misunderstood."[43] As Barnard and Butlin note, there is a need for "a radical rethink of the free movement of persons provisions."[44] It is crucial to better understand this right, especially in the context of CEE movers, to allow for more meaningful Brexit negotiations and their aftermath, as well as for a more responsible approach toward intra-EU immigrants in other EU-15 States, to which their mobility will continue after Brexit, and where anti-immigrant discourse and policies have been gathering strength.[45]

Since the Brexit referendum, scholars have devoted more attention to free movement law and debates, but only to legal developments during the last two decades. For example, Currie,[46] Dougan,[47] and O'Brien[48]

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40. Samantha Currie, *Reflecting on Brexit: migration myths and what comes next for EU migrants in the UK?*, 38 J. OF SOC. WELFARE & FAM. L. 337, 338 (2016) [hereinafter *Reflecting on Brexit*]; Charlotte O'Brien, *Civis Capitalist Sum: Class as the New Guiding Principle of EU Free Movement Rights*, 53 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 937, 937–978 (2016).

41. Thielemann & Schade, *supra* note 36, at 142.

42. *Id*.; *see also* Poptcheva, *supra* note 28.

43. Jo Shaw, *Between Law and Political Truth? Member State Preferences, EU Free Movement Rules and National Immigration Law* 17 CAMBRIDGE Y.B. OF EUR. LEGAL STUD. 1, 3 (Research Paper Series No. 2015/28, 2015) (quoting Editorial Comments, *Free Movement of Persons in the European Union: Salvaging the Dream While Explaining the Nightmare*, 51 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 729, 736 (2014)).

44. Catherine Barnard & Sarah Butlin, *Free Movement vs. Fair Movement: Brexit and Managed Migration*, 55 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 203, 205 (2018).

45. *See, e.g.*, Eberl et. al., *The European Media Discourse on Immigration and its Effects: A Literature Review*, 42 ANNALS INT'L COMM. ASS'N 207 (2018); Sertan Akbaba, *Re-narrating Europe in the Face of Populism: An Analysis of the Anti-immigration Discourse of Populist Party Leaders*, 20 INSIGHT TURK. 199 (2018).

46. *Reflecting on Brexit*, *supra* note 40, at 338.

47. *See generally* Michael Dougan, *The Bubble that Burst: Exploring the Legitimacy of the Case Law on the Free Movement of Union Citizens*, *in* JUDGING

have pointed out that, over the last decade, the ECJ has been decreasing movers' entitlements and tolerating increasing Member State discretion in doing so as well (most notably, through the imposition of national right-to-reside rules, and more demanding tests for what constitutes "work" and what constitutes "jobseeker" status from which worker protections stem).[49] Others have emphasized the importance of public opposition to free movement to the referendum outcome.[50] Some authors have noted that historically, the right to free movement has always been limited via statutes and case law, but they have not considered how actual movers have been affected by them.[51]

Outside of the Brexit context, similarly little attention has been devoted to this right's conceptualization as it has evolved over time, to how EU branches other than the ECJ have approached it, or to how CEE nationals have been positioned and impacted by it. Detailed academic analyses of the right to free movement have traditionally focused on black letter law at specific moments in time,[52] and more recently, on the

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EUROPE'S JUDGES: THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CASE LAW OF THE EUROPEAN COURT OF JUSTICE 127–154 (Maurice Adams et al. eds., 2013).

48. *See generally* O'Brien, *supra* note 40, at 940.

49. *See generally* Charlotte O'Brien et al., *Comparative Report 2015 on the concept of worker under Article 45 TEFEU and certain non-standard forms of employment*, at 8–9, FreSsco (April 2015), http://dro.dur.ac.uk/18690/1/18690.pdf?DDC72+DDC71+DDD19+dla0es+d700tmt. Both the 2015 FreSsco study and the ongoing EU Rights Project have documented that some Member States have increasingly been treating even movers who are not economically inactive as such, placing heavy burdens on workers to prove their entitlement to worker status, and designating work as "marginal and ancillary" (and thus not leading to worker status) simply due to being based on temporary contracts. *Id.*; *see also Introducing the EU rights project*, EU RTS. PROJECT (July 10, 2017), www.eurightsproject.co.uk.

50. Dennison & Geddes, *supra* note 34, at 1140–41; Thielemann & Schade, *supra* note 36, at 139–41.

51. *See generally* Barnard & Butlin, *supra* note 44, at 219–20; Michael Doherty, *Through the Looking Glass: Brexit, Free Movement and the Future*, 27 KING'S L.J. 375, 376–77 (2016).

52. *See, e.g.*, CATHERINE BARNARD, THE SUBSTANTIVE LAW OF THE EU: THE FOUR FREEDOMS (4th ed. 2013); DAMIAN CHALMERS ET AL., EUROPEAN UNION LAW: TEXT AND MATERIALS (3rd ed. 2014); PAUL CRAIG & GRÁINNE DE BÚRCA, EU LAW: TEXTS, CASES, AND MATERIALS (6th ed. 2015); FRANCESCO ROSSI DAL POZZO, CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS AND FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IN THE EUROPEAN UNION (2013); PEDRO CARO DE SOUSA, THE EUROPEAN FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS: A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH (2015); NIGEL FOSTER,

ECJ's approach toward access to social benefits by mobile individuals.[53] Although some scholars have pointed out tensions between EU and Member State approaches toward free movement,[54] and internal tensions in the EU's free movement law,[55] little academic attention has been paid to the evolution of such challenges over time, and to CEE movers' position. The one notable textbook that traces the evolution of EU law over time devotes only a chapter to freedom of movement of persons, in which, again, the focus is recent ECJ case law.[56] Similarly, scholarship on CEE nationals' mobility rights has tended to explain black letter law at the time of the 2004 and 2007 enlargements,[57] and more recently, the effects of mobility on both sending and host States[58] and on mobile CEE nationals themselves.[59]

Critical scholars have critiqued post-accession transitional mobility limitations for undermining the concepts of equality and EU citizenship and for contradicting EU laws.[60] They have not situated their critique,

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FOSTER ON EU LAW (6th ed. 2017); JOHN HANDOLL, FREE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS IN THE EU (1995); ERIKA SZYSZCZAK & ADAM CYGAN, UNDERSTANDING EU LAW (2nd ed. 2008); LORNA WOODS ET AL., STEINER & WOODS EU LAW (13th ed. 2017).

53. *See, e.g.*, Rebecca Zahn, '*Common Sense' or a Threat to EU Integration? The Court, Economically Inactive EU Citizens and Social Benefits*, 44 INDUS. L. J. 573 (2015).

54. *See, e.g.*, ELISE MUIR, EU REGULATION OF ACCESS TO LABOUR MARKETS: A CASE STUDY OF EU CONSTRAINTS ON MEMBER STATE COMPETENCES Introduction (2012); CHRISTOFFER C. ERIKSEN, THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION, WELFARE STATES AND DEMOCRACY: THE FOUR FREEDOMS VS NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION 1.2 (2012).

55. *See, e.g.*, Allan Rosas, *Introduction* to EXCEPTIONS FROM EU FREE MOVEMENT LAW: DEROGATION, JUSTIFICATION AND PROPORTIONALITY at v, v-vii (Panos Koutrakos et al. eds., 2016).

56. Siofia O'Leary, *Free Movement of Persons and Services, in* THE EVOLUTION OF EU LAW 499–500 (Paul Craig & Gráinne De Búrca eds., 2nd ed. 2011).

57. *See, e.g.*, Peter Van Elsuwege, *The Treaty of Accession and Differentiation in the EU*, 72 JURISPRUDENCIJA [JURIS.] 117-123 (2005) (Belg.).

58. *See, e.g.*, Adrian Favell & Ettore Recchi, *Pioneers of European Integration: an Introduction, in* PIONEERS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: CITIZENSHIP AND MOBILITY IN THE EU (Adrian Favell & Ettore Recchi eds., 2009).

59. Katherine Botterill, *Mobility and Immobility in the European Union: Experiences of Young Polish People Living in the UK*, 37 STUDIA MIGRACYJNE - PRZEGLĄD POLONIJNY [POLONIA AND MIGRATION STUD.] 47, 47–48, 54 (2011).

60. Sergio Carrera, *What Does Free Movement Mean in Theory and Practice in an Enlarged EU?*, 11 EUROPEAN L. J. 699, 707–08 (2005); CURRIE, *supra* note 22, at 2;

however, in a broader analysis of the free movement right and its evolution. There is much space for a critical look at how CEE nationals have been situated in both the creation and application of the legal framework behind mobility, especially since they have been subjected to racialization, unlike western EU citizens. For example, EU institutions have portrayed them as fundamentally different than western Europeans: not part of European heritage and not entitled to the same treatment as those from western Member States.[61] Moreover, the British media, politicians, and the public have attacked CEE movers,[62] ultimately contributing to, at least in part, the outcome of the Brexit referendum.[63]

Several tenets that both critical race theory ("CRT") and critical whiteness studies ("CWS") expound lay the groundwork for this article's approach toward the intricate relationship between race, power, and law. Law, everyday discourse, economics, politics, and culture play a role in propagating white elites' power and privilege by ignoring, naturalizing, sanctioning, and at times, inciting discrimination against other groups.[64] Those in positions of social power construct legal frameworks in ways that benefit them.[65] To unpack law's role, I have been re-examining historical and legal records to focus on the underlying assumptions and interests that they serve. The analysis in this Article relies on an empirical qualitative study based on systematic content analyses of relevant hard and soft laws, and legal discourse.[66]

Dimitry Kochenov, *The European Citizenship Concept and Enlargement of the Union*, 3 ROM. J. OF POL. SCI. 71, 73 (2003); DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP AND THE FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE (Willem Maas ed., 2013).

61. *See generally* JÓZSEF BÖRÖCZ ET. AL., EMPIRE'S NEW CLOTHES: UNVEILING EU ENLARGEMENT (József Böröcz & Melinda Kovács eds., 2001).

62. Jon Fox et al., *The Racialization of the New European Migration to the UK*, 46 SOC. 680, 686 (2012).

63. *See, e.g.*, Lord Michael Ashcroft, *How the United Kingdom voted on Thursday… and why*, LORD ASHCROFT POLLS (June 24, 2016), http://lordashcroftpolls.com/2016/06/how-the-united-kingdom-voted-and-why/ (based on a survey of 12,369 voters).

64. *See generally* CRITICAL WHITE STUDIES: LOOKING BEHIND THE MIRROR (Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic eds., 1997) (discussing the evolution of Critical White Studies).

65. *See generally id.*

66. I also draw on historical, economic, political, and other background data to bolster my claims, and to place my findings in their local context. Content analysis allows

Despite relying on some tenets of CRT and CWS, I find both theories too essentialist at their core due to ignoring transnational and other non-racial causes of inequalities,[67] and due to focusing on homogeneous races: privileged whites, and underprivileged others. This Article will critique CRT and CWS analytical approaches for overlooking the significance of immigrant background and of white minority ethnicities in the conceptualization and experience of equality, racism, and privilege. It also considers how the formal legal framework (in its creation, interpretation, and specific policy contexts) approaches immigrants who do not easily fit the black-white paradigm. Taking into account contemporary transnational power dynamics, this Article aims to arrive at a more flexible and nuanced picture of micro-level racial and ethnic power relations.[68] This Article not only poses new questions, but also relies on new data as I read the free movement framework critically from the point of view of contemporary CEE movers.

Ironically, while today's concepts of race and ethnicity have been largely the products of historical migrations, colonialism, and slavery, the continuing significance to that construction of contemporary movements of people has been overlooked by legal and race scholars, who tend to see their study groups through the black-white binary. Only by better understanding the ramifications of contemporary mobility on equality can we better respond to the cultural, economic, and political challenges posed by mobility and immigration in an increasingly globalizing world. More broadly, any inabilities of law to adequately respond to the experiences of immigrant groups might provide insights

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me to also consider texts' latent characteristics, as well as any missing parts; and to make inferences from texts by relying on analytical constructs derived from my theoretical framework. As with all qualitative research, my purpose is not statistical generalization, but instead analytical generalization. That is, I seek to offer new insights based on theoretical and conceptual generalizations, and to help build better concepts and theories applicable to the world at large.

67. Although ClassCrits note the effects of lower socio-economic status on access to law and other power structures, and some critical scholars outside the United States have considered postcolonial effects on race construction, the role of globalization and contemporary immigrants in continuing to construct whiteness has been overlooked. LatCrit scholarship has opened up space for applying CRT to transnational power relations, but only between the global North and the global South.

68. I am also aware of intersectionality issues—especially gender, and class—that affect the experience of equality by immigrants.

into its inability to regulate other groups that do not neatly fit into privileged/disadvantaged binaries. This will hopefully lead to redefining concepts such as race, racism, discrimination, and equality so that they can better reflect multitudes of contemporary context-specific differences and power hierarchies.

Below, this Article traces the free movement right from its initial conceptualization (in Part II.A.), through its temporary derogations in the aftermath of the Eastern Enlargement (in Part II. B.), to what it is today (in Part II.C.) to gain a better understanding of how EU institutions' approaches might have evolved over time. Given that the right to mobility encompasses not only the rights to move and reside in other Member States, but also to access social benefits,[69] this Article also traces the evolution of this provision for mobile EU citizens. It pays close attention to how CEE nationals have been affected by changes in the legal frameworks. Part III, summarizes the findings and reflects on their broader practical and theoretical implications.

II. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT RIGHT: DIRECT AND INDIRECT MEASURES

A. Legal Framework Before the Eastern Enlargement

1. Freedom of Movement Laws Before 2004

The 1951 Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and Steel Community prohibited discrimination in employment, remuneration, and working conditions of workers from the then-Member States.[70] To facilitate creation of the common market, the 1957 Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community called for the elimination of obstacles to the free movement of persons,[71] and for abolition of nationality discrimination within the scope of application of

69. *See, e.g.*, *infra* Part II.A.2.

70. Treaty Establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, art. 69(4), Apr. 18, 1951, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:11951K:EN:PDF.

71. The Treaty of Rome, Belg.-Fr.-Ger.-It.-Lux.-Neth., art. 3(c), Mar. 25, 1957, https://ec.europa.eu/romania/sites/romania/files/tratatul_de_la_roma.pdf (along with freedoms of movement of goods, capital, and services).

the Treaty.[72] Pursuant to Title III on the "Free Movement of Persons, Services and Capital" mobility pertained to workers only.[73] Hence, nationality discrimination was forbidden in the context of "employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment"[74] and could be limited only on grounds of public order, public safety, or public health.[75] The ECJ defined nationality discrimination broadly to include direct, indirect,[76] and covert measures.[77] Criteria that applied regardless of nationality constituted indirect discrimination if there was a risk that they placed mobile workers at a particular disadvantage,[78] such as high transfer fees for professional soccer players,[79] residence conditions, or language requirements more easily satisfied by domestic workers.[80] Moreover, any limits imposed on mobility had to be proportionate to legitimate State goals.[81]

Although originally limited to coal and steel workers, the right of free movement was gradually expanded through statutes and ECJ decisions to include all workers and some types of economically inactive persons. The 1993 Maastricht Treaty created the European Union and introduced the concept of a common EU citizenship.[82] Hence, "[e]very citizen of the Union" (including both economically active and inactive persons) was to "have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the

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72. *Id.* art. 7.

73. *Id.* title III ch. 1 art. 48–51.

74. *Id.* art. 48(2). Member States were permitted, however, to restrict access to public service posts to their own nationals. *Id.* art. 48(4).

75. *Id.* art. 48(3).

76. Case 15/69, Milchverwertung-Südmilch-AG v. Ugliola, 1969 E.C.R. 363, 369.

77. Case 152/73, Sotgiu v. Bundespost, 1974 E.C.R. 153, 164.

78. *See* Case C-237/94, O'Flynn v. Adjudication Officer, 1996 E.C.R. I-2631, I-2638.

79. *See* Case C-415/93, Union Royale Belge des Sociétés de Football Association v. Bosman, 1995 E.C.R. I-5043, I-5064.

80. *See* Case C-379/87, Groener v. Minister for Educ., 1989 E.C.R. 3987, 3991; Case C-424/97, Haim v. Kassenzahnärztliche Vereinigung Nordrhein, 2000 E.C.R. I-5148, I-5167.

81. *See* Case C-413/99, Baumbast and R v. Sec'y of State for the Home Dep't, 2002 E.C.R. I-7136, I-7169.

82. Treaty on European Union art. 8, Feb. 7, 1992, O.J. (C 202) 15 [hereinafter Maastricht Treaty].

Member States."[83] Although its scope had to be determined by reference to secondary legislation, the recognition of the free movement right at the Treaty level indicated that no arbitrary or disproportionate intrusions would be permitted.[84]

a. Workers

Worker status has been a precursor of not only mobility protections, but also residence rights, and access to social benefits and tax advantages. Noting that the concept must not be interpreted narrowly,[85] the ECJ has gradually expanded this status, to include all who "for a certain period of time . . . perfor[m] services for and under the direction of another person in return for . . . remuneration."[86] The amount of remuneration is irrelevant, and the worker may draw upon public assistance,[87] as long as the services performed are of commercial value to the recipient.[88] Specific motives for undertaking work are irrelevant, so securing work with the main aim of obtaining access to public assistance would not disqualify one from worker status.[89] Although the economic activity undertaken must be "genuine" and "effective," rather than "purely marginal and ancillary,"[90] no specific working hours are required.[91] Thus, those employed short-term, seasonally, or part-time, and even apprentices and trainees may qualify as workers. Working

83. *Id*. art. 8(a).

84. *Id.* art. 8. The right was subject to "limitations and conditions laid down in this Treaty, and by measures adopted to give it effect." *Id.* art. 8(a).

85. *See* Case C-337/97, Meeusen v. Hoofddirectie van de Informatie Beheer Groep, 1999 E.C.R. I-3289, I-3310.

86. Case 66/85, Lawrie-Blum v. Land Baden-Württemberg, 1986 E.C.R. 2121, 2144.

87. *See* Case 139/85, Kempf v. Staatssecretaris van Justitie, 1986 E.C.R. 1741, 1750-51.

88. *See* Case 196/87, Steymann v. Staatssecretaris van Justitie, 1988 E.C.R. 6159, 6173.

89. *See* Case C-413/01, Ninni-Orasche v. Bundesminister für Wissenschaft, Verkehr und Kunst, 2003 E.C.R. I-13187, I-13230.

90. *Id.* at I-13227, 13230; Case 53/81, Levin v. Staatssecretaris van Justitie, 1982 E.C.R. 1035, 1050.

91. *See* C-14/09, Hava Genc v. Land Berlin, 2010 E.C.R. I-931, I-944. Even fewer than 5 ½ hours per week have been found to be sufficient. *Id*. at I-939.

"only a very limited number of hours," however, may not be sufficient.[92] Self-employed persons have been considered "workers."[93] The Advocate General has defined that status broadly as working for oneself, being solely responsible for one's own business,[94] and abiding by applicable national regulations (such as any registrations, record keeping, and income tax payments).[95] The burden is on the host State to demonstrate sham self-employment.[96]

Noting that "obstacles to the mobility of workers shall be eliminated," Regulation 1612/68 on the freedom of movement of workers called for equality of treatment between domestic and Community workers "in fact and in law in respect of all matters relating to the actual pursuit of activities as employed persons and to eligibility for housing."[97] More specifically, it prohibited any discriminatory legal or administrative measures that could hinder or restrict those persons from other Member States from undertaking employment.[98] Employment offices were to provide equal assistance to jobseekers from other Member States.[99] Although Member States could request temporary suspension of workers' free movement if undergoing or foreseeing disturbances in the labor market "which could seriously threaten the standard of living or level of employment in a given region or occupation," it was up to the Commission to authorize such suspension.[100] No such request had ever been made under the Regulation.

Directive 68/360 sought to further abolish restrictions on movement and residence rights of mobile workers by simplifying procedures for

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92. Case 357/89, Raulin v. Minister van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, 1992 E.C.R. I-1027, I-1060.

93. *See, e.g.*, Case C‑214/16, King v. Sash Window Workshop Ltd., 2017 E.C.R. 439, ¶ 15, 17.

94. *See* Case C-212/97, Centros Ltd. v. Erhvervs-og Selskabsstyrelsen, 1999 E.C.R. I-1459, I-1491.

95. *Id.* at I-1465.

96. *Id.* at I-1492.

97. Regulation (EEC) No. 1612/68 of the Council of 15 October 1968 on Freedom of Movement for Workers Within the Community, Preamble, 1968 O.J. 475, 475.

98. *Id*. art. 3–4.

99. *Id*. art. 5.

100. *Id*. art. 20.

entering and obtaining residence cards in other Member States.[101] For example, host States were not permitted to charge higher fees for residence permits than dues charged for issuance of their citizens' identity cards.[102]

EU-15 workers' statutory residence rights were further strengthened by the ECJ. For example, the Court ruled that national residence formalities, such as requiring mandatory residence permits, which went beyond Directive 68/360's duty to report one's presence in the host State[103] were an impermissible obstacle to free movement.[104] Failing to comply with all the formalities of the Directive did not justify workers' expulsion.[105] Moreover, in *Martinez Sala*, the Court ruled that a host State was precluded from requiring nationals of other Member States authorized to reside there to produce formal residence permits to receive social advantages if the same were not required of its own nationals.[106] To reach this decision, the Court relied on the Maastricht Treaty's prohibition of nationality discrimination of EU citizens.[107] More generally, any national conditions on residency provisions under the Directive were required to satisfy the proportionality test.[108]

Before the Eastern Enlargement, mobility restrictions on workers had been imposed only once, during the Southern Enlargement of Greece in 1981 (for six years) and of Spain and Portugal in 1986 (for six years, shortened to five years after Council review).[109] Like the transitional

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101. *See* Council Directive 68/360, of 15 October 1968 on the Abolition of Restrictions on Movement and Residence Within the Community for Workers of Member States and Their Families, art. 9(3), 1968 O.J. (L 257) 13.

102. *Id.* art. 9.

103. *Id*. art. 8(2).

104. *See* Case C-344/95, Commission v. Belgium, 1997 E.C.R. I-1035, I-1056.

105. *See* Case 48/75, Royer, 1976 E.C.R. 497, 504.

106. *See* Case C-86/96 Martínez Sala v. Freistaat Bayern, 1998 E.C.R. I-2691, I-2724.

107. *Id*. at ¶ 55 (citing Maastricht Treaty, *supra* note 82, at art. 6).

108. *See* Case C-413/99 Baumbast and R v. Sec'y of State for the Home Dep't, 2002 E.C.R. I-7136, I-7171.

109. *See* Council Regulation (EEC) No. 2194/91 of 25 June 1991 on the Transitional Period for Freedom of Movement of Workers Between Spain and Portugal, on the One Hand, and the other Member States, on the Other Hand, 1991 O.J. (L 206) 1; *see* U.K. HOME OFFICE, THE IMPACT OF EU ENLARGEMENT ON MIGRATION FLOWS, 2003, 25/03, at 12, http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/14332/1/14332.pdf.

measures during the Eastern Enlargement, they relied on explicit derogations of Articles 1 through 6 of Regulation 1612/68 (pertaining to workers' right to take up employment in other Member States).[110] These earlier restrictions, however, were implemented before Maastricht Treaty's creation of EU citizenship[111] and before the borderless Schengen Area was established through the 1999 Amsterdam Treaty.[112]

b. Economically Inactive Movers (Including Jobseekers)

Secondary laws slowly expanded former workers' access to the freedom of movement right. According to Directive 68/360, those temporarily incapable of work due to medical issues or accidents, or those involuntarily unemployed were not automatically deprived of residence rights.[113] Once a worker had been involuntarily unemployed for more than a year, Member States could restrict such former worker's residence permit renewal period, but to no less than twelve months.[114] Moreover, pursuant to Regulation 1251/70, workers who had reached retirement age or had become permanently incapacitated while working in a host State had the right to remain there.[115]

In the 1990s, freedom of movement also became guaranteed through secondary laws for students, pensioners, and the unemployed, as well as for their families. This was further reinforced by the Maastricht Treaty's creation of EU citizenship and extension of the right of mobility to all

110. Act Concerning the Conditions of Accession of the Kingdom of Spain and the Portuguese Republic and the Adjustments to the Treaties ,1985 O.J. (L 302) 23, art. 56, 216.

111. *See* Maastricht Treaty, *supra* note 82, at art. 8. The only previous enlargement that took place after Maastricht did not include any impediments on mobility (involving Finland, Sweden, and Austria in 1995). Matthew J. Gabel, *European Union*, ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA, https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Union (last visited Apr. 21, 2019).

112. Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties Establishing the European Communities and Certain Related Acts, Oct. 2, 1997, 1997 O.J. (C 340) 1, 93.

113. Council Directive 68/360, *supra* note 102, at art. 7(1).

114. *Id.* art. 7(2).

115. Commission Regulation 1251/70, art. 8(2), 1970 O.J. (L 142).

EU citizens.[116] However, pursuant to Directives 90/364, 93/96, and 90/365, economically inactive movers were required to have comprehensive sickness insurance (whether public or private) in the host State and "sufficient resources to avoid becoming a burden on the social [security] system of the host Member State during their period of residence."[117] For students, a mere declaration regarding resources sufficed.[118] "Sufficient resources" amounted to at least the level at which host State nationals became eligible for social assistance.[119] In making this determination, Member States were expected to consider each applicant's personal circumstances, and all resources which were easily accessible to the applicant.[120]

The ECJ has been supportive of non-economically active EU citizens' right to reside in other Member States. For example, the Court found that jobseekers had a Treaty right to move and reside in other States "for the purposes of seeking employment."[121] Although host States did have a right to expel them if they did not have a "genuine chance[]" of finding employment, jobseekers were afforded a "reasonable time" to conduct their search[122]—more than three months,[123] and possibly more than six months.[124] Moreover, EU nationals who became unemployed after having worked in a host country were entitled to the right "to look for or pursue an occupation."[125]

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116. Ottavio Marzocchi, *Free movement of persons*, EUR. PARLIAMENT (Oct. 2018), http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/147/free-movement-of-persons.

117. Council Directive 90/364, art. 1, 1990 O.J. (L 180) 26 (EC); Council Directive 93/96, art. 1, 1993 O.J. (L 317) 59 (EC); Council Directive 90/365, art. 1, 1990 O.J. (L 180) 28 (EC).

118. Council Directive 93/96, *supra* note 117, at art. 1.

119. Council Directive 90/364, *supra* note 117, at art. 1.

120. *Report from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on the Implementation of Directives 90/364, 90/365 and 93/96*, at 10, COM (1999) 127 final (Mar. 17, 1999).

121. Case C-292/89, The Queen v. The Immigration Appeal Tribunal, *ex parte* Gustaff Desiderius Antonissen, 1991 E.C.R. I-745, ¶ 13.

122. *Id.*

123. Case C-344/95, Comm'n v. Belgium, 1997 E.C.R. I- 1035, at I-1058–59.

124. Case C-292/89, The Queen v. The Immigration Appeal Tribunal, *ex parte* Gustaff Desiderius Antonissen, 1991 E.C.R. I-745, at I-780.

125. Case 48/75, Jean Noël Royer, 1976 E.C.R. 497, at ¶ 31.

Before 2004, the ECJ often drew on Treaty provisions regarding non-discrimination and EU citizenship to sidestep some of the limitations on mobility imposed by secondary legislation. For example, in *Grzelczyk*, the ECJ proclaimed that EU citizenship, as a "fundamental status," called for financial solidarity among all EU citizens.[126] Thus, as long as mobile EU nationals were lawfully resident in another State, they could rely on the Treaty's prohibition of nationality discrimination in the context of free movement and residence rights.[127] In *Baumbast*, the Court held that refusing a former worker residence because his sickness insurance did not cover emergency treatment in the host State constituted disproportionate interference with the exercise of Treaty rights.[128] Finally, in *D'Hoop*, the Court concluded that any penalties on a mobile national's return to their home country (such as refusing to grant tide-over allowance due to having completed secondary education in another Member State) constituted impermissible obstacles to free movement.[129]

c. CEE Nationals

Before the Eastern Enlargement, none of the above rights applied to third-country nationals ("TCNs"), such as those from CEE countries. The Agreements on Trade and Commercial and Economic Cooperation entered into by the European Economic Community,[130] existing Member States, and individual CEE states in the late 1980s and early 1990s focused on just that—trade, commercial, and economic cooperation—with no mention of mobility.[131] This was followed by individual Europe Agreements in the 1990s, which approached CEE workers like TCNs

126. *See, e.g.*, Case C-184/99, Grzelczyk v. Centre public d'aide sociale d'Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve, 2001 E.C.R. I-6193, ¶ 31.

127. *Id.* (as applied to students).

128. Case C-413/99, Baumbast and R v. Sec'y of State for the Home Dep't, 2001 E.C.R. I-7091, ¶ 93.

129. Case C-224/98, D'Hoop v. Office nat'l d'emploi, E.C.R. I-6191, ¶¶ 30–31.

130. The EU's predecessor.

131. *See generally* Matthew J. Gabel, *European Community*, ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA, https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Community-European-economic-association (last visited Oct. 8, 2018).

and did not provide them with any degree of mobility.[132] Despite the Agreements' liberalization of the movement of capital, goods, and services, sections on the "Movement of Workers, Establishment, Supply of Services" did not even mention the right to free movement of persons.[133] Instead, existing Member States were permitted to continue applying their immigration rules to CEE nationals, although they were not permitted to make them more demanding than they had been at the time of signing of the Europe Agreements.[134] Since the Agreements did nothing to positively facilitate mobility, CEE nationals lawfully resident in EU-15 States were there pursuant to a few national regimes and ad hoc bilateral agreements that permitted temporary-worker schemes (and responded to specific employer needs),[135] as refugees, or as family members of EU nationals.

Under Europe Agreements, those lawfully employed in the Member States in accordance with their immigration laws[136] were entitled to protection from nationality-based discrimination (in terms of working conditions, remuneration, and dismissal) and could be joined by their families.[137] According to the ECJ, these non-discrimination provisions had a direct effect, so they could be relied on by CEE workers before

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132. *See, e.g.*, Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States of the one part, and the Republic of Poland, of the other part, Art. 37, Dec. 16, 1991, https://www.fdfa.be/en/europe-agreement-establishing-an-association-between-the-european-communities-and-their-member-3 [hereinafter Europe Agreement with Poland].The only limited exception was pursuant to the right of free establishment for highly-skilled "key personnel" employed by CEE companies operating in EU-15 States. *Id.* art. 52.

133. *Id.* title IV.

134. *See, e.g.*, *Id.* art. 41.

135. *See Communication from the Commission on the Impact of Enlargement on Regions Bordering Candidate Countries: Community Action for Bordering Regions*, at 11 n.6, COM (2001) 437 final (July 25, 2001).For example, since the early 1990s, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria had bilateral agreements with Germany, all tied to specific German labor market needs and permitting small quotas of temporary workers. *See, e.g.*, *Guest Worker Programs: Germany*, LIBR. CONGRESS, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/guestworker/germany.php (last updated: July 31, 2015).

136. *See generally* Case C-162/00, Land Nordrhein-Westfalen v. Pokrzeptowicz-Meyer, 2002 E.C.R. I-1049.

137. *See, e.g.*, Europe Agreement with Poland, *supra* note 132, at art. 37(1).

national courts.[138] Moreover, their scope was deemed identical to equality rights conferred on EU-15 nationals under Treaty provisions.[139] Thus, in *Pokrzeptowicz-Meyer*, the ECJ struck down a national provision according to which positions for foreign-language assistants could be filled through fixed-term contracts, whereas for other teaching staff, recourse to such contracts had to be individually justified.[140] In *Kolpak*, the Court concluded that a sports federation rule authorizing clubs to field only a limited number of players from among TCNs could not be applied to lawfully employed CEE athletes. [141]

Despite the ECJ's broad application of the Europe Agreements' non-discrimination clauses, they were of little practical impact because the Agreements applied to so few categories of CEE nationals. They did not apply to economically inactive persons, jobseekers, or posted workers.[142] They also did not apply to those engaged in informal work arrangements, which have been popular among CEE nationals.[143] Self-employed CEE nationals relied on non-discrimination provisions under the Agreements' establishment clauses,[144] and only if they could demonstrate sufficient financial resources.[145] Given income discrepancies between EU and CEE states, possessing sufficient resources would have been difficult to prove for CEE nationals.[146] In addition, impediments on CEE nationals' travel

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138. *Id.*; Case C-162/00, Land Nordrhein-Westfalen v. Pokrzeptowicz-Meyer, 2002 E.C.R. I-1049, ¶ 1.

139. *See, e.g.*, Europe Agreement with Poland, *supra* note 132, at art. 37(1).

140. *See generally* Case C-162/00, Land Nordrhein-Westfalen v. Pokrzeptowicz-Meyer, 2002 E.C.R. I-1049, ¶ 1.

141. Case C-438/00, Deutscher Handballbund eV v. Kolpak, 2003 E.C.R. I-4135, I-4173.

142. *See generally* Council Directive 96/71, Concerning the Posting of Workers in the Framework of the Provision of Services, art. 1, 1996 O.J. (L 18) 1, 3 (EC) (laying out the separate legal regime that governs posted workers).

143. Daniela Andrén & Monica Roman, *Should I Stay or Should I Go? Romanian Migrants during Transition and Enlargements* 9-10 (Inst. for the Study of Labor, Discussion Paper No. 8690, 2014); KUBAL, *supra* note 24, at 22; *Romania*, FOCUS MIGRATION, http://focusmigration.hwwi.de/Romania.2515.0.html?&L=1 (last visited, Oct. 03, 2018).

144. *See, e.g.*, Europe Agreement with Poland, *supra* note 132, at art. 44–54.

145. Case C-37/98, The Queen v. Sec'y of State for the Home Dep't, 2000 E.C.R. I-2927, I-2964–66.

146. *See, e.g.*, Eurostat News Release STAT/04/73, GDP per capita nowcast for 2003: GDP per capita in new Member States ranges from 42% of EU25 average in Latvia

to EU-15 States (close to a ban until 1989 under Communism, and visa requirements to enter the EU until 2001)[147] would have inhibited their chances of establishing networks and possessing local know-how necessary to undertake self-employment.

2. Access to Social Benefits by Mobile Individuals Before 2004

The freedom of movement right is also inherently linked to equality in the receipt of social benefits and tax advantages.[148] Thus, since the 1960s, secondary laws and ECJ decisions have provided access to social benefits to at least some groups of mobile Member State nationals.

a. Workers

Pursuant to Regulation 1612/68, Member States were mandated to treat workers from other Member States (from the first day of their employment) equally with domestic workers in the provision of social and tax advantages,[149] and in "matters of housing."[150] Furthermore, workers had the right to be joined by their families,[151] who were to be integrated into host State societies.[152] The Commission advocated this Regulation's broad interpretation.[153] Moreover, Regulation 1408/71,

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to 83% in Cyprus (June 03, 2004), www.europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STAT-04-73_en.pdf.

147. Franck Düvell, *Polish Undocumented Immigrants, Regular High-Skilled Workers and Entrepreneurs in the UK* (Warsaw Univ. Inst. for Soc. Studies, Migration Paper No. 54, 2004).

148. *Free Movement – EU Nationals*, EUR. COMMISSION, https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=457& (last visited Apr. 06, 2019).

149. Council Regulation 1612/68, *supra* note 97, at art. 7(2).

150. *Id.* art. 9(1).

151. *Id.* art. 10.

152. *Id.* art. 11–12.

153. Jaime L. Fuster, *Council Regulation 1612/68: A Significant Step in Promoting the Right of Freedom of Movement within the EEC*, 11 B.C. INT'L & COMP. L. REV. 127, 134 (1988).

implemented through Regulation 574/72, governed coordination in the provision of social security benefits to mobile workers.[154]

Although Regulation 1612/68 applied to workers only (including permanent, seasonal and frontier workers, and those providing services), the ECJ had interpreted the concept of "worker" broadly, as discussed earlier.[155] "[S]ocial advantages," not defined in the Regulation, were also interpreted broadly[156] by the ECJ to cover all the advantages national workers enjoy primarily due to their status as workers or as residents in their home States, the extension of which seems likely to facilitate mobility[157] regardless of whether the specific advantages are linked to employment contracts.[158] For example, they include discretionary benefits,[159] welfare benefits,[160] benefits granted after employment is terminated,[161] and at least some benefits not directly linked to employment, such as the right to be accompanied in the host State by a partner,[162] the grant of funeral expenses fund,[163] and children's access to student grants.[164] They also encompass rights that represent "an

154. *See generally* Regulation (EEC) No 1408/71 of the Council of 14 June 1971 on the Application of Social Security Schemes to Employed Persons and Their Families Moving within the Community, 1971 O.J. (L 149) 2; Regulation (EEC) No 574/72 of the Council of 21 March 1972 Fixing the Procedure for Implementing Regulation (EEC) No 1408/71 on the Application of Social Security Schemes to Employed Persons and Their Families Moving within the Community, 1972 O.J. (L 74) 1.

155. *See supra* Part II Section A.1.a.

156. Case 207/78, Ministère Public v. Even and Office National des Pensions pour Travailleurs Salaries, 1979 E.C.R. 2019, 2026.

157. *See* Case C-85/96, Martínez Sala v. Freistaat Bayern, 1998 E.C.R. I-2691, I-2717.

158. Case 249/83, Hoeckx v. Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn, 1985 E.C.R. 973, 985.

159. Case 65/81, Reina & Reina v. Landeskreditbank Baden-Württemberg, 1982 E.C.R. 33, 45.

160. *See* Case 249/83, Hoeckx v. Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn, 1985 E.C.R. 973, ¶ 22.

161. Case C-57/96, Meints v. Minister van Landbouw, 1997 E.C.R. I-6689, I-6719.

162. Case 59/85, Netherlands v. Reed, 1986 E.C.R. 1283, ¶ 3.

163. *See* Case C-237/94, O'Flynn v. Adjudication Officer, 1996 E.C.R. I-2617, ¶ 14.

164. *See* Case C-337/97, Meeusen v. Hoofdirectie van de Informatie Beheer Groep, 1999 E.C.R. I-3289, ¶ 19.

important role in the integration of a migrant worker and his family into the host country, and thus in achieving the objective of free movement for workers," such as the right to have criminal court proceedings in the worker's native language.[165] Advantages available to workers' dependents are also included.[166] National tax rules that deter EU citizens from exercising the free movement right - for example, denying a refund of excess income tax when changing residence to another Member State[167] - may constitute an impermissible obstacle to mobility.[168]

b. Economically-Inactive Movers (Including Jobseekers)

Even after the extension of EU citizenship to economically inactive EU nationals,[169] they were not statutorily provided with access to social benefits. However, by the late 1990s, the ECJ became instrumental in extending access to social benefits to include such movers by relying on Treaty non-discrimination provisions to overstep limitations imposed by secondary EU legislation. For example, according to *Martinez Sala* (1998), all EU citizens lawfully resident in another Member State fell under Treaty protections and hence were entitled to social benefits, including benefits under Regulations 1408/71 (social security benefits) and 1612/68 (social and tax advantages).[170] In *Grzelczyk*, the ECJ derived a principle of financial solidarity between all EU citizens based on the Treaty, to preclude a national measure which made mobile students' entitlement to a non-contributory social benefit (such as a minimum subsistence allowance) conditional on demonstrating "sufficient resources" when no such condition applied to domestic students.[171] The Court also noted that recourse to social assistance could not

165. Case 137/84, Ministère Public v. Mutsch, 1985 E.C.R. 2681, 2696.

166. *See* Case C-337/97, Meeusen v. Hoofdirectie van de Informatie Beheer Groep, 1999 E.C.R. I-3289, ¶ 25.

167. *E.g.*, Case C-175/88, Biehl v. Administration des contributions du grand-duché de Luxembourg, 1990 E.C.R. I-1779, I-1791.

168. *Id.* at I-1792.

169. *See supra* note 82–83 and accompanying text.

170. Case C-85/96, Martínez Sala v. Freistaat Bayern, 1998 E.C.R. I-2691, I-2727.

171. *See* Case C-184/99, Grzelczyk v. Centre public d'aide sociale d'Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve, 2001 E.C.R. I-6193, I-6234, I-6249.

automatically lead to a denial of residence permit.[172] Drawing on its ruling in *Grzelczyk*, the ECJ held in *Bidar* that a student's right to reside in the host Member State was primarily regulated by Treaty provisions and thus included the right to equal treatment in obtaining social assistance benefits (including maintenance grants or loans).[173]

c. CEE Nationals

The only TCNs to whom Regulations 1408/71 and 1612/68 applied were family members of EU citizens.[174] During the 1990s, the Commission had made several proposals to extend social security protections afforded to mobile EU nationals to TCNs lawfully employed in the EU, but none came to fruition.[175] None of the Europe Agreements with CEE states addressed social benefits, other than coordinating social security systems for workers.[176]

B. Legal Regime after 2004, Including in the Aftermath of the Eastern Enlargement

1. Freedom of Movement Laws After 2004

Existing regulations and case law pertaining to mobility and residence rights were consolidated and replaced by Directive 2004/38 (the "Free

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172. *Id.* at ¶ 42–43.

173. Case C-209/03, The Queen v. London Borough of Ealing, 2005 E.C.R. I-2119, I-2164, I-2174.

174. Council Regulation 1408/71, art. 2(1), 1971 O.J. SPEC. ED. (L 149) 416, 420 (EEC); Council Regulation 1612/68, art. 7(2), 1968 O.J. SPEC. ED. 475, 477 (EEC).
In addition to that, refugees were also covered under Regulation 1408/71. Council Regulation 1408/71, *supra*, at 420.

175. *See Commission Proposal for a Council Regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 1408/71 or the application of social security schemes to employed persons, to self-employed persons and to members of their families moving within the Community and Regulation (EEC) No 574/72 laying down the procedure for implementing Regulation (EEC) No 1408/71*, at 2, COM (1991) 528 final (Dec. 13, 1991); *Commission Proposal for a Council Regulation (EC) amending Regulation (EEC) No 1408/71 as regards its extension to nationals of third countries*, COM (1997) 561 final (Dec. 10, 1997).

176. *See, e.g.*, Europe Agreement with Poland, *supra* note 132, art. 38.

Movement Directive"), which was adopted two days before the 2004 enlargement and is still in effect.[177] The Directive provided all EU citizens with the right to reside in other Member States for up to three months without any formalities or conditions.[178] Moreover, the Directive extended the right to be joined by family members to all mobile EU citizens,[179] and granted a new right of permanent residence after five years of lawful residence.[180] Member States were forbidden from requiring movers to hold residence permits,[181] although they were permitted to compel them to register their presence within a reasonable and non-discriminatory time frame after more than three months.[182]

The Directive strengthened substantive and procedural safeguards available to mobile individuals whose rights of free movement or residence had been restricted.[183] Host States' ability to deny or terminate rights of residence were limited to "grounds of public policy, public security, [and] public health," which could "not be invoked to serve economic ends,"[184] and fraud or abuse of rights.[185] Workers, self-employed persons, and jobseekers could only be expelled on grounds of public policy or public security.[186] Host States could impose re-entry bans against those who had been expelled only on grounds of public policy, public security, or public health.[187] An expulsion measure could

177. Council Directive 2004/38/EC of 29 April 2004, on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States amending Regulation (EEC) No 1612/68 and repealing Directives 64/221/EEC, 68/360/EEC, 72/194/EEC, 73/148/EEC, 75/34/EEC, 75/35/EEC, 90/364/EEC, 90/365/EEC and 93/96/EEC, 2004 O.J. (L 158) 77.

178. *Id.* art. 6.

179. *Id.* art. 3.

180. *Id.* art.16–17.

181. *Id.* art. 25.

182. *Id.* art. 8.

183. *Id.* art. 15.

184. *Id.* art. 27. "Measures taken on [grounds of] public policy or public security" must be proportionate and based exclusively on the personal conduct of the individual (which presents "a genuine, present, and sufficiently serious threat" to a fundamental interest of the host society). *Id.* Those taken due to public health must be based on only the most serious infectious diseases occurring within three months of arrival. *Id.* art. 29.

185. *Id.* art. 35. Fraud or abuse of rights must be directly related to obtaining the rights of free movement or residence. *See* European Commission, *supra* note 5, at 4–5.

186. Directive 2004/38, *supra* note 177, at Recital 16.

187. *Id.* art. 15(3).

not be an automatic consequence of recourse to social assistance.[188] According to the ECJ, expulsion of an EU citizen was an exceptional measure, requiring individual examination of each specific case.[189] The proportionality principle applied to any such restrictions on mobility, and the burden of proof was on the host State.[190]

a. Workers

Pursuant to the Free Movement Directive, workers (including self-employed individuals) had an automatic right to reside in other Member States for longer than three months without any formalities to satisfy.[191] "Worker" status included former workers temporarily unable to work due to illnesses or accidents.[192] Those who became involuntarily unemployed after at least a year of employment in a host State retained their "worker" status indefinitely as long as they were registered as jobseekers with an employment office.[193] If they had worked for less than a year, however, they retained "worker" status for at least six months.[194]

The ECJ continued to define "worker" status broadly. For example, the Court ruled in *Trojani* that performing various jobs for Salvation Army, which totaled "[thirty] hours a week, as part of a personal reintegration programme, in return for . . . benefits in kind and some pocket money" constituted employment.[195] Even working fewer than five-and-a-half hours per week has been found sufficient.[196] Similarly, the ECJ has continued to define "self-employment" broadly, as working for oneself and being solely responsible for one's own business.[197]

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188. *Id.* art. 14(3).

189. Case C-348/09, P.I. v. Oberbürgermeisterin de Stadt Remscheid, 2012 E.C.R. 1.

190. Directive 2004/38/EC, *supra* note 177, at art. 27–28.

191. *Id.* art. 7.

192. *Id.* art. 7(3)(a).

193. *Id.* art. 7(3)(b).

194. *Id.* art. 7(3)(c).

195. Case C-456/02, Trojani v. Centre Public d'Aide Sociale de Bruxelles, 2004 E.C.R. I-7573, ¶¶ 20, 29.

196. Case C-14/09, Genc v. Land Berlin, 2010 E.C.R. I-931, I-940–42.

197. *See generally* EurWORK, *Self-employed person*, EUROFOUND (Feb. 22, 2019), https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/industrial-relations-dictionary/self-employed-person.

b. Economically Inactive Movers

Pursuant to Directive 2004/38, economically inactive movers' right to reside for more than three months is conditioned on having comprehensive health insurance and "sufficient resources" so as "not to become a burden on the social" welfare system of the receiving State.[198] Member States are prohibited from setting a fixed amount "below which the right of residence can be automatically refused."[199] Instead, determining "sufficient resources" should be a fact-intensive process based on "the personal situation of the person concerned",[200] including resources from third persons, and both periodic and accumulated capital.[201] Member States are encouraged to carry out a proportionality test[202] in making this determination.[203] The threshold may "not be higher than the [level] below which nationals of the host Member State become eligible for social assistance, or . . . than the minimum social security pension paid by the host Member State."[204] What constitutes "sufficient resources" should be interpreted in the light of the Directive's objective, that is, facilitating mobility.[205] Only the actual receipt of social assistance benefits may be considered relevant in determining an "unreasonable burden," after considering the duration of such benefits receipt, their amount, and each recipient's personal situation.[206] Although Member States may expel economically inactive movers (unless they are permanent residents) if they become an "unreasonable burden", such expulsions may not be an automatic consequence of relying on social assistance.[207]

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198. Directive 2004/38/EC, *supra* note 177, at art. 7(1)(b).
199. *Id.* art. 8(4); *See* European Commission, *supra* note 5.
200. *Id.*
201. *See* European Commission, *supra* note 5, at 8.
202. *Id.* Adequacy of insurance must also be determined in accordance with proportionality principle. *Id*. at 9.
203. Directive 2004/38/EC, *supra* note 177, at Recital 16, 23.
204. *Id.* art. 8(4).
205. *Id.*; *id.* at Recital 1–3, 16.
206. *Id.* at Recital 16, art. 8(4).
207. *Id*. art. 14(3).

c. First-Time Jobseekers

Among all the economically inactive categories, residence rights of those who enter another Member State to seek employment are the most complicated. Although jobseekers must demonstrate self-sufficiency and having health insurance (like all economically non-active groups), Article 14(4)(b) prohibits their expulsion as long as they have a "genuine chance" of finding employment—that is, as long as they continue to demonstrate some prospects of finding employment, even after searching for more than six months.[208] Because jobseekers can only be expelled on grounds of public policy or public security, in practice, first-time jobseekers can reside without having to prove self-sufficiency.[209]

d. CEE Nationals

Although EU citizenship has always been differentiated by statutory and case law, workers have always been privileged over those who are economically inactive. The Eastern Enlargement temporarily reversed that hierarchy in the context of CEE nationals. Although empirical studies at the time of the Enlargement predicted that EU-15 States would benefit economically from CEE workers' mobility and that CEE movers would not rely heavily on host States' welfare systems,[210] both 2004 and 2007 Accession Treaties expressly blocked application of Treaty Article 39(2), which abolished discrimination of mobile workers in the context of employment. [211] Member States could derogate for up to seven years

208. Case C-292/89, The Queen v. The Immigration Appeal Tribunal, *ex parte* Antonissen, 1991 E.C.R. I-745, ¶ 22.

209. Case C-138/02, Collins v. Sec'y of State for Work and Pensions, 2004 E.C.R. I-2703; Case C-258/04, Office national de l'emploi v. Ioannidis, 2005 E.C.R. I-8275.

210. *See generally* Tito Boeri & Herbert Brücker, *Why Are Europeans so Tough on Migrants?*, 20 ECON. POL'Y 629, 629–703 (2005); European Commission, *Employment in Europe 2008 Report*, at 132–37 (October 2008), http://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=681&langId=en; Resolution on the Transitional Arrangements Restricting the Free Movement of Workers on EU Labour Markets (2006/2036 (INI)), EUR. PARL. DOC. O.J. C 293 E (Dec. 2, 2006); Elena Jileva, *Visa and Free Movement of Labour: The Uneven Imposition of the EU Acquis on the Accession States*, 28 J. ETHNIC & MIGRATION STUD. 683, 690–97 (2002).

211. *See, e.g.*, Act concerning the conditions of accession of the Czech Republic, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Cyprus, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of

from Articles 1 through 6 of Regulation 1612/68 (pertaining to mobility of economically active persons), and from provisions of Directive 68/360 (pertaining to mobile workers' residence rights).[212] Transitional restrictions also limited access of workers' families to EU-15 labor markets.[213] Accession Treaties were silent about residence and citizenship rights[214] and did not offer any justification for these derogations.

EU-15 States were provided wide discretion in restricting CEE workers' mobility during the entire seven-year transitional periods. For the first two years after accession, EU-15 States could continue to apply their pre-accession national measures or bilateral agreements[215] as long as employers gave priority to all EU workers (including CEE workers) over TCNs.[216] Before the end of the initial two-year phase, the Council was to "review the functioning" of transitional arrangements, but this "review" had no binding effect.[217] In practice, Member States could decide unilaterally to continue imposing their national measures during the second (three-year) phase after simply notifying the

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Lithuania, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovak Republic and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the European Union is founded, Annex XII, ¶ 2(1) 2003 O.J. (L 236) 33 [hereinafter Poland Accession]; Act concerning the conditions of accession of the Republic of Bulgaria and Romania and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the European Union is founded, Annex VI, 2005 O.J. (157) 278 [hereinafter Bulgaria Accession].

212. *See, e.g.*, Poland Accession, *supra* note 211, at Annex XII ¶ 2(2).

213. Bulgaria Accession, *supra* note 211, at Annex VI ¶ 8. This treatment was less favorable than the family reunification rights conferred on TCNs pursuant to Directive 2003/86, and less favorable than the rights conferred by the Europe Agreements. Council Directive 2003/86, art. 2–3, 2003 O.J. (L 251) 12; *see, e.g.*, Europe Agreement with Poland, *supra* note 132, at art. 38. This approach was also likely in conflict with ECJ case law stemming from the transitional measures imposed during Greece's accession in 1981. *See* Case C-77/82, Peskeloglou v. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1983 E.C.R. 1085, 1093–95.

214. Moreover, there was not much discussion of these concepts in their legislative histories.

215. *See, e.g.*, Poland Accession, *supra* note 211, at Annex XII. As long as they were not more restrictive than those in force on the day of signing the Accession Treay. *Id.* at Annex XII ¶ (2)14.

216. *See, e.g.*, *Id.* at Annex XII ¶ 2.

217. Monika Byrska, *The Unfinished Enlargement: Report on Free Movement of People in EU-25*, at 10, EUR. CITIZEN ACTION SERV. (May 2004), http://edz.bib.uni-mannheim.de/daten/edz-k/gde/04/498.pdf.

Commission.[218]Thereafter, States that had been applying restrictive measures had the discretion to continue applying them for two additional years "in case of serious disturbances" of their labor markets or merely in response to "a threat thereof," after notifying the Commission.[219] No prior authorization by any EU body was required, and neither the Commission's role nor the concept of "serious disturbances" was ever clarified.[220] Most Member States relied on transitional measures, during both parts of the Eastern Enlargement.[221]

In addition, any Member State that had not initially applied transitional restrictions could request at any point before the end of the seven-year periods that the Commission authorize mobility derogations if it experienced or merely could "foresee disturbances on its labour market which *could* seriously threaten the standard of living or the level of

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218. *Id.*

219. *Id.* at 11.

220. Adelina Adinolfi, *Free Movement and Access to Work of Citizens of the New Member States: The Transitional Measures*, 42 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 469, 493 (2005).

221. After the 2004 enlargement, during the first phase (2004-06), all EU-15 States other than Ireland, the UK, and Sweden imposed direct mobility restrictions (Ireland and the UK also imposed limitations on access to social benefits); during 2006-09, additional nine Member States opened their labor markets; Austria and Germany were the only two states to have continued direct restrictions after 2009. Commission Report on Transitional Arrangements Regarding Free Movement of Workers, MEMO/08/718 (Nov. 18, 2008); Frequently asked questions: The end of transitional arrangements for the free movement of workers on 30 April 2011, MEMO/11/259 (Apr. 28, 2011). After the 2007 enlargement, during the first phase (2007-09), Hungary, and all EU-15 states except Finland and Sweden imposed restrictions. *Communication From the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions: The Impact of Free Movement of Workers in the Context of EU Enlargement*
Report on the First Phase (1 January 2007 – 31 December 2008) of the Transitional Arrangements Set Out in the 2005 Accession Treaty and as Requested According to the Transitional Arrangement Set Out in the 2003 Accession Treaty, at 5, COM (2008) 765 final (Nov. 18, 2008). UK, Ireland, Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg maintained restrictions until the end of 2013. Agnieszka Fihel et al., *Free movement of workers and transitional arrangements: lessons from the 2004 and 2007 enlargements*, at 16, (2015), https://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=14000&langId=en. Moreover, after invoking safeguard clause, Spain imposed restrictions between 2011 and 2013. Commission Authorises Spain to Extend Existing Temporary Restrictions on Romanian Workers Press Release (Dec. 21, 2012).

employment in a given region or occupation" to be in place until the situation was restored to "normal."[222] Again, none of the key terms were defined. Moreover, in "urgent and exceptional" cases, Member States could unilaterally suspend application of the free movement acquis at any point before the end of the seven-year periods.[223] In the end, none of these provisions were applied in the aftermath of the 2004 enlargement. However, Spain obtained the Commission's authorization to suspend free movement of workers from Romania between August 2011 and December 2013, after having opened up its labor market in 2009.[224] Although to obtain such authorization, a Member State was required to support its "convincing" arguments with specific data rather than merely citing unemployment rates,[225] Spain was given permission based on unemployment rates alone (of both its own nationals and Romanian nationals in Spain).[226]

Transitional mobility restrictions are not challengeable under EU law. Article 18 of the Treaty allows for limitations of the free movement right.[227] Moreover, the ECJ did not have jurisdiction to challenge their legality because they were an integral part of the Accession Treaties, and hence, primary law.[228] Of course, since provisions limiting the freedom of movement right must be interpreted strictly, the Commission could have, in theory, brought infringement procedures against Member States

222. *See, e.g.*, Poland Accession, *supra* note 211, at Annex XII, ¶ 7.

223. *Id.*

224. Commission Decision 2012/831 of 20 December 2012 authorising Spain to extend the temporary suspension of the application of Articles 1 to 6 of Regulation (EU) No 492/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council on freedom of movement for workers within the Union with regard to Romanian workers, 2012 O.J. (L 356) 90, ¶1–3 [hereinafter Spanish Suspension of Romanian Workers].

225. *Report from the Commission to the Council on the Functioning of the Transitional Arrangements on Free Movement of Workers from Bulgaria and Romania*, at 4, COM (2011) 729 final (Nov. 11, 2011).

226. Spanish Suspension of Romanian Workers, *supra* note 224, at ¶¶ 4–6.

227. Consolidated Version of the Treaty Establishing the European Community, Dec. 24, 2002, 2002 O.J. (C 325) 45, art. 18. "Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in this Treaty and by the measures adopted to give it effect." *Id.*

228. *See* Joined Cases 31/86 and 35/86, Levantina Agrícola Indus. SA v. Council of the European Cmtys. 1988 E.C.R. 2285, 2317.

for imposing measures that were overly-broad.[229] No such procedures were initiated.

Although transitional mobility derogations did not apply to persons other than workers, CEE nationals' access to mobility was severely impeded by them. Transitional restrictions did not apply to economically inactive individuals as long as they could demonstrate financial self-sufficiency and health insurance coverage.[230] These conditions likely served as a significant impediment for CEE nationals due to CEE states' lower GDPs.[231] Transitional mobility derogations also did not apply to self-employed persons.[232] Although legally not a very onerous standard to satisfy, as discussed above, becoming self-employed requires financial resources and familiarity with local markets.[233] These hurdles would have been difficult for CEE nationals to overcome. Moreover, transitional measures also did not apply to CEE nationals who had already been working lawfully in EU-15 States for an uninterrupted period of at least twelve months prior to accession, as long as they did not move to another Member State within the first twelve months after accession.[234] The rights of such workers, however, could be limited at the discretion of the receiving States.[235] This provision carried little practical significance

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229. *See Report on the First Phase (1 January 2007 – 31 December 2008) of the Transitional Arrangements set out in the 2005 Accession Treaty and as Requested According to the Transitional Arrangement set out in the 2003 Accession Treaty*, at 4, COM (2008) 765 final (Nov. 18, 2008), https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52008DC0765&from=EN.

230. *See supra* Part II. Commonly known as "sickness insurance" in the EU. *Id.*

231. *See, e.g.*, *GDP and household accounts at regional level*, EUROSTAT (Mar. 26, 2012), http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Archive:GDP_and_household_accounts_at_regional_level&oldid=81499.

232. *Commission report on transitional arrangements regarding free movement of workers form Croatia*, (May 29, 2015), http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-5068_en.htm. Transitional restrictions also did not apply to posted workers, who were governed by a separate legal regime. *Id.*

233. *See supra* Part II.

234. Michael Dougan, *A Spectre is Haunting Europe … Free Movement of Persons and the Eastern Enlargement, in* EU ENLARGEMENT: A LEGAL APPROACH 111, 123 (Christophe Hillion ed. 2004).

235. *See generally* HM Revenue & Customs, *Claimant Compliance Manual*, GOV.UK (Apr. 16, 2016), https://www.gov.uk/hmrc-internal-manuals/claimant-compliance-manual/ccm20110. For example, pursuant to the UK's Worker Registration

given how few CEE nationals had access to lawful employment opportunities before the Enlargement and their propensity to engage in short-term migration[236] and informal employment,[237] which caused them to lack an uninterrupted twelve-month period of employment.

2. Access to Social Benefits After 2004

a. Workers

From day one of qualifying as a "worker" in a receiving State, access to that State's social security benefits,[238] social and tax advantages,[239] and social assistance[240] followed. The ECJ continued to support workers' receipt of all these benefits. Drawing on *Grzelczyk*, in *Trojani*, the Court pointed out that a worker's receipt of social assistance could not automatically lead to removal due to termination of the right to residence.[241] In *Hartmann*, the Court expanded the term "worker" to include frontier workers, for the purposes of social advantages. [242]

Scheme, CEE movers would lose their right to residence in the UK if they ceased being employed within the first twelve months of accession and failed to obtain new employment within 30 days. *Id.*

236. Helen Stalford, *The Impact of Enlargement on Free Movement: A Critique of Transitional Periods*, at 4, Third Meeting of the UACES Study Group on the Evolving EU Migration Law and Policy, Univ. of Liverpool (Dec. 05, 2003), https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/media/livacuk/ewc/docs/Stalford-paper11.2003.pdf.

237. *See* Kubal, *supra* note 26, at 184.

238. Commission Regulation 883/2004 of the European Parliament and of the Council of April 29, 2004, on the Coordination of Social Security Systems, 2004 O.J. (L 166), 1, 3, art. 3 (EC). These are contributory benefits, including old-age pensions, survivor's pensions, disability benefits, sickness benefits, birth grants, unemployment benefits, family allowances, and healthcare benefits; and SNCBs (mixed type of benefits, between social assistance and social security), such as income support in the UK or jobseeker's allowance in Ireland. *Id.* Non-contributory benefits fall outside EU law's scope. *Id.* Regulation 883/2004 replaced Regulation 1408/71, continuing its general framework. *Id.* at 8, para. 44.

239. Regulation 1612/68, *supra* note 97, art. 7(2).

240. Directive 2004/38, *supra* note 177, art. 24(2).

241. Case C-456/02, Trojani v. Centre public d'aide sociale de Bruxelles, 2004 E.C.R. I-7573, I-7611.

242. Case C-212/05, Hartmann v. Freistaat Bayern, 2007 E.C.R. I-6303, I-6341-42.

Finally, in *Renneberg*, a national rule not allowing workers to offset tax income from one State with tax loss from another State was found impermissible under the Treaty's guarantee of freedom of movement. [243]

b. Economically Inactive Movers (Including First-Time Jobseekers)

Drawing support from the Maastricht Treaty's provisions on EU citizenship and equality, the ECJ has continued to expand the rights of jobseekers and economically inactive mobile EU citizens, thus overcoming some of the distinctions between economically active and inactive movers under secondary legislation. Under the Directive, after the first three months of residence (during which host States could deny access to social assistance benefits), economically inactive movers were granted equal access to social assistance as long as they could demonstrate self-sufficiency so that they did not lose their right to reside.[244] The Court in *Trojani*, however, expanded this right.[245] It noted that since the right to reside in other Member States is conferred directly on every EU citizen by the Treaty, all mobile individuals are entitled to receive social assistance (non-contributory benefits) on the same conditions as host State nationals, even if they do not satisfy residence requirements under secondary legislation.[246] Due to financial solidarity between all EU citizens, lacking sufficient resources was found not to prevent mobile persons from having access to all rights stemming from EU citizenship, including the right to equality in access to social assistance.[247]

Although pursuant to Article 24(2) of the Directive, Member States were permitted not to grant first-time jobseekers from other Member States any social assistance for as long as they remained in that status, the ECJ mandated that they be given equal access to unemployment

243. Case C-527/06, Renneberg v. Staatssecretaris van Financiën, 2008 E.C.R. I-7735, I-7780, I-7790.

244. Directive 2004/38, *supra* note 177, art. 24.

245. Case C-456/02, Trojani v. Centre public d'aide sociale de Bruxelles, 2004 E.C.R. I-7573, I-7608, I-7610-11.

246. *Id*.

247. *Id.*

social assistance and other financial benefits "intended to facilitate access to the labour market."[248] Which specific national benefits "facilitate" labor market access depends on the benefits' results, rather than their formal structure.[249] Member States could require prospective workers to demonstrate a "real link" with the host country's labor market to access such benefits.[250] This could be satisfied where a jobseeker had genuinely sought work for a reasonable time period and had a "genuine chance[]" of finding employment.[251] This test was to be broad and flexible, not met only when it was inconceivable that a jobseeker could establish a real link.[252] Thus, for example, in *Ioannidis*, a single requirement based on the place where a jobseeker had completed secondary education was found too general and restrictive to serve as a test of "real link."[253] More recently, the ECJ has pointed out that genuinely having sought work (as demonstrated, for example, by being invited to job interviews, registering with employment agencies, and participating in their events) for a reasonable period, even without having ever worked in the host State, suffices.[254] Any residence conditions such as the "genuine link" test must be applied under the principle of proportionality.[255] Thus, in its statutory interpretation, the ECJ had protected jobseekers the most among all types of movers deemed to be economically inactive.[256] However, the test also endorses implicit

248. Cases C-22/08 and C-23/08, Vatsouras and Koupatantze v. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nürnberg 900, 2009 E.C.R. I-4585, I-4625-26.

249. *Id.*

250. *Id.*

251. *See* Case C-138/02, Collins v. Collins v. Sec'y of State for Work and Pensions, 2004 E.C.R. I-2703, I-2747; *see also* Cases C-22/08 and C-23/08, Vatsouras and Koupatantze v. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nürnberg 900, 2009 E.C.R. I-4585, I-4615.

252. *See* Case C-258/04, Office national de l'emploi v. Ioannidis, 2005 E.C.R. I-8275, I-8302-04.

253. *Id.* at I-8303.

254. Case C-367/11, Prete v. Office national de l'emploi, 2012 E.C.R. 1, ¶ 46.

255. *See* Case C-138/02, Collins v. Sec'y of State for Work and Pensions, 2004 E.C.R. I-2703, I-2749, I-2754-55.

256. Case C-367/11, Prete v. Office nat'l de l'emploi, 2012-10 E.C.R. 1.

discrimination of EU movers as opposed to domestic workers, since the latter automatically tend to have links with their home States.[257]

Social and tax advantages were not available to jobseekers under Regulation 1612/68. However, in *Collins*, the ECJ ruled that only first-time jobseekers were excluded from access to social advantages, whereas those who had already entered the labor market were eligible for the same social and tax advantages (such as unemployment benefits) as national workers.[258] Since jobseekers fell within Treaty provisions on free movement of workers, they were to be afforded equal treatment, including access to financial benefits for the unemployed.[259] The Court also noted that although EU law did not preclude national legislation that makes entitlement to unemployment benefits conditional on a residence requirement, it had to satisfy the proportionality test.[260]

Pursuant to Regulation 883/2004,[261] special non-contributory benefits (SNCB)s[262] were also made available to jobseekers, but only those deemed "habitually resident" in the host State.[263] Habitual residence was a factual determination based on factors including the duration and continuity of residence, mover's residence intentions, family status, housing, employment history, and tax payments.[264]

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257. Charlotte O'Brien, *Real links, Abstract Rights and False Alarms: The Relationship Between the ECJ's 'Real Link' Case Law and National Solidarity*, 33 EUR. L. REV. 643, 646, 663–64 (2008).

258. Case C-138/02, Collins v. Sec'y of State for Work and Pensions, 2004 E.C.R. I-2703, I-2738, I-2744-45; *see also* Case C-258/04, Office nat'l de l'emploi v. Ioannidis, 2005 E.C.R. I-8275, ¶¶ 21–23, 27.

259. *See generally* Case C-367/11, Prete v. Office nat'l de l'emploi, 2012-10 E.C.R. 1.

260. *See* Case C-138/02, Collins v. Sec'y of State for Work and Pensions, 2004 E.C.R. I-2703, I-2749.

261. *See* Regulation 883/2004, *supra* note 238, art. 3, annex X.

262. Types of contributory social security benefits that are considered social assistance, including old-age pensions, survivor's pensions, disability benefits, sickness benefits, birth grants, unemployment benefits, family allowances, and healthcare benefits. *Id.* art. 3.

263. *Id.* art. 1(j), art. 2.

264. Regulation (EC) 987/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council of Sept. 16, 2009, Laying Down the Procedure for Implementing Regulation (EC) 883/2004 on the Coordination of Social Security Systems, 2009 O.J. (L 284) art. 11.

c. CEE Nationals

For CEE nationals lawfully residing in EU-15 States, EU law mandated that they have equal access to all the social benefits discussed above. Moreover, A-8 workers (including those self-employed) were entitled to equality of treatment in access to social security (both non-contributory and contributory) under Regulation 1408/71, explicitly mentioned in the A-8 Accession Treaty.[265]

Nothing in the Accession Treaties provided Member States the right to impose restrictions in addition to the mobility derogations from Articles 1 through 6 of Regulation 1612/68.[266] Any additional restrictions would have been subject to the general equality principles under the Treaty. However, after the 2004 enlargement, all EU-15 States other than Sweden adopted new restrictions, for up to seven years, on post-2004 CEE movers' access to social assistance, social security benefits, or social advantages, including delays in providing such access even once labor market access was granted.[267] Similar restrictions were applied after the 2007 enlargement.[268]

The Commission brought infringement proceedings against the UK[269] for applying a new habitual residence test to bar not only jobseekers but also unemployed persons from eligibility for social security benefits and social advantages for the first twelve months of employment even if they

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265. Poland Accession, *supra* note 211, at Annex II, ¶ 2(B)(2); *see, e.g.*, *id.* at Annex II, 2(A)(1). Austria was excluded from this obligation. *Id.*

266. *See generally* NICOLA ROGERS & RICK SCANNELL, FREE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS IN THE ENLARGED EUROPEAN UNION (2005).

267. For example, under the Worker Registration Scheme in the UK, CEE workers did not have right of residence (and hence no access to benefits) until they completed twelve months of consecutive employment. *Worker Registration Scheme*, UK BORDER AGENCY (archived Sept. 11, 2008), https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080911095157/http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/eea/wrs/.

268. *See, e.g.*, Pamela Fitzpatrick, *Benefit rights for Bulgarian and Romanian nationals*, CHILD POVERTY ACTION GROUP (Feb. 2007), http://cpag.org.uk/content/benefit-rights-bulgarian-and-romanian-nationals.

269. The Commission also initiated infringement procedures against Austria, Germany, and Sweden, focusing on transitional limitations on the rights of CEE movers' family members.

had retained worker status under EU law.[270] The ECJ dismissed the case, however, after finding the UK approach proportionate (due to being based on individual assessments) and tied to a legitimate need to protect public finances.[271] This was one of the earliest indications of the ECJ's becoming more responsive to Member States' arguments about CEE nationals' alleged welfare tourism.

C. Legal Regime Since Transitional Mobility Derogations Had Expired

1. Freedom of Movement Law

Directive 2004/38 continues to be in force today, connecting the rights of residence, mobility, and social assistance benefits.[272] In the last few years, there have been no changes in EU institutions' approach toward the Directive's basic principles on free movement and residence rights, except for the ECJ's imposition of limitations on residence rights of economically inactive movers.[273]

a. Workers

Regulation 492/2011 replaced Regulation 1612/68 to mandate equality of mobile workers and jobseekers in the context of employment, including social and tax advantages.[274] Adopted to improve application of Regulation 492/2011, Directive 2014/54 calls on Member States to strengthen redress mechanisms for workers suffering discrimination or infringement of their right to free movement[275] and to designate bodies to

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270. Case C-308/14, Comm'n v. United Kingdom, 2016 E.C.R. 1, 8-9.

271. *Id*. at 16.

272. *See generally* Directive 2004/38/EC, *supra* note 177.

273. *See infra* Part II C 1(b).

274. Regulation 492/2011, of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 April 2011 on Freedom of Movement for Workers within the Union, art. 7(2), 2011 O.J. (L 141) 3 (EU).

275. Directive 2014/54/EU, of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 April 2014 on measures facilitating the exercise of rights conferred on workers in the context of freedom of movement for workers, art. 3(1), 2014 O.J (L128) 12 (EU).

support equal treatment of EU workers and their families.[276] These recent laws expanded the EU's conceptual approach to mobility: Regulation 492/2011 defines the right to free movement as including "all matters relating to the actual pursuit of activities as employed persons," as well as "conditions for the integration of the worker's family,"[277] and Directive 2014/54 denounces any "unjustified restrictions and obstacles" to mobility.[278]

The ECJ continues to define the concept of "worker" broadly. For example, in *Saint-Prix*, the Court extended worker status to a woman who had stopped working due to late stages of pregnancy and the effects of childbirth as long as she would return to work within a "reasonable" time (to be determined based on specific factual circumstances).[279] Moreover, the Court noted that Directive 2004/38 cannot limit the scope of "worker" status under the Treaty.[280] In its *L.N*. decision, Case C-46/12, relying on the Treaty, the ECJ ruled that motivations for undertaking work abroad are irrelevant to the definition of "worker."[281] Thus, the Court allowed a full-time student employed part-time to have worker status, despite the fact that he might have entered the host State with the intention to study rather than to work.[282] Moreover, in *Gusa*, the Court ruled that self-employed movers can retain their worker status and hence their right to reside under Directive 2004/38 (and thus be eligible for social benefits such as jobseekers' allowance).[283]

Notably, the *Gusa* decision focused on how the claimant was deserving of access to social benefits due to having worked and paid taxes in the host State for four years and having relied on his family (rather than the public purse) for financial support upon his arrival in the

276. *Id*. art. 4.

277. Regulation 492/2011, *supra* note 274, at Recital (6).

278. Directive 2014/54, *supra* note 275, at art. 3.

279. Case C-507/12, Jessy Saint Prix v. Sec'y of State for Work and Pensions, 2014 E.C.R. 1, 8.

280. *See id.* at 5.

281. Case C-46/12, L. N. v. Styrelsen for Videregående Uddannelser og Uddannelsesstøtte, 2013 E.C.R. 1, 9.

282. *See id.* at 10.

283. Case C-442/16, Florea Gusa v Minister for Soc. Protection, Ireland, Attorney Gen., 2017 EUR-Lex 1004, ¶ 43–46 (Dec. 20, 2017) https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:62016CJ0442&from=GA.

host States.[284] Unlike in its older decisions, the Court did not refer to Treaty rights, and instead focused on market citizenship.[285] Coutts (2018) notes how the *Gusa* decision places the responsibility for integration on movers themselves, and equates it with economic participation.[286] Moreover, the decision adds a qualitative test to determining whether economic activity is sufficient to warrant access to EU rights.[287] This, of course, not only departs from statutory provisions, but also introduces a subjective, individualised approach to judicial interpretation.

Transitional mobility restrictions were imposed on workers from Croatia after its accession in 2013.[288] Moreover, any future accession treaties have been predicted to include permanent labor mobility safeguards.[289] As stated by the Council President in the Conclusions of the European Council summit held in 2016, any future enlargements will include "appropriate transitional measures concerning free movement of persons."[290] The Commission did not express a view on this approach.[291]

b. Economically Inactive Persons (Including Jobseekers)

In the last few years, the ECJ has been reading secondary legislation narrowly, rather than interpreting Treaty provisions expansively, to limit residence rights of economically inactive movers. In *Brey*, the Court suggested that an economically inactive mover's entitlement to a means-tested SNCB benefit (such as compensatory supplement benefit) *could* be an indication of not having sufficient resources.[292] Thus, such person's right to residence under Directive 2004/38 for longer than three months

284. *Id.* at ¶ 5, 44–46.

285. *See id.* at 10.

286. Stephen Coutts, *The Absence of Integration and the Responsibilisation of Union Citizenship*, 3 EUR. PAPERS 761, 770–71 (Oct. 26, 2018).

287. *Id.* at 772.

288. *Commission report on transitional arrangements regarding free movement of workers form Croatia*, *supra* note 232.

289. Editorial Board, *The Free Movement of Persons in the European Union: Salvaging the Dream while Explaining the Nightmare*, 51 COMMON MKT L. REV. 729, 730 (2014).

290. Presidency Conclusions, Brussels European Council (Feb. 19, 2016), at 24.

291. *See generally*, *id.*

292. Case C‑140/12, Pensionsversicherungsanstalt v. Peter Brey, 2013 E.C.R. 1, 16.

could be in question, to be determined through an individual examination. After *Dano*, however, economically inactive individuals' application for social assistance benefits results in losing their right to reside due to lacking sufficient resources.[293] Moreover, Member States do not have to provide access to SNCBs to economically inactive EU citizens - at least to those who, like Ms Dano, had never been employed in the receiving State, and were not searching for work.[294] Thus, despite fundamental EU citizenship rights, in practice, Member States may attach conditions of residence from Directive 2004/38 to the provision of SNCBs with a social assistance component, thus limiting access to them even if they are available under Regulation 883/2004.

Notably, similar to its decision in *Gusa* (discussed earlier), the Court in *Dano* engaged in a subjective discussion of the claimant's personal circumstances which were not relevant to the legal question before it.[295] For example, it mentioned how the claimant had been receiving public support for her child "whose father's identity is not known,"[296] lacked any educational certificates or professional training, could not write in in the host State's language, had never worked, and had not provided evidence of having looked for work[297]. Thereby, the ECJ created the impression of someone who does not deserve protections of EU law.

c. CEE Nationals

The above provisions fully apply to CEE nationals since transitional mobility restrictions have come to an end. Given that CEE nationals' mobility has been primarily motivated by employment opportunities in EU-15 States, measures that have decreased jobseekers' rights have been especially detrimental to their enjoyment of the free movement right. EU institutions' prioritizing worker status has likely put pressure on jobseekers to take up any available employment options, including those in flexible arrangements. To support CEE nationals' residence rights in

293. Case C-333/13, Dano v. Jobcenter Leipzig, 2014 E.C.R. 1, 12, 16, 17.

294. *Id.* at 15–16.

295. *See, e.g.*, *id.* at ¶ 39 (considering Ms. Dano's ability to read and write); *id.* at ¶ 38 (noting that the identity of the father of Ms. Dano's child is unknown). Such details would have been relevant to proportionality analysis, which was not applicable in Dano.

296. *Id*. at ¶ 38.

297. *Id*. at ¶ 39.

host States, the ECJ has ruled that their periods of lawful residence in EU-15 States before the Eastern Enlargement must be taken into account for the purpose of acquisition of permanent residence.[298]

2. Access to Social Benefits Since 2014

In the last few years, there have been no statutory changes in provisions on mobile persons' access to social benefits. Directive 2004/38 continues to govern access to social assistance, and Regulation 883/2004 dictates the coordination of workers' access to social security benefits.[299] Regulation 492/2011 replaced Regulation 1612/68 without changing its provisions on workers' access to social and tax advantages.[300] The ECJ, however, has limited economically inactive movers' access to benefits.

a. Workers

As stated in the Conclusions of the European Council summit in 2016, the ECJ opposes restricting economically-active movers' rights to social assistance.[301] In addition to continuing to define the concept of "worker" broadly, as discussed above, the ECJ has been strengthening workers' access to social assistance. For example, in *Saint-Prix*, the Court recognized entitlement to income support (a type of SNCB) of a woman who had stopped working due to pregnancy and childbirth.[302]

The Council and the Commission, however, have been more responsive to Member States' concerns about limiting access to social benefits, even of workers. This became especially evident during David Cameron's renegotiation of the UK's membership in the EU. Essentially,

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298. Joined Cases C-424/10 and C-425/10, Ziolkowski and Szeja v. Land Berlin, 2011 E.C.R. I-14035, I-14079.

299. *See generally* Directive 2004/38, *supra* note 177; Regulation 883/2004, *supra* note 238.

300. Regulation 492/2011, *supra* note 274, at art. 7(2).

301. A New Settlement for The United Kingdom Within the European Union: Extract of the conclusions of the European Council of 18-19 February 2016, Annex I Section D, 2016 O.J. (C 69) I/01.

302. *See* Case C-507/12, Jessy Saint Prix v. v. Sec'y of State for Work and Pensions, 2014 E.C.R. 1, 8.

Cameron was seeking to extend the application of *Dano* and *Alimanovic* to reduce workers' access to social security. According to the Council, "Member States have the right to define the fundamental principles of their social security systems and enjoy a broad margin of discretion to define and implement their social and employment policy, including setting the conditions for access to welfare benefits."[303] To facilitate granting States greater discretion, the Council declared its intention to submit proposals to amend secondary legislation, including Regulation 883/2004 (on the coordination of social security systems) so child benefits claims could be indexed by host States to benefits levels in the place of child's residence; and Regulation 492/2011, to provide an "alert and safeguard mechanism that responds to situations of inflow of *workers* from other Member States of an exceptional magnitude over an extended period of time, including as a result of past policies following previous EU enlargements."[304] The only limitation would be that EU workers must not be treated less favorably than TCNs.[305] The Commission was in support of these proposals.[306]

Although these Conclusions were reached in the context of the UK's renegotiation of its membership, due to what the Commission had acknowledged to be conditions of necessity brought about by large influx of movers into the UK, they nevertheless indicate EU institutions' openness toward prioritizing EU-15 States' concerns and limiting even workers' access to benefits. Critically, it is not clear what evidence the UK had presented to warrant such conclusions, which are incompatible with free movement and anti-discrimination provisions of EU law. The Commission simply declared "that the kind of information provided to it by the [UK]" showed "the type of exceptional situation that the proposed safeguard mechanism is intended to cover exists in the United Kingdom today."[307] This is despite having concluded in 2013 that there was little evidence of benefit tourism across the EU, but only evidence of

303. Presidential Conclusions, *supra* note 290, at 19.
304. *Id*. at 23 (emphasis added).
305. *Id.*
306. *Id.* at 33–34.
307. *Id.* at 34.

economic benefits to the receiving States, especially the UK.[308] Thus, it is likely that both the Commission and the Council subscribe to one of the key misconceptions about the effects of free movement—that it negatively affects host States' public purse.

b. Economically Inactive Persons (Including Jobseekers)

Whereas in the late 1990s and early 2000s the ECJ had been providing economically inactive EU citizens with access to some social benefits not accessible under secondary legislation, the Court has been retracting on this approach in the last few years. Having become more sensitive to EU-15 States' concerns about benefit tourism, the Court has been narrowly reading secondary legislation rather than relying on Treaty provisions. After *Dano*, Member States do not have to provide access to SNCBs to economically inactive EU citizens (or at least those who, like the petitioner, had never been employed in the receiving States and were not searching for work).[309] Moreover, those who apply for social assistance benefits lose their right to reside, without the need for an individual assessment.[310] Thus, in practice, economically inactive persons lack the right to equal treatment in the provision of social assistance. Despite fundamental rights stemming from EU citizenship, Member States may attach conditions of residence from Directive 2004/38 to the provision of SNCBs with a social assistance component, and thus exclude access to them even if they are available under Regulation 883/2004.

Despite the Commission's obvious opposition, in *Commission v. United Kingdom*, the ECJ extended *Dano*'s exclusion of SNCBs to all social security benefits (including family benefits), not just those with a social assistance element.[311] The ECJ imported *Dano*'s approach of not requiring an individual assessment and *Brey*'s principle of permitting

308. Carmen Jurvale et. al, *A fact finding analysis on the impact on the Member States' social security systems of the entitlements of non-active intra-EU migrants to special non-contributory cash benefits and healthcare granted on the basis of residence*, at 176-77 (Oct. 14, 2013).

309. *See* Case C-333/13, Dano v. Jobcenter Leipzig, 2014 E.C.R. 1, 17.

310. Case C-333/13, Dano v. Jobcenter Leipzig, 2014 E.C.R. 1, 12, 16, 78.

311. *See* Case C-308/14, Comm'n v. United Kingdom, 2016 E.C.R. 1, 2, 8.

Member States to impose conditions (such as the UK's right-to-reside requirements) on economically inactive persons to be eligible for SNCBs into Article 4 of Regulation 883/2004 (regarding equality of treatment in the receipt of social security benefits, such as child benefits and child tax credits).[312] Moreover, the Court reversed its prior approach regarding burden of proof, so Member States are now presumed to be acting in a lawful non-discriminatory manner in denying access to social benefits as long as they justify their actions based on protecting their public finances.[313]

The ECJ also narrowed the scope of fundamental Treaty principles by applying secondary EU legislation limitations in *Alimanovic*,[314] an even stricter application of Directive 2004/38 than *Dano*. Despite research evidence to the contrary, the Court in *Alimanovic* accepted EU-15 States' "welfare magnet" argument and concluded that even if individual social assistance claims did not place an "unreasonable burden" on national social security systems, Member States could argue that accumulated claims would do so.[315] Thus, States were entitled to prevent mobile jobseekers' access to certain SNCBs (which constitute social assistance under Directive 2004/38, but are not benefits of financial nature intended to facilitate access to the labor market). Moreover, although Article 7(3) of Directive 2004/38 allowed former workers to retain their status for six months after becoming unemployed,[316] the ECJ concluded that after that period, they could claim social assistance only if their right of residence was based on more than the non-expulsion provision of Article 14(4) (continuing to seek employment).[317]

The Court in *Alimanovic* also narrowly construed the "intended to facilitate access to the labour market" test, so that only benefits that are *necessary* to jobseekers' ability to access the labor market fall outside the

312. Regulation 883/2004, *supra* note 238, art. 4.

313. *See* Case C-308/14, Comm'n v. United Kingdom, 2016 E.C.R. 1, 15.

314. Case C-67/14, Jobcenter Berlin Neukölln v. Alimanovic, 2015 E.C.R. 1, 6. The petitioner could not be categorized as retaining worker status under Article 7(3)(c) only due to a technicality, having recently become a jobseeker again after having worked for eleven rather than twelve months and having just passed the six-month period for retaining worker status. *Id.* at 10.

315. Case C-67/14, Jobcenter Berlin Neukölln v. Alimanovic, 2015 E.C.R. 1, 2.

316. Directive 2004/38, *supra* note 177, at art. 7(3).

317. Case C-67/14, Jobcenter Berlin Neukölln v. Alimanovic, 2015 E.C.R. 1, 2.

scope of Article 24(2), and thus cannot be withheld during the first three months of residence or to first-time jobseekers.[318] Moreover, the Court ruled that expulsion decisions due to presenting an unreasonable burden on a national social assistance system did not require individual assessments.[319] This stance was reiterated in *Garcia-Nieto*, in which the ECJ held that jobseekers never have access to unemployment benefits even if they facilitate access to the labor market because such benefits have a social assistance element – that is, their primary aim is the preservation of dignity, rather than facilitation of access to the labor market.[320] Consequently, jobseekers can be automatically excluded from access to social assistance, even in the first three months of residence.

c. CEE Nationals

In the last few years, as discussed above, the ECJ has reduced the access of economically inactive movers to benefits, and other EU branches have considered diminishing even workers' access in response to EU-15 concerns about alleged welfare tourism. Such measures have likely had more impact on movers who are poor or not employable as highly-skilled workers in the receiving States. Jobseeker limitations on access to social benefits especially impact CEE nationals since they have access to fewer financial resources than EU-15 nationals and tend to be employed in temporary, flexible, and semi-legal arrangements.[321]

III. CONCLUSION

The UK's Brexit referendum has exposed immigration and free movement debates to wider public, political, and media scrutiny, oftentimes filled with inaccurate or misleading statements. Such erroneous myths have vilified movers, degraded their ability to integrate in host Member States, and increased strife between locals and movers. Although not often mentioned in those debates, the UK has been

318. *Id.* at 12, 13.

319. *Id.* at 14.

320. Case C-299/14, Vestische Arbeit Jobcenter Kreis Recklinghausen v. Jovanna García-Nieto, 2016 E.C.R. 1, 7, 13.

321. *See* Kubal, *supra* note 24, at 99.

chipping away at the right to mobility for decades through not belonging to the Schengen area, various immigration opt-outs, and the imposition of indirect transitional mobility derogations after the 2004 and 2007 enlargements.[322] What also has been lacking from debates is how the EU has been approaching the right to free movement, and what limits on mobility it has accepted. In order for Brexit negotiations to be more responsive to the reality of mobility, for the public to understand this right and the aftermath of Brexit, and for improved future contestations over immigration in other Member States, it is important that politicians and the media address immigration more responsibly, and that the evolution of the right to free movement is understood correctly.

As discussed in this Article, although originally limited to workers, by the 1990s, the free movement right was gradually expanded via Treaty provisions, statutes, and ECJ decisions to beyond what is necessary for the functioning of the single market to encompass former workers, jobseekers, and eventually all EU-15 citizens.[323] Relying heavily on the post-Maastricht concept of EU citizenship as not linked to the market economy, the ECJ also expanded access to residence rights and social benefits to economically inactive EU-15 nationals, going beyond limitations imposed by secondary laws.[324] As both legislation and ECJ decisions shifted the focus from the concept of economically active participants in the single market to EU citizenship, even economically inactive EU-15 nationals gained access to equal treatment and integration measures.[325]

While EU-15 nationals' access to free movement and to social benefits was being expanded, CEE nationals' ability to enter EU-15 States was very restricted. Before the Eastern Enlargement, CEE nationals' mobility was limited to bilateral agreements that provided for movement of small numbers of workers to satisfy specific economic needs in EU-15 States.[326] The Europe Agreements did not facilitate

322. Mark Briggs, *Europe 'à la carte': The whats and whys behind UK opt-outs: Background*, EURACTIV, https://www.euractiv.com/section/uk-europe/linksdossier/europe-a-la-carte-the-whats-and-whys-behind-uk-opt-outs/ (last updated May 12, 2015); *see supra* Part II Section B.2.c.

323. *See supra* Part II Section A.

324. *See supra* Part II Section A.1.b, B.2.c.

325. *See supra* Part II Section A.1.b, B.2.c.

326. *See supra* Part II Section A.1.c, A.2.c.

mobility, and their right to equal treatment in the employment context applied to very few categories of CEE workers.[327] The abolition of the requirement for entry visas to EU-15 States in 2001 led to a de facto influx of CEE labor migrants.[328] As TCNs, CEE nationals were not entitled mobility protections or access to social benefits in EU-15 States.

Despite an overall expansion of protections of free movement and residence rights, statutory differentiation between the rights of workers and of economically inactive citizens continued after 2004.[329] The rights of workers, former workers, and jobseekers were getting increased protections through both statutes and ECJ decisions.[330] Due to transitional post-accession derogations, EU-15 Member States could permit only EU-15 nationals to enter their labor markets for the first seven years after the Eastern Enlargement.[331] During that time, EU-15 States could exclude CEE workers and jobseekers, and hence treat them akin to TCNs. Continuing its trend from before 2004, the ECJ relied on Treaty provisions to also expand rights of economically inactive citizens, once again going beyond statutory limitations.[332] The European Parliament was supportive of this approach.[333] Although CEE nationals who were self-employed or economically inactive were granted the same EU rights as mobile EU-15 nationals, in practice, few were able to benefit from such rights due to financial constraints.[334]

Since transitional arrangements have come to an end, CEE nationals have benefited from increasingly expanding statutory and ECJ protections of workers' residence and social benefits rights. All EU institutions appear to have become more responsive, however, to EU-15 States' concerns about welfare tourism by CEE nationals. Starting with *Dano* in 2014 (the same year that transitional limitations on A-2 workers

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327. *See supra* Part II Section A.1.c.

328. *See generally* Düvell, *supra* note 147.

329. *See supra* Part II Section B.

330. *See supra* Part II Section B.

331. *See supra* Part II Section B.1.d.

332. *See supra* Part II Section B.1.b–c, B.2.b.

333. *See* Comm. on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, *Report on the Commission's Fourth report on Citizenship of the Union*, A 6-0411/2005, ¶ Q (Dec. 15 2005).

334. *See supra* Part II Section B.1.d, B.2.c.

and jobseekers' mobility had come to an end),[335] the ECJ broke from its precedent and began to diminish residence rights and access to social benefits of jobseekers and economically inactive individuals by narrowly applying secondary laws.[336] References to Treaty provisions, EU citizenship rights, or financial solidarity—which had permeated pre-*Dano* case law—are no longer part of the ECJ's decisions. Consequently, CEE jobseekers and economically inactive movers[337] are facing increasing impediments. The reasoning and outcomes in these recent cases indicate that EU citizenship depends on participation in the market, so that poor and economically inactive EU citizens do not enjoy the same rights as those who are employed or have resources.[338]

Current mobility laws discourage movement of jobseekers and those who lack access to financial resources. By privileging worker status, the current legal framework reduces worker autonomy as it likely encourages efforts to obtain employment soon upon arrival in host States or even before and thus increases reliance on employment agencies and willingness to accept temporary or flexible work arrangements. It also negatively affects workers who become unemployed, especially those who are poor. Recent impediments in economically inactive movers' access to social benefits are likely to have greater impact on CEE than EU-15 mobile nationals due to the formers' propensity to engage in irregular, poorly paid employment, more recent labor market access in EU-15 States, and lesser access to financial resources from home.[339] By providing Member States with discretion to withhold equal access to social benefits without terminating residence rights, the ECJ has created a class of economically inactive EU citizens who cannot be expelled but have no entitlement to social assistance.[340] Moreover, Member States have been provided discretion to define worker status narrowly, thus leading to withholding benefits from workers with low incomes and inflexible, insecure work arrangements, which is more and more

335. *See End of Restrictions on Free Movement of Workers from Bulgaria and Romania*, EUR. MIGRATION NETWORK (Jan. 1, 2014), https://emnbelgium.be/news/end-restrictions-free-movement-workers-bulgaria-and-romania.

336. *See supra* Part II Section C.1.b, C.2.b.

337. And all other EU movers who are jobseekers or economically inactive.

338. *See supra* Part II Section C.2.b.

339. *See supra* Part II Section C.2.c.

340. *See supra* Part II Section C.2.b.

prevalent in today's economies.[341] The EU has not acknowledged today's labor market patterns in its legal framework. Because immigrants, especially those from poorer states, tend to concentrate in low-pay, less secure jobs, they have been especially impacted. Since the economic crisis of 2008, part-time, flexible, and insecure employment options have proliferated in the EU,[342] and inequalities have been increasing across the EU.[343] Precarious employment, very often undertaken by CEE workers in EU-15 States, becomes even more precarious as a result of the increasing divergence between EU rhetoric and EU rights, which is further weakened due to Member State discretion.[344] This has had an especially negative impact on CEE workers. For example, the imposition of the UK's post-accession Worker Registration Scheme has been shown to have made CEE workers especially susceptible to forced labor.[345] Such effects were likely amplified in the twelve EU-15 States that had imposed direct post-accession mobility restrictions on CEE nationals. O'Brien has called this "a triumph of capitalist reasoning[:]" the "creation of a non-national working poor" class, responsive to labor market fluctuations, yet with few entitlements to the public purse. [346] Ultimately, this will have consequences for all low-skill workers, foreign and local, by increasing socio-economic inequalities, and increasing resultant social costs—homelessness, poor health, increased crime, and decreased social cohesion and trust.

Perhaps it is thus not surprising that EU institutions' praise of mobility has often been tied to economic benefits rather than to values

341. *See supra* notes 236–237 and accompanying text.

342. *See* Carole Lang et al., *Atypical Forms of Employment Contracts in Times of Crisis*, 5 Working Paper (Eur. Trade Union Institute, Working Paper 2013.3, 2013).

343. *See* Kaja Bonesmo Fredriksen, *Income inequality in the European Union*, 2 (Org. for Econ. Co-operation and Dev., Econ. Dep't, Working Paper No. 952, 2012); *A Europe for the Many, Not the Few: Time to Reverse the Course of Inequality and Poverty in Europe*, 1 (Oxfam Int'l, Briefing Paper No. 206, 2015); Jutta Allmendinger & Ellen von den Driesch, *Social Inequalities in Europe: Facing the Challenge*, (Berlin Soc. Sci. Ctr. (WZB) Discussion Paper P 2014-005, 2014).

344. *See supra* Part II Section C.1.d, C.2.a.

345. *See* PETER DWYER ET AL, FORCED LABOUR AND UK IMMIGRATION POLICY: STATUS MATTERS? 22 (2011); *see also* MIGRATION ADVISORY COMM., REVIEW OF THE TRANSITIONAL RESTRICTIONS ON ACCESS OF BULGARIAN AND ROMANIAN NATIONALS TO THE UK LABOUR MARKET 9 (2011).

346. O'Brien, *supra* note 40, at 939.

such as human dignity. Functioning as "one and undivided economic workforce," "European citizens should 'move' because their 'movement' prospers the development of 'human resources' and the 'Single Market.'"[347] Having praised the free movement right for creating a "more efficient allocation of resources" and "more integrated labour markets . . . better able to adjust to asymmetric shocks,"[348] the Commission acknowledged that its support of workers' equality was grounded in improving overall economic success of the EU rather than in respect for human dignity.[349] The European Parliament and the Council have also pointed out economic benefits of intra-EU mobility, linking it to the "proper functioning of the internal market"[350] by "helping to satisfy the requirements of the economies of the Member States."[351] Such rhetoric regarding the free movement right is in line with this article's analysis of secondary laws, which still retains an economic core despite having been expanded to non-economically active persons. Given that intra-EU mobility has been primarily from CEE to EU-15 States since the Eastern Enlargement, it is EU-15 States' economies that have been emphasized and protected.

Similarly, EU discourse regarding post-accession mobility derogations has focused on economic benefits accruing to EU-15 States. Although EU institutions were less enthusiastic about applying transitional measures than some EU-15 States were, they rarely acknowledged any conceptual or legal difficulties with the derogations. Instead, the Commission has tended to frame its critique in economic terms only, finding transitional measures unnecessary for ensuring EU-15 States' economic interests, particularly in light of predictions of low CEE post-accession mobility.[352] Moreover, mobility restrictions were

347. Mark van Ostaijen, *Between Migration and Mobility Discourses: The Performative Potential Within 'Intra-European Movement'*, 11 CRITICAL POL'Y STUD. 166, 175–76 (2017).

348. *Id.* at 174 (citation omitted).

349. *See Commission of the European Communities Green Paper – European Social Policy: Options for the Union*, at 25–26 COM (93) 551 final (Nov. 17, 1993).

350. Directive 2014/54, *supra* note 275, Recital (10).

351. Regulation 492/2011, *supra* note 274, at Recital (4).

352. *See, e.g.*, *Communication From the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Enlargement, Two Years After - An Economic Success*, at 3, COM (2006) 200 final (May 03, 2006).

disfavored because they were likely to hinder the functioning of the internal market.[353] After the Enlargement, the Commission continued to question the necessity of imposing transitional measures, but again, its critique focused on economic benefits to EU-15 States of unlimited mobility.[354] On occasion, the Commission even defended direct transitional mobility limitations—albeit in economic terms only (for allegedly benefiting CEE States by better allocating labor).[355]

As discussed in this Article, freedom of movement has never been an absolute right. Although expanded via secondary laws and especially ECJ decisions relying on Treaty provisions, the right has always differentiated between economically active movers and those with financial resources, as opposed to economically inactive and poor ones. Benefiting the economies of the host, that is, EU-15 States, has been prioritized over mobility rights of CEE nationals. Moreover, the complex web of EU law on social benefits has intersected with freedom of movement laws to further privilege EU-15 States' economic interests, which has also been reflected in EU rhetoric: "at the heart of the EU project lies a preoccupation with the mobility and residence rights of

353. *See* Case C-86/96 Martínez Sala v. Freistaat Bayern, 1998 E.C.R. I-2691, I-2702–03.

354. *See Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament -Enlargement, Two Years After – An Economic Success*, at 3, COM (2006) 200 final (Mar. 05, 2006); *Report from the Commission- Fifth Report on Citizenship of the Union*, at 6 COM (2008) 85 final (Feb. 15, 2008); *Commission Proposal for a Council Regulation amending Regulation (EEC) No 1408/71*, *supra* note 175; *see generally* Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: The Impact of Free Movement of Workers in the Context of EU Enlargement - Report on the First Phase (1 January 2007 – 31 December 2008) of the Transitional Arrangements Set out in the 2005 Accession Treaty and as Requested According to the Transitional Arrangement Set out in the 2003 Accession Treaty, COM (2008) 765 final (Nov. 18, 2008).

355. *See* EUR. COMM'N, EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE 245–78 (2011). The European Parliament had, on at least one occasion, noted that mobility restrictions contradicted the principle of solidarity between EU-15 and CEE States. European Parliament Resolution on the Transitional Arrangements Restricting the Free Movement of Workers on EU Labour Markets, EUR. PARL. DOC. 2006/2036(INI), C 293 E/230 (Apr. 05, 2006). Arguably, given that Parliament members are elected directly by the people, it is more responsive than other EU bodies to interests of all EU citizens.

workers rather than citizens per se."[356] This article argues that this mobility has always been structured—and, as needed, undermined by the EU—in the service of EU-15 Member States' economic and political concerns. Although CEE nationals (and CEE states) have benefited in numerous ways from the Eastern Enlargement, such benefits appear ancillary. This brings to mind Derrick Bell's interest convergence theory, which, although based on black-white relations in the United States,[357] can be expanded to encompass all dominant groups' promotion of legal or social advances for groups with less power only when such advances also promote their own self-interest.

Whereas mainstream CRT scholars postulate a view of racial relations and power differentials between whites and non-whites, some CWS scholars have noted the need for a more nuanced look at fractures and hierarchies within whiteness. [358] This article's analysis of the policy of mobility indicates that CEE nationals have straddled belonging and exclusion from the bundle of rights that accrues from EU citizenship, pointing to a hierarchy of Europeanness, citizenship, and whiteness within the EU. Immigrants stand at the intersection of various binaries of privilege and subordination, and thus, the need for adding more nuances to critical approaches to the study of law, race, and power. By testing and critiquing limitations of CRT and CWS, this article hopes to reinvigorate critical approaches to the study of law. Moreover, through the exploration of the internal boundaries of whiteness, I expose its fabrication, taking a step toward abolishing racism. As Justice Blackmun had noted in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, "[i]n order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race." [359]

More generally, the analysis here demonstrates how EU institutions have exhibited longstanding willingness to compromise the right of free

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356. Joanne Cook et al, *The Experiences of Accession 8 Migrants in England: Motivations, Work and Agency*, 49 INT'L MIGRATION 54, 59– (2011) (citation omitted).

357. *See* Derrick A. Bell, Jr., Brown v. Board of Education *and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma*, 93 HARV. L. REV. 518, 523 (1980).

358. *See generally, e.g.*, STEVE GARNER, WHITENESS: AN INTRODUCTION (2007); RETHINKING ETHNICITY: MAJORITY GROUPS AND DOMINANT MINORITIES (Eric P. Kaufmann ed., 2004); CYNTHIA LEVINE-RASKY, WHITENESS FRACTURED (2013).

359. 438 U.S. 265, 407 (1978) (Blackmun, J., separate opinion).

movement,[360] undermining trust and solidarity among EU citizenry. Their approach has diminished the status of and rights stemming from EU citizenship, challenged coherence of the EU legal order, and shown how malleable the concept of equality can be. This is especially problematic given that populist parties in several other EU-15 States have supported their own versions of Cameron's pushback against the EU.[361] As O'Brien had noted, since national measures limiting access to mobility and social benefits are not supported by evidence of negative economic effects of mobility, they are likely driven by capitalism and nationalistic prejudice.[362] If EU institutions were to challenge—as they should—Member State's attacks on mobility, they would have to begin by more closely matching their policies to their lofty rhetoric.

360. Determining whether EU institutions' position on free movement facilitates or merely responds to Member State's attitudes is beyond the scope of this paper.

361. This includes Austria, Denmark, Germany, and Sweden. *See The "emergency brake'" is only symbolic, but it will probably work*, ECONOMIST (Feb. 1, 2016), https://www.economist.com/bagehots-notebook/2016/02/01/the-emergency-brake-is-only-symbolic-but-it-will-probably-work.

362. O'Brien, *supra* note 3640, at 976.