

Queries

Autumn 2014 / Issue 5 / €5.90

◆◆◆ THE EUROPEAN PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE ◆◆◆

CALL FOR SOLIDARITY

Asylum, migration, and integration policies in Europe

+
MY EUROPE

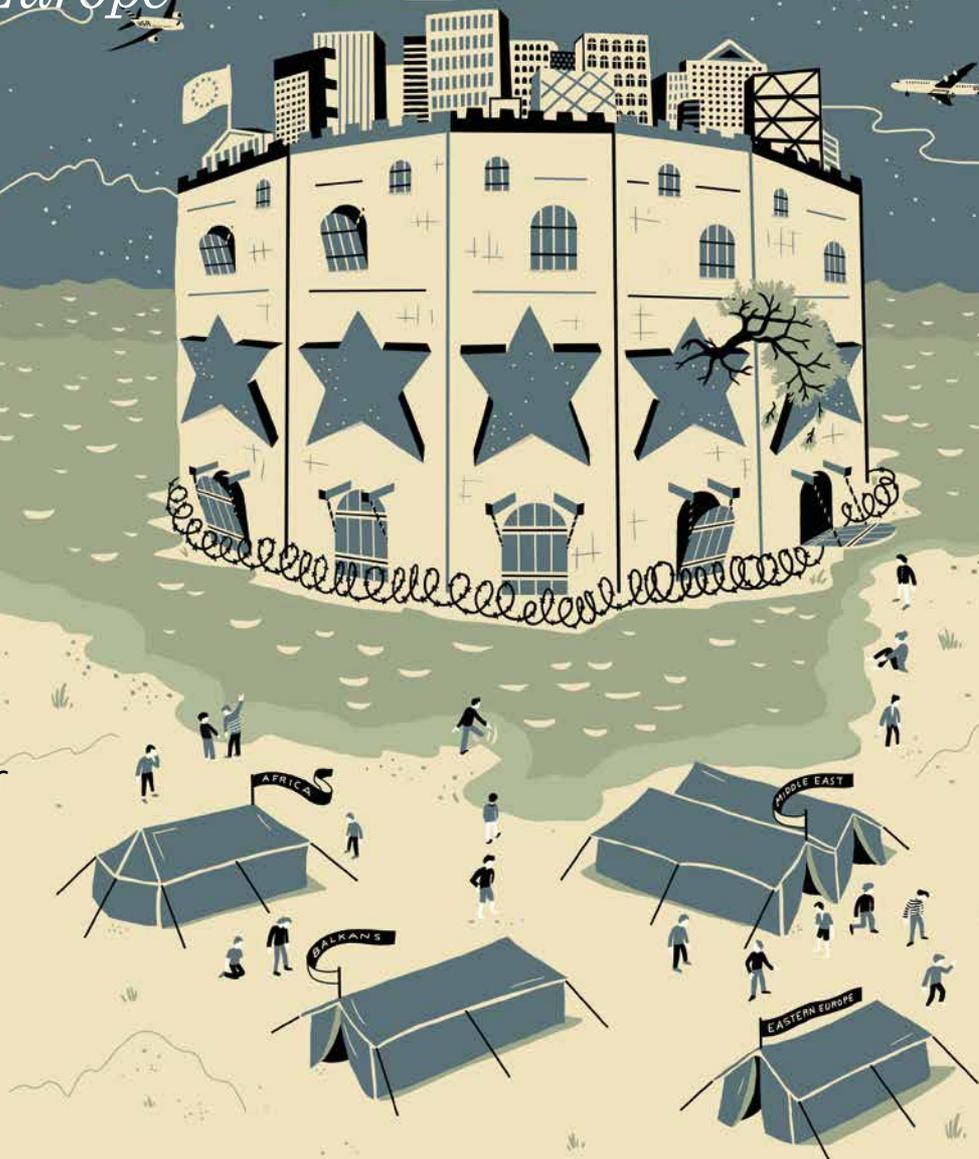
Khalifa Sall,
Mayor of Dakar

+
DISCOVERY

The Anselm Kiefer
retrospective

+
OPINION

Benjamin Stora
on immigration



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About Queries

*Isaac Newton's famous book "Opticks" concludes with a set of "Queries."
These "Queries" are not questions in the ordinary sense, but rather
rhetorical questions intended to stimulate thinking.
This was Newton's mode of explaining "by query."*



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Queries

No 5 / Autumn 2014 / CPPAP 0416 U 92285 - ISSN 2032-9113 - Queries is the scientific magazine of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies. The Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) is the first progressive political foundation established at the European level. Created in 2007 and co-financed by the European Parliament, it aims at establishing an intellectual crossroad between social democracy and the European project **Publisher:** FEPS - Foundation for European Progressive Studies. First published in Belgium 2012/2013 **Magazine Editor of Queries:** Dr. Ernst Stetter (Secretary General - FEPS) **Editor-in-Chief:** Alain Bloëdt **Associate Editor-in-Chief:** Olivier Breton **Editorial Committee:** Maari Põim, Ania Skrzypek, Giovanni Cozzi, Charlotte Billingham, David Kitching **Editorial Consultant:** Zakeera Suffee **Journalists:** Mariam Belkhir, Lorenzo Consoli, Sam Davies, Jacques Docquier, Nicolas Gros-Verheyde, Trevor Huggins, Tony Lawrence, Loreline Merelle, Griselda Pastor, Moritz Pfeifer, Kim Rahir, Charlotte Saliou, Ian Willoughby **Cover Illustration:** Antoine Corbineau **Design & Production:** All Contents, France **Translation:** Semantis **Photo Credits (Pages 4-7):** DR, Frontex, Evan Barry, MPI, Jungeun Suzie Lee, Ivan Maly, Franck Düvell, VoteWatch Europe, Jean-Marc Germain, CIRÉ, Suzanne Schols - 2014 - Brussels, Kevin Braim, Jan Rasch, CC-BY, Randstad, Andujar1943, European Union - 2014, Khalifa Sall / Serife Diagne, SPÖ, Chonnam National University, Benedict Johnson, FEPS, Musée de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, Charlie Wand, Pascale Uebersax - 2014, Sébastien Niess, Institut Jacques Delors, Bundesregierung/Jesco Denzel, Antoine Corbineau, Courtesy Royal Academy of Arts - Howard Sooley / Anselm Kiefer, Leave to Remain / Indefinite Films, United States Navy - **Copyright © FEPS - Foundation for European Progressive Studies.**

ASYLUM POLICIES

European values at stake?

by Massimo D'Alema,
FEPS President, former Prime Minister of Italy

Both the UNHCR and Amnesty international have deplored the thousands of deaths of people desperately trying to escape war and poverty (it is estimated that about 2,500 people have died since the beginning of 2014).

As this figure shows, we are facing an enormous tragedy that concerns us all. The Right has tried to exploit this tragedy, saying that it is merely an issue of illegal immigration. We know that this is far from being the case; it is in fact the migration of people fleeing from bloody conflicts and wars, from cruel and violent authoritarian regimes. The most striking example is that of the crises occurring in Syria, Iraq and Libya. This region is one of the most tormented on the planet, a situation that the Islamic State's ruthless attacks are exposing and making worse each day. The instability of this region has inevitable repercussions on our countries, in terms of both humanitarian and security concerns. This is why it would be a most serious mistake to neglect the complexity of what is going on in the European Union's southern neighbourhood.

Against this backdrop, it is a shame that the European Union lacks a truly common asylum policy. Why do we need a genuinely common asylum policy? Because we cannot keep leaving the responsibility for humanitarian rescues and aid—as well as security—to

peripheral member states. Moreover, when faced with a huge emergency, the burden of offering asylum to refugees should not weigh only on the shoulders of the usual few countries, but should be shared among all member states. Since last January, Germany has received about 82,000 asylum applications; Sweden 45,000; France almost 30,000; and Italy almost 25,000. Of course, a common asylum policy also requires the harmonisation of the member states' asylum policies.

Migration is one of the issues that will test the European Union's solidity as well as its respect for the values on which it was built, those which form its heritage. Europe cannot give up on its role as one of the main actors on the international scene, particularly in a region that is just beyond our common borders. The issues of the conflicts occurring close to our frontiers (which are a matter of EU foreign policy), security and the management of immigration are closely interconnected. The European Union and its member states should face them organically.

The way in which the EU will face these challenges will impact, on the one hand, the very process of European integration, and, on the other hand, its projection and credibility on the global scene. Last but not least, it will affect its capability to uphold and promote its principles of tolerance, solidarity, inclusion, and respect for human and civil rights.

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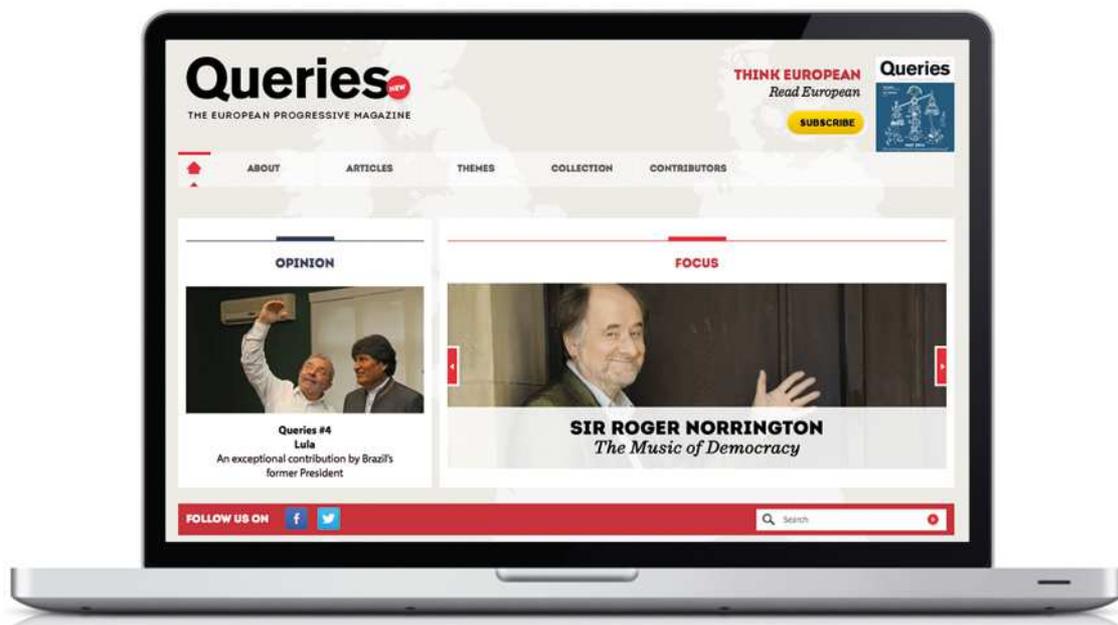


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COEXISTENCE OF MANY DIFFERENT CULTURES DEFINES EUROPE



© Jan Rasch

After the trauma of war, Europe has delivered unprecedented peace. It has also brought prosperity – and freedoms that Czechs and others in Eastern Europe could little have imagined only 25 years ago.



by Ivan Klíma

M

y recently published autobiography is entitled “My Crazy Century” and Europe, too, had a really crazy 20th century, particularly the first half. The two

World Wars were a terrible experience, but I believe that experience gave birth to the

vision of Europe that we have today: peaceful, working together economically and reconciled to ideological differences.

Europe was divided into East and West after World War II but even though I joined the Communist Party in the 1950s, that split wasn't something I welcomed. Not at all. Czechoslovak writers always admired Western democracy. Our subsequent battle with Communism – I was expelled from the Party in 1967 – was actually a struggle to bring about a revival of democracy in our country. After all, Czechoslovakia was the only state in the Soviet Bloc that had had a genuine democratic tradition.

However, in all those years we never felt entirely cut off from the West. We listened to Western radio stations every day and brave individuals, such as the West German attaché to Prague, would help us dissidents in various ways, such as delivering books from the West to us and carrying our samizdat writing out of the country. British and Swedish diplomats also helped us.

DREAM BECOMES REALITY

Things started changing elsewhere in the Eastern Bloc in 1989. In Poland, they had their first semi-free elections in June and then of course there was the fall of the Berlin Wall later in the year. But the idea of a similar transformation in Czechoslovakia still seemed to us dissidents more like a dream than reality. The fact the regime collapsed so fast with the Velvet Revolution was an enormous surprise. In my view, Mikhail Gorbachev was the gravedigger of communism, thanks to his belief in “democratic communism”, which I consider a nonsense and unrealizable.

A huge ideological domain fell apart within a few years and we saw a return to the democratic tradition in Europe. It has been a great period in European history. Just 25 years ago, we couldn't have imagined the freedoms we have today, such as being able to simply drive across borders without a passport. It was unthinkable. It's the first time in its history that Europe is practically without borders. To me this has been an extremely appealing development. I'm in favour of further European integration, if it continues to respect the national identity of individual states. Today, a decade after the Czech Republic joined the European Union, there have been opinion polls suggesting that support for

membership is at an all-time low of around a third of voters. But I feel that Czech intellectuals are glad that we're EU members. Maybe some people are more interested in football results and sitting in the pub and complaining – but they simply don't understand what Europe is all about.

UNPRECEDENTED PEACE

Among the European Union's most important achievements has been delivering peace. Previously Europe was characterised by war, territorial disputes and ideological conflicts. But now we are living through the longest period of peace in the history of the continent. Countries are now working closely together that stood against one another in World War II, like the Czechs and the Germans. Or look at the long history of conflict between the English and the French. That's now a thing of the past.

The EU has also been extremely important from the economic point of view. And for culture, of course. When it comes to literature, the European tradition of translation is extraordinarily rich, even though it seems to me that a lot more European authors are translated into Czech than the other way around.

My own work has been translated into nearly three dozen languages, which is extremely gratifying for any writer. But there's also an important material side to it. I wouldn't be able to make a living purely as a novelist on the royalties from my Czech sales. Frankly, the income from one book here would last me just three months.

Despite what many might expect, my writing hasn't been greatly affected by the fall of communism. For me, literature is about human relationships. Whether under communism or democracy, individuals are only influenced to a certain degree by the political reality around them.

I have to say I ultimately feel more Czech than European. It's connected to the fact that I'm a novelist and for the most part novelists write in their national language and therefore feel a kind of national solidarity. Without that national language, a writer would be lost. But I think that the co-existence of many different cultures is what defines Europe and sets it apart. And it's really enriching to have that variety of sources of inspiration.

Ivan Klíma, 82, is among the Czech Republic's best-known novelists and has been translated into over 30 languages. A Holocaust survivor, he joined the Communist Party before later becoming a dissident.



© PSOE

MICAELA NAVARRO READY TO RETAKE THE REINS

Eleven million people backed them at the ballot box in 2008. Six years later, on the night of 25 May 2014, they lost nearly seven million voters. The economic crisis took a heavy toll on those who, along with Zapatero, once inspired Spain. She was part of his executive committee. Today, she is back as party president to remind people that it is the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) that made gender equality a reality in the country—as well as the law against «macho» violence, a symbol of progress in the face of the new right-wing conservatism..



by Griselda Pastor

“When I believe in what I’m doing, I find it hard to hold back. I am an intense person and I’m not

afraid of debate.” Micaela Navarro is 57 and has successfully put domestic violence on the map as a serious political issue. The law against “gender violence” became Organic Law 1/2004 (otherwise known as the “Integrated Protection Measures against Gender Violence”) and won unanimous support in the Spanish congress. The law makes such attacks punishable by imprisonment and ensures swift legal and administrative responses to threats while advocating a policy of prevention and monitoring. It was the first law introduced under the new Zapatero government. Navarro was not part of the government at the time but had worked as Secretary for Equality for the executive committee of the socialist party. “We changed the semantics, added new wording,

constructed a policy and amended five laws!” explains one of her colleagues at the party.

REIGNITING PUBLIC DEBATE TO REGAIN LOST CONFIDENCE

Now, she says she is ready to again seek the trust of those who felt betrayed: “To those who have been disappointed in these last few years, we need to explain why we failed to do as we had promised and why we did some things that were unexpected.”

The “fast-track” amendment to the Spanish constitution in summer 2011 to introduce Germany’s “golden rule”, making debt reduction a priority, is the most salient example of one of the things she would rather not have seen occur: “I believe we should have organised early elections.” However, things did not turn out that way. “I know this reform was one of the least popular decisions made by my party and that many of our followers, as well as voices elsewhere on the left, still

Key Points

→ Micaela Navarro has made gender equality the main thrust of her political career.

→ She regrets the stance taken by the PSOE during the crisis, which appeared to make Spain subject to the willingness of Germany.

→ Even though the position of party president is purely symbolic, she hopes to make her voice heard and to draw on her experience in helping the PSOE regain power.

criticise the move,” wrote Zapatero in his memoir, *El Dilema* (The Dilemma). “I believed that a major agreement between the country’s two main parties—on an issue so transcendent and in such a delicate situation—would give Spain greater credibility,” adds the former prime minister as justification for the decision. The pact between the PSOE and the conservative People’s Party (PP) prevented a referendum on the reform and exacerbated the feeling of having capitulated to Merkel’s Germany.

NO TO A GERMAN EUROPE

“Everybody knows that German opinion has an enormous influence on European policy. We have always been aware of the fact but Germany did not use to make such a display of the matter; a display that has ended up humiliating others. By humiliating us,” says Ms. Navarro. She fears things have come to a point she would have preferred never to reach: “I would rather have a European Germany than a German Europe,” she

“WHEN RAJOY WITHDREW THE ANTI-ABORTION BILL, SHE TWEETED ‘**CONGRATULATIONS LADIES!**’, YET ALSO WARNED THAT THIS IS NOT OVER.”

declares in forthright fashion, echoing Felipe González, who was in his third term in office when she was elected to the municipal council of Andugar, in the province of Jaén, in 1991. The great patriarch had already passed the torch by the time she arrived in Madrid as a senator for her region, in 1996. After becoming a national deputy in 2000 and heading the list for her province in 2004, she became Councillor for Equality and Social Welfare in the regional government of Andalusia. She is currently a member of the Andalusian Parliament.



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Andalusia is the only Spanish region in which the socialists have retained power since 1982. And despite an endless legal investigation into allegations of fraud, the party has weathered the storm and the new regional president, Susana Díaz, has come to carry the hopes of the socialists in their tussle with the PP. On 25 May, the day of the European elections, the Andalusian socialists once again beat Mr Rajoy's party, though they did lose their absolute majority.

CONGRATULATIONS, LADIES!

We caught up with Micaela Navarro in Andalusia. Mobile phone in hand, she tells us about another memorable day: 23 September 2014, when Mariano Rajoy withdrew the anti-abortion bill and his justice minister resigned: "Congratulations ladies!" she tweeted at the time. Yet she also had a word of warning: "Even if the battle is won, this is not over." She is waiting until the PP withdraws the appeal against the law from the Spanish constitution. "They have no right to threaten women on a daily basis. They count their votes and every day one minister contradicts another in a bid to keep the rank and file together."

Ms. Navarro has a way with words. "She's an energetic speaker and has more experience than you might think," says Juan Fernando López Aguilar, currently an MEP and a former colleague on the executive committee. She had found herself centre stage when Joaquín Almunia took over from Felipe González. "We needed a woman", they say. Since then, a lot has changed. From the initial "quotas" of 25% representation on electoral lists, the figures rose to 30%, then 33%, before finally achieving full parity. "Between 1999/2000 and 2004, everything moved very quickly," he says. She was not a "female Zapatero"; she was a symbol of integration between the sectors. And she still is. Her name was even put forward as a possible alternative to Susana Díaz.

The presidency of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, held for 30 years by Ramón Rubial, is a symbolic post. Ms. Navarro has now been honoured with that position. She knows the real executive power lies with the secretary general, Pedro Sánchez, whom the PSOE elected through an internal process on 13 July 2014. Mr. Sánchez is 42 years old and has a party to rebuild. Micaela Navarro, at 57, has the credibility that comes with having pushed through a change that very few women are ready to relinquish. She is counting on that strength in her bid to seek forgiveness for the poor decisions made by the socialists during these years of crisis.



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ABOUT

Micaela Navarro was born in 1956 in Andalusia. She received her first wages at the age of 11 and harvested olives for 30 years. Once a child care worker, she became a member of the PSOE in 1991, before joining the municipal council of Andujar in the province of Jaén the same year. Since then, she has been a deputy, senator and president of the party at both regional and federal level.



ED MILIBAND THE UNITED KINGDOM'S HOPE FOR CHANGE

Ed Miliband's political outlook is driven by classic social democratic values – equality, social justice, and social cohesion as a means to tackle the country's inner divisions. He hopes citizens will realise that he is in politics for the right reasons: to change things, not just run things.



by Moritz Pfeifer

Ed Miliband grew up in a family whose lives were profoundly altered by the failure of politics in Europe. Both his parents arrived in Britain as Jewish refugees from the Holocaust. His father, Ralph Miliband, became a prominent Marxist professor and was active in the New Left movement of the 1960s. In his first book, *Parliamentary Socialism*, he argued that socialism could never be achieved through Parliamentary means. Ralph abandoned the Labour Party before his sons were born. He died in 1994, shortly before Tony Blair became Labour leader, and was sceptical about his sons' part in shaping what would become known as New Labour. The same year, Ed's older brother David became Tony Blair's Head of Policy. Although Ed knew that his father would strongly disagree with some of Labour's policies, he recalls that he encouraged him to draw his own conclusions. "My father taught me always to be true to myself and stand up for what I believe", he says.

Born in 1969, Miliband grew up in the midst of the European-wide student protest movements. His mother Marion was an early activist in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and is still a leading member of the Jews for Justice for Palestinians group. Unlike her husband Ralph,

she remained in the Labour Party, and has perhaps been the greater influence on her sons' political development. "From my mother I learned the importance of not accepting the world as it is, but getting engaged and fighting for change", he affirms. Marc Stears, a politics fellow at the University of Oxford remarks: "There's no doubt that Ed got a lot of his drive from Marion and a lot of his feel for nitty-gritty grassroots politics from her too." David and Ed's background accelerated their engagement with Labour politics. As a teenager, Ed spent a summer doing work experience for Tony Benn, then a senior Labour left-winger. Benn would later thank him by backing his leadership campaign.

STRIVING FOR CHANGE

Margaret Thatcher sparked Miliband's interest in politics. He was only 9 years old when she was elected in 1979, but he remembers how the elections were greeted with dismay by his parents and many of their friends. "It was during Thatcher's government that I became aware of the big issues at stake in 1980s Britain – the role of government and markets, rising unemployment and widening inequality. I have radically different values and convictions but we did share this belief: politics at its best can change countries and the world in important and lasting ways."

Key Points

- Ed Miliband comes from an academic and politically active Jewish family who emigrated to the UK as refugees from the Holocaust.
- He was the first Labour Leader to have the authority to pick his own Shadow Cabinet.
- Milliband is determined that Britain not only remains part of Europe but takes a leading role in reforming it.

The drive to change his country would become a decisive incentive for Miliband's political engagement. After studying Philosophy, Politics and Economics at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and graduating in Economics from the LSE, Miliband left academia for a brief career in the media. He worked as research assistant on Channel 4, which is known for attracting left-wing audiences. But he wanted to be more than a spectator and commentator on the events of his era. "I wanted to be involved in shaping them in whatever way I could." In 1993, Harriet Harman, who then was the Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury, called Andrew Rawnsley to ask if he would recommend the bright, young, left-wing man who had worked with him at Channel 4. Miliband joined the Labour's frontbench Treasury team as an economic researcher the same year. The only time Miliband left politics since then was for a year when he taught economics at Harvard University's Centre for European Studies. "I loved doing it but, again, I felt the pull of politics and the chance of bringing real change to people's lives was too great to resist." Two years later, back home in the United

Kingdom, Miliband got elected as an MP for Doncaster North before becoming a minister and ultimately leader of the Labour Party.

FROM MAN OF LETTERS TO MAN OF THE PEOPLE

Miliband often states that he was not particularly bookish when talking about his past, and prefers to emphasize that activism and mobilising people got him into politics more than academia. Nevertheless, his participation in civic organizations or community activism does not quite yet match the amount of time he spent cultivating intellectual skills and analytical expertise. His story parallels that of many political leaders of his generation. Like David Cameron, who is only 4 years older, Miliband gained work experience primarily in reading rooms, first as a student and researcher, then as an adviser and professional scholar.

Today, however, Miliband considers it his most important privilege to meet people and hear their stories. "Most people in Britain are treading water, working harder and harder just to stay afloat, less secure about their future. People have made huge sacrifices, but only the wealthiest seem to



© Labour Party

“LABOUR HAS A PLAN TO MAKE A FUTURE THAT WORKS FOR EVERYDAY PEOPLE AND TURN DECISIVELY AWAY FROM A **TORY GOVERNMENT FOR THE PRIVILEGED FEW.**”

be doing well”, he acknowledges. He believes that the fundamental Labour values of social justice are crucial for overcoming widening social inequalities. But since the 2008 financial crash, the Labour Party has had to rethink what it means to be a progressive party and how to achieve its goals. “Labour has a plan to make a future that works for everyday people and turn decisively away from a Tory government for the privileged few by creating an economy which rewards hard work not just wealth, privilege and power, investing in the National Health Service not running it down and privatizing it”, Miliband says. He already managed to unite his party and clear up the internal disagreements of its members when he became its Leader in 2010, defeating his brother by 1.3%. Now he wants to reunite his divided country. “I want to build a country that brings people together rather than divides people”, he says.

A STRONG BRITAIN FOR A STRONG EUROPE

After doubling its number of MEPs in London as a result of the European election in May 2014, and making capital gains during the local elections the same month, Labour is confident for the general elections which will be held in May 2015. “There is further to go but I believe we are in a position where we can win the general election,” Miliband said shortly after the local elections. While he sees the big campaign issues concentrating around its domestic concerns, Europe and the European Union may also play a role, especially with the UK’s possible referendum on EU membership and the UKIP scapegoating the EU for the country’s problems.

Miliband is determined that Britain not only remains part of Europe but takes a leading role in reforming it. “There needs to be serious changes to its budget, to the balance of power between Brussels and the member states, and to the rules by which it operates”, he says. The path David Cameron has chosen to achieve change cannot work according to Miliband. He suggests that Cameron is running scared of UKIP and the ‘withdrawalists’ in his own party, threatening the EU with an exit to get what he wants. To counter Cameron’s Euroscepticism, Miliband has appointed Pat McFadden as Labour’s new shadow minister for Europe on October 20. “I wan to make a hard-headed, patriotic case for both Britain in Europe and for change in Europe so that it works for working people”, McFadden said upon his appointment. In a speech Miliband gave to Labour’s annual conference in September 2014, he underlined his commitment to the EU: “Our future lies inside not outside the European Union.”



© Amanda Searle

ABOUT

Edward Samuel «Ed» Miliband was born in London on 24 December, 1969. Miliband entered politics as a Labour Party researcher, before rising to become one of Gordon Brown’s confidants. From 2008 to 2010 Miliband held a position as the new post of Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change. Later in 2010, he was elected Leader of the Labour Party.

LEARN FROM GERMANY?

Not the way you probably think...

In its early years, Communist East Germany had a guiding motto: Von der Sowjetunion lernen heißt siegen lernen. Literally: to learn from the Soviet Union is to learn to be a victor, or, more colloquially perhaps, learning from the Soviet Union will put us on the winning track. Well, we all know how that turned out.



by Andrew Watt



© Bundesregierung/Jesco Denzel

“IN HISTORICAL TERMS AND COMPARED WITH COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE SINGLE CURRENCY AREA, **GERMANY’S PERFORMANCE IS RATHER MEDIOCRE.**”

In recent years there has been a clamour of voices telling Europe that “learning from Germany” will put it on a winning track. And it is easy

to see why the country is currently so often seen as a model. The European economy as a whole – particularly the southern periphery, but increasingly also France and Italy – are locked in crisis or stagnation. Meanwhile, Germany has, at 4.9%, the second-lowest unemployment rate in the EU, employment is at record levels, the public budget is balanced, its economy seen as highly competitive (as evidenced by substantial export surpluses), and Germans enjoy rising living standards.

Indeed, politicians and many economists from all parts of the continent have repeated a story like a mantra, and it goes like this: Germany had become complacent, sclerotic and expensive in the years following unification. But it did not seek EU hand-outs like the southern Europeans have recently done. Instead, it shook up its labour markets and welfare state with “tough love” structural reforms, kept a tight hold on public finances, regained competitiveness, and is now reaping the fruits of its labours. Deficit countries should stop whin-

ing and follow the same liberal reform path if they, too, want to get back on the winning track. It may be popular, but this story is wrong, incomplete and misleading on a number of different levels.

ALL THAT GLITTERS IS NOT GOLD

Germany’s current labour market and economic performance is impressive, but the improvement is recent and holds primarily in comparison with the disaster happening in the rest of the euro area. In historical terms and compared with countries outside the single currency area, its performance is rather mediocre.

Weaknesses also quickly emerge once you look below the surface. Many of the newly created jobs have been part-time and poorly paid – hardly surprising given that the opening up of a low-wage labour market was an explicit goal of the Hartz reforms of the early 2000s. As a result, Germany’s low-wage sector has become one of the largest in Europe, the performance in terms of working hours has been much less impressive than the increase in the number of jobs (in fact total hours have fallen), and Germany has seen one of the most pronounced rises in inequality of all the OECD countries. Average real wages declined over a sustained period, depressing living

Key Points

- The good performance of Germany must be taken with a grain of salt, and not only be observed in the current European context.
- Part of Germany’s performance is due to the expansion of what has become one of the largest low-wage markets in Europe.
 - However, other European countries should be inspired by Germany’s high levels of regional cohesion, common labour market rules bans on tax and regulatory competition, centralised banking supervision and deposit insurance, as well as its country-wide welfare state and substantial inter-regional fiscal transfers.



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standards. Last but not least, net public investment was persistently negative, creating a substantial capital-spending backlog, leading to increasing problems with public infrastructure and in the delivery of public services, and weakening potential output. In all these important regards, Germany is not to be considered a model at all.

REASONS FOR (RELATIVE) SUCCESS MISPERCEIVED

To the extent that Germany can nevertheless be considered a (relative) success, the next question is whether it were really neoliberal structural reforms that did the trick. Wage moderation was certainly exacerbated by the Hartz reforms, as the Damocles' sword of a rapid fall from a high-skilled, well-paying job to means-tested

social benefit and complete loss of social status hung over workers, weakening the wage-setting hand of unions even in firms and sectors making large profits. But unions and employers – faced with high unemployment and with little scope under EU rules for demand stimulus – had already embarked on a policy of wage moderation prior to those reforms. They intensified an already present trend – and arguably caused it to overshoot.

Secondly, the structural reforms story ignores or downplays other explanations. The most obvious is that Germany, with its well-known production specialisation in sophisticated capital goods and high-end consumer durables such as automobiles, was in a prime position to benefit from the in-

vestment and consumer boom in emerging markets that followed the crisis of the late 1990s. Simultaneously, countries in southern Europe were feeling heightened competitive pressure in their preferred segments (less sophisticated manufactured consumer goods), as countries like China, India, Brazil – not least thanks to the import of German capital goods – moved up the value-chain.

Third, the standard “learn from Germany!” admonition implies that Germany reformed its labour markets while other countries sat on their hands. What is the evidence for this? A look at the European Commission’s labour market reforms database, for instance, shows that Germany conducted 98 labour market reforms between 1999



“GERMANY’S LOW-WAGE SECTOR HAS BECOME **ONE OF THE LARGEST IN EUROPE.**”

investment in capital and skills associated with it – that were the institutional drivers of success, not the ease of hiring and firing or contractual flexibility. Indeed, in the crisis, it was the exact opposite of rapid hire and, especially, fire that was a key ingredient for the relatively successful adjustment of the German labour market: working time flexibility – in annualised company accounts and also via the statutory short-time working scheme, substantially enhanced in the face of the crisis – absorbed much of the labour market shock, and permitted a swift return to production once global demand picked up in 2010.

IF ONLY WE COULD RUN A TRADE SURPLUS WITH MARS

There is another, much more fundamental reason why Germany cannot serve as a role model for other European countries: such a recommendation suffers from a logical error, a fallacy of composition. Germany achieved a historically unprecedented degree of nominal wage moderation during the 2000s (in which, as we have seen, neoliberal reforms played a certain role). Thanks to the creation of the euro this competitive advantage was not wiped out by currency revaluation as would have happened under the Deutschemerk: the effect was directed against Germany’s euro area trading partners, but there was also an indirect competitive effect vis-à-vis overseas trading partners in that the euro did not revalue against these other coun-

tries as much as the Deutschemerk would have done. As a result, German exports rose from around one third to fully half of GDP. For years, German domestic demand contracted or stagnated; the increase in output recorded by the country came exclusively via rising net exports. The current account surplus accordingly widened dramatically, reaching more than 7% of GDP prior to the crisis.

This development path and the (limited) employment-policy success it generated after years of “relative disinflation” was only possible because other euro area countries (and some other trading partners) were, for a time, willing and able to run corresponding trade deficits and take on the debt that this implies. It would have been logically impossible for the other countries to have pursued the same strategy as Germany when it was busy regaining domestic equilibrium while becoming increasingly unbalanced in foreign trade terms. Which country outside the euro area would have accepted the implied massive trade deficits implied by the whole euro area pursuing such a strategy (especially given that China was on a similar course, and the USA were playing the role of “consumer of last resort” and running up ultimately unsustainable current account deficits)? In any case, given area-wide wage moderation the euro would have appreciated against world currencies snuffing out any export-led expansion. Short of running a

and 2008. Impressive! But then Greece managed 65, Portugal 67. France matched the German figure, while Italy (105) and Spain (132) comfortably exceeded it. Clearly, these numbers do not tell us much about the qualitative importance of the reforms conducted in different countries, which requires further study, but the idea that Germany reformed labour markets while others simply did not is an ideological claim that does not stand up to even perfunctory scrutiny.

Lastly, in the export-oriented industrial companies that drove the German recovery, it was if anything the traditions of corporatism and social partnership – especially *Mitbestimmung* (worker codetermination) and the longer-term orientation in terms of

trade surplus with Mars this can never be a viable option.

Maybe so, the critics insist, but now Germany can act as a locomotive, and if the crisis countries unflinchingly reform their economies, drive down costs and wages and deflate domestic demand, they can play the German game and, some day, will reap the benefits. This is not entirely unreasonable; at least it does not suffer from a logical fallacy. However, it ignores the fact that Germany is not playing – and, more importantly, apparently refuses to play – the counterpart role: to deliver high domestic-demand-driven growth, and unit labour cost and price growth above the ECB target inflation rate, enabling the crisis countries to boost their economies through the trade channel by gaining relative competitiveness, without engaging in actual brutal and costly deflation. Put another way, Germany pursued a relative disinflation in the context of booming external demand and average inflation that was if anything somewhat above the ECB target. Disingenuous voices are now calling on crisis countries to follow the same strategy in an environment in which sales markets are sluggish if not actually stagnating, the financial sector is impaired and aggregate inflation is less than half the ECB target (core inflation) and even perilously close to actual deflation (the headline rate). At best, this is like a general seeking to avoid the mistakes of the last war, and adopting a tactic that leads to another disaster because the world has since changed. At worst, it is a cynical ploy to bring about liberal “reforms” that commentators desire for other reasons.

Does this mean, then, that the crisis countries and Europe have nothing to learn from

“THE IDEA THAT GERMANY REFORMED LABOUR MARKETS WHILE OTHERS SIMPLY DID NOT IS **AN IDEOLOGICAL CLAIM.**”

Germany? No. Firstly, as indicated above, there are a number of corporatist institutions that, in Germany but with variations also in some other EU countries, increase efficiency and productivity, stabilise expectations and demand and thus contribute to better performance. Individual countries should consider whether some elements could be usefully imported (although care is needed in such endeavours given the vital role of institutional complementarities in national systems).

More important, however, is to change the analytical focus. The point is much less that individual countries might have something to learn from Germany, than that the euro area as a whole might do so. Let me just mention just the most obvious points. Germany manages relatively high levels of regional cohesion and (currently) low overall unemployment despite having, like the euro area, a regionally specialised production structure: for instance Frankfurt in financial services, Baden-Württemberg in engineering, the Rhineland in chemicals, and Hamburg in publishing and shipping. But Germany has, amongst many other elements, common labour market rules, bans on tax and regulatory competition, centralised banking supervision and deposit insurance, a country-wide welfare state and substantial inter-regional fiscal transfers. The real problems facing the euro area, which manifest themselves in a particularly pronounced way now in the current crisis countries, stem from the fact that, despite

a common currency and monetary policy, it lacks even rudimentary versions of these mechanisms in order to ensure balanced growth with social cohesion.

If Germany can serve as a role model at all, then it should primarily be in establishing missing features of this type, rather than passing neoliberal labour market reforms of dubious efficacy.



ABOUT

Andrew Watt is the Head of research of the *Institut für Makroökonomie und Konjunkturforschung* of the Hans Böckler Stiftung.


 REACTIONS
 

MADE IN GERMANY

by Andreas Schieder

In his analysis of Germany's relative economic success and the real reason for it, Andrew Watt lines out that the so-called structural story is not (or not the only) reason for the relative economic success of Germany. This is important if we want to draw lessons for the entire European Union. Other explanations include the investments and consumer booms in emerging markets, which have been used by Germany's specialized manufacturing economy. Also the German tradition of corporatism and social partnership in combination with its long-term orientation in education are important drivers of success. Mainstream economists forget this quite often. Lastly, Watt points out that "relative disinflation and the integration into the euro zone was also one reason of Germany's economic situation." Trade surplus also needs corresponding trade deficits (and budget deficits) in other European countries. If we want to learn from Germany, we have to underline that economic success was to a certain extent only possible at the cost of the other European nations.

What to do now? Europe, with a population of 500 million people, is the largest and strongest economy in the world. We have to understand this fact and use it as a global role model for labor rights, social security and ecological progress. Therefore, European disparities and global trade challenges can only be met by a policy that puts education, labor market security and strong middle and working class into the center. Fair income and wealth distribution are therefore at the top of the agenda.

If Europe wants to become a real integrated economy, we need to abolish all the loopholes in taxes and common market policy. We need efficient mechanisms of regional redistribution and a new industry policy. Facing the current growth problem of Europe and Germany, the most important step is more about (public and private) investment and (consumer) demand. This is the lesson that Germany and German mainstream austerity economists have to learn.

Andreas Schieder *is the Chairman of the SPÖ group in the Austrian Parliament*

AN UNCOOPERATIVE STRATEGY

by Jean-Marc Germain

I couldn't agree more with Andrew Watt's analysis, I could actually have written it myself. I might have stressed the growingly obvious limitations of Germany's success that we are seeing right now: there will doubtless be another drop in GDP in the next quarter which means that Germany is in recession and was probably not in such good shape to begin with. The German strategy to overcome the crisis was actually a strategy of leveling down: lowering wages, stealing market shares from its neighbours and under-investing to get its budget in order.

I would add two elements to this analysis: an important part of Germany's policy was the reduction of working hours, the massive use of short-time work. Weekly working hours dropped by one hour and a half, on average. Women's employment also went down in the crisis.

But there is another important point that is not mentioned and that is paramount to Germany's economic development: investment in research and development. While they didn't invest in their infrastructure, Germans have increased their R&D budgets from 2.2 percent of GDP to 2.8 or 2.9 percent over the last ten years. France, in comparison, went from 2.2 to 2.1 percent. Germany invested in innovation while France did the opposite. Germany's federal structure, the function of their regional banks, their capacity to support medium-sized companies and their cooperation model of *Mitbestimmung* could really be something to learn from – like the author says.

In my opinion, there are two important messages to take home: first, Germany's crisis exit strategy was implemented at the expense of its partners. Take the example of Agribusiness where the German low-wage sector that was created by the Hartz reforms helped push French companies out of business. Second, Germany should try to participate in a recovery on the European level, a strategy that aims at creating win-win situations instead of telling the other countries that they haven't done their homework.

Jean-Marc Germain *is a French Member of Parliament and Socialist Party official.*



END OF AUSTERITY?

A flawed EU discourse

by Ursula Barry & Conor McCabe

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On 15 July 2014 the then-candidate for President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude

Juncker, set out his agenda for Europe. It included a renewed focus on jobs, growth and investment which would be funded by up to €300 billion in private and public investment. His ideas included more broadband for Europe, more educa-

tion, youth guarantee and energy fields, references to wind turbines and on-line purchasing rules.

Juncker himself has stated that 'democratic legitimacy' suffered under the present crisis, as many new financial instruments had to be created outside the legal framework of the European Union. There is no effective attempt to address this lack of 'democratic legitimacy' under the proposed plan. In practice, the concentration of pow-

er has been in the institutional financial system and few resources have been put in place to address the damaging impact of austerity across the EU. No financial transaction tax has been introduced as a means to begin to generate resources that are urgently needed. Gender equality and social inclusion, which were partially on the EU agenda in the early 2000s, have been displaced and important equality infrastructure has been dismantled or disempowered in different countries.

“THERE IS A DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT AT THE HEART OF EUROPE, AND **BETTER BROADBAND IS NOT GOING TO SOLVE IT.**”

The discourse that lies at the heart of Juncker’s vision for the EU is that we are at the end of the austerity era. Few things are further from the truth. We are in an era shaped by the consequences of austerity, and nothing in Juncker’s thinking confronts this reality. The crisis years, under pressure from corporate finance and industrial capital, have been used by different States to systematically weaken systems of social protection, labour laws, equality infrastructure and anti-poverty programmes and, by the ECB, to impose mounting levels of unsustainable debt on ‘bail-out’ countries.

In Ireland, just last week we have witnessed the embarrassing spectacle of our prime minister begging the IMF to do us a great favour - to allow us to repay our debt earlier than originally planned. The IMF kindly agreed to that - so the Irish government was then able to borrow at less than half the penalising interest rate of nearly 5% charged by the IMF. In an even more shameful development, Ireland was one of only 11 countries to vote last month against a UN motion to regulate opportunistic debt purchasing vulture funds and for debt cancellation for countries in debt crisis

– 124 countries voted in favour – most other EU countries abstained. This, by a country whose debt levels rose by nearly 300% over the crisis years, compared to 75% in Greece and 59% in Spain.

There is nothing of a social Europe in Juncker’s thinking. Where are the initiatives to prevent the growing use of zero-hours contracts across the EU? Where is the

proposal for a financial transactions tax, for a maximum income policy, for legalising the undocumented, for a social housing programme, for prioritising care and addressing disadvantage? Are these so-called new investments funds to be accompanied by contract compliance agreements that put gender representation and equality of access at their centre? Nothing is more unlikely.



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ABOUT

Ursula Barry and Conor McCabe are respectively Deputy Head of School and Research Fellow at University College Dublin’s School of Social Justice.



DOES EUROPE HAVE THE ENERGY *to address its fuel poverty challenges?*

Although there is no clear and common European definition of energy poverty, the issue and its severe health consequences are largely recognised by the EU. Between 50 and 125 million European citizens are in energy poverty, while energy prices for households and businesses continue to increase. Queries asked representatives of the EU Fuel Poverty Network, the European Parliament, and Schneider Electric to share their perspectives on the issue.



Interviews by Sam Davies



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The point of view of an NGO

THE DATA PROBLEM BEHIND ENERGY POVERTY



by Harriet Thomson, EU Fuel Poverty Network

Energy costs are a poverty trap. If you're a lower-income household in poor quality housing then it's really expensive to heat your house and you don't have the capital to renovate. You can't escape those energy bills because they keep rising.

On a basic level energy poverty means people not being able to afford basic energy services, for heating, lighting and basic appliances.

England has adopted a new, more complicated two-step definition, whereby fuel poverty occurs when households are required to spend more than the national median on fuel bills, and after this expenditure, their residual income is lower than the 60% poverty line.

Outside of the UK, in Ireland it is the inability to achieve adequate warmth due to energy inefficiency in the house, while in France it means you encounter difficulties in relation to energy supplies, due to inadequate financial resources or housing conditions.

THREE AREAS THAT NEED ACTION

My three points to address energy poverty would be to improve data, come up with a broad definition at an EU-level, and improve energy efficiency.

In the UK we have a rough idea of the characteristics of the fuel poor. It's especially a problem in the private rented sector. There's no motivation for a landlord to improve the house, and the tenant wouldn't have the capital. There is a lot of stigma attached to it, with people not wanting to admit they are having trouble.

As a researcher, it's frustrating the data just isn't available on who is fuel poor and suffering. We are relying on very weak data such as self-recorded surveys. I would really like to see an expansion of existing surveys to get a better understand of what is happening.

There have been calls for a pan-European definition but the EC has just ruled it out, saying it's a national competence issue. They don't want to even define the problem. Anecdotal evidence suggests some member states are reluctant to admit energy poverty exists in their country.

EU NEEDS COORDINATED APPROACH

EU Directives concerning the internal gas and electricity markets have acknowledged that energy poverty is a problem and have said nation-states should come up with an action plan, but haven't provided guidance on how to identify which households are affected by it. As it has just concentrated on gas and electricity

markets, it excludes alternative fuels, such as firewood, as widely used in Hungary, heating oil, and district heating.

Responsibility gets passed around government. Ideally you'd have coordinated action between health, housing and energy policy. But in policy terms this is very difficult. You can target the pricing, but that's only a short-term solution. If you give a subsidy or a cheaper tariff, that doesn't address the issue that they are living in a poorly insulated house, and/or using inefficient appliances.

I think community-based renewable energy is going to be an important element in the future, such as biomass community heating systems, and other localised forms of generating electricity. This is happening around Europe. Austria, Germany and Belgium are all good at district heating systems that use biomass.

But really, the most long-term effective route is to retrofit house stock. In France they have a cheap loans system, eco-PTZ, a subsidised loan scheme to improve the energy efficiency of their home, and there is a similar scheme in Germany. However, there is still a significant jump needing to be made that will require support.

ABOUT

Harriet Thomson is a PhD student at the University of York, where she conducts research in collaboration with National Energy Action, and founder of the EU Fuel Poverty Network.

The point of view of the S&D group in the European Parliament

THE ISSUE OF ENERGY POVERTY CANNOT BE ADDRESSED IN ISOLATION



© DR



by Kathleen Van Brempt, Belgian MEP

The starting point is the word itself, the ‘poverty’ of energy. It’s when households and individuals don’t have decent, affordable access to energy.

For the IEA, energy poverty is a lack of access to modern energy services. This definition points to access, as well as to modernity, meaning energy that is sustainable and clean.

Indeed, energy poverty is very much connected with energy efficiency, and clean fuel and sustainable energy. There used to be a contradiction of sorts, where climate change was in contradiction with economic policy, but it’s no longer the case. These are common goals, and all need to be considered as being interlinked.

A second point is that people are fed up they must pay for renewable energy that is not affordable. However, the real problem is that coal and nuclear are subsidised so much. So don’t tell people the reason they have trouble paying their bills is because of renewable energy.

A STRONGER VOICE FOR ACTION

The European level offers a stronger voice with which to address these issues, but also a more efficient way forward.

It’s important to get a decent definition of energy poverty policy at an EU level, because it’s very difficult to make policy investment measures if you don’t even know the magnitude and intensity of the problem.

There were so many good things in the EU Energy Roadmap 2050, and if you ask me what the EU should do, I would say implement the basic ideas from the roadmap. The roadmap investigated different options such as more nuclear, or lower carbon. These were called “no regrets” options, because if you did these it would be the cheapest, the cleanest way forward.

But the energy roadmap is only on paper. It’s a nice study with an awful lot of options. The EU has never taken a decision on this, there is no clear view on it.

RENOVATE AND RETROFIT

In the energy package, implemented in 2011, we included some issues on energy poverty, so it has not been neglected at the European level. These measures

gave people access to an energy ombudsman, and said energy providers could no longer cut access to vulnerable people.

There is still a lot of work to be done on energy labelling and also eco-design, but what’s had a huge effect is that customers can now switch very easily between energy suppliers. In Belgium we used to have very high prices compared to other states, because it was a monopoly. This has changed radically over the last few years and the price has dropped, which has had an effect on energy poverty.

Renovation and retrofitting are crucial. It would be a great driver of jobs, and jobs that cannot be delocalised. Jean-Claude Juncker has said he will make sure there is 300 billion euros in investment money in coming years, and maybe a portion of that could go towards renovations and retrofitting of housing in Europe. Such an investment would combine so many goals at the European level, from addressing climate change to creating jobs.

If you opt for a maximum of renewable energy and energy efficiency measures and minimise emissions, then you can do what’s needed to meet climate goals, and also will have affordable energy. Then you can start financing huge EU programs to renovate and retrofit buildings.

ABOUT

Belgian MEP Kathleen Van Brempt (S&D) is vice chair and is a member of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy



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The point of view of an energy company

TECHNOLOGY AND TRAINING ARE PART OF THE SOLUTION



by Gilles Vermot-Desroches, Schneider Electric

I f you'd asked me about energy poverty 10 years ago, I, and others, would have expressed that by now we would have found some ways to reduce it. But ten years later, the number of people suffering in Europe is growing. It's very far from the vision we had of the future.

Today we talk of two contradictory models of the future. The first model is that year after year the price of energy will increase, and the number of people who can afford to pay will reduce.

But under the Jeremy Rifkin model, year after year the price will reduce due to hav-

ing a lot more capacity. In this case, it's easier to solve the question.

It's a question of life, and state organisation. In fact, the question of fuel poverty is not the same country by country. Energy is very close to culture. In France (where there is one main electricity provider), the people's vision of equality means they have to have the same price for energy anywhere in the country, whether in the middle of big cities or in the countryside.

In the meantime, there are more than 1 000 energy companies in Germany, and it would be very difficult to imagine transposing the two systems between these two countries.

PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS ACCESS AND POVERTY

Over the last ten years, Schneider Electric has become recognised for sustainability in different areas. Indeed, understanding poverty and how we provide access to electricity is a key pillar of our sustainable development strategy.

When we speak of access to energy we have two different situations in developing and developed countries.

We provide a program of access to electricity in developing countries in Africa and Asia. There, we partner with people who have no access to electricity. One project, the 'BipBop' programme (Business, Innovation & People at the Base of the Pyramid), aims to provide training, investment, and specific solutions and business models.

Through this programme, we have trained more than 30,000 people each year in electricity skills for them to be able to install, develop, design, and repair energy management solutions. The programme

www.habitat-humanisme.org



“WE HAVE TRAINED MORE THAN 30,000 PEOPLE EACH YEAR IN ELECTRICITY SKILLS FOR THEM TO BE ABLE TO, INSTALL, DEVELOP, DESIGN, AND/OR REPAIR ENERGY MANAGEMENT SOLUTIONS.”

funds investments in local companies to give access to electricity, and thirdly, provides specific solutions, such as for solar lighting systems and mobile charging.

TECHNOLOGY IS ONLY PART OF THE ANSWER

The challenge in developed countries is that people have access to electricity but they still need to pay. We would like to provide our own technology to support these people and design our own programs and technological solutions to reduce and control household energy consumption.

For example, with ‘Wiser’, our energy management solution, you can control energy consumption with your mobile phone – it’s all about digitisation. When you can reduce your costs up to 30%, it adds up.

We are working very closely with NGOs and social entrepreneurs through partnerships on fuel poverty. With the Schneider Electric Foundation and La Varappe Group, we launched the ‘Emergency housing for all’ project, reusing shipping containers as energy efficient housing. The ‘Habitat et Humanisme’ group will install these around Lyon to house families in need.

In terms of working with the EU, we have a team in Brussels who shares the vision of Schneider Electric with regards to solutions. These solutions we implement provide a way to reduce energy consumption. We think people will be more able to reduce consumption when they have the tools to measure it.

We want to build a bridge between technology and involvement. We have never thought that technology will replace people, but it’s a tool to give opportunity. It’s not possible to think about energy transition without considering the will of the people. With technology we have a part of the answer, which is to involve people and give them the means to be more involved.

For example, this means implementing specific solutions to pilot energy consumption in new homes, which will make you more agile and able to reduce overall consumption.

ABOUT

Gilles Vermot-Desroches is the Sustainability Senior Vice President for Schneider Electric, and business representative for the National Council on Energy Transition in France.



LE PROGRÈS CE N'EST PAS DU VENT ENFIN SI

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A FAIR DEAL *from Fairtrade?*

A popular vision of Fairtrade is of smiling people in emerging countries earning a good living from a democratically-run cooperative. The only problem with this vision is that it is pure fantasy...



by Christopher Cramer & Deborah Johnson



Once a niche market, Fairtrade has become one of the most recognisable labels on our supermarket

shelves. Promising a fair price to the farmer for a commodity – such as coffee, tea, fruit or flowers – and an additional social premium for investment in local facilities, it has become a persuasive argument. From students to pensioners, many people buy Fairtrade products in the belief they are giving the poorest and most marginalised in developing countries a better life. However, our SOAS report earlier this year documents the true conditions of the

wageworkers who are actually the poorest people in Uganda (coffee and tea cooperatives) and Ethiopia (coffee coops and flower firms).

Our research looked at Fairtrade producer organizations, at smallholder farming that is not certified, and at larger scale producers – and our three main findings were as disturbing as they were unexpected: that wage employment is far more widespread than has previously been acknowledged; that wageworkers (whether working for successful Fairtrade 'smallholders', for the smallholder farmers supplying certified cooperatives but barely benefiting at all, or for other farmers who are not members of

Fairtrade certified producer organisations) are the poorest people in these areas; and, most significantly of all, that the wages on farms and processing stations in Fairtrade producer organisations are actually lower than the average – in some cases 60% below the median.

How did this situation come about? Equally importantly, what should consumers and authorities – at national and at EU level – be doing?

A TRICKLE OF HELP

A starting point is to consider the inherent limitations of Fairtrade. In a developing economy, farms and plantations often come together in cooperatives with



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“THE INTERESTS MOST STRONGLY REPRESENTED IN FAIRTRADE ARE PRODUCERS, **NOT WORKERS.**”

thousands of members. Hundreds of these primary cooperatives are typically affiliated to a regional cooperative union - which in some cases has Fairtrade certification. However, it is common for only a small percentage of a union's total production to be distributed through the Fairtrade channel (5% in the case of tea), since that is all the market can absorb. The 'trickle down' effect of Fairtrade prices at farm and plantation level is therefore very small. In short, any improvements in price of a tiny percentage of world commodity trade is spread very diffusely.

There are two further layers to consider, the first being that the interests most

strongly represented in Fairtrade are producers, not workers. And championing workers' rights may not be on their agenda. Fairtrade may well help to make a contribution to poverty reduction; but it does so as an unintended consequence of its promotion of a class of emerging rural capitalists. There may not be anything intrinsically wrong with promoting rural capitalism - though Fairtrade may be an inefficient way of doing this - but it is certainly not the message that appears on a Fairtrade label. Two other facts are also relevant. First, as commodity prices rose over a one or two-year period, the increases were not reflected in higher wages for workers. Second, different

farmers receiving the same price for their crops were paying different wages - and some who were perfectly able to pay better wages were simply not doing so. What's more, there is no regulation in this area, either by Fairtrade or the local authorities. In theory, Fairtrade has an audit process for farms - but in practice the audit checklist does not cover wages very effectively. It is also worth noting that, in our experience, 99.9% of workers (or indeed many of the producers) had never heard of Fairtrade - despite working in Fairtrade fields. Such people are also largely unaware of having any workers rights in the first place - and have very limited opportunities to enforce them.



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SHOULD CONSUMERS BE WORRIED?

The third layer to consider is that cooperatives are not the equitable organisations of popular imagination. Little has changed since Lenin described the rose-tinted vision of the Left regarding the tough, exploitative rural cooperatives of late 19th century Russia as: “A tale invented by kind-hearted people, but a tale nonetheless.” Even today, the benefits of a rural cooperative are a populist liberal-left fantasy. We found that Fairtrade (and other) cooperatives are typically highly unequal and hierarchical and that the benefits of Fairtrade flow to a minority of larger scale farmer-members. The original standards for Fairtrade’s Small Producer Organisations carried the explicit assumption that they were coffee farmers with a small plot of land relying almost exclusively on family labour, where the question of wage labour never arose. For

many SPOs today, this is simply not the case. Yet the pictures on Fairtrade labels still nurture an image of the farming family rather than wageworkers.

All of this begs a question: Should consumers have confidence in Fairtrade – or should they be wary? We believe they should be wary. We looked into what happens to the ‘social premium’ money given to a number of cooperatives and found, for example, that new toilet facilities had been built – for the exclusive use of the managers. Similarly, a contribution would be made for electrification along a road – where senior executives of a cooperative lived; funds would go toward the cost of a new school building – where the school either charged fees or where parents had to pay for uniforms and/or books, which effectively put it beyond the reach

of the poor. Consumers should know that only a percentage of the extra they pay will go back to a country and, within that country, only a very few people will benefit. So, what can be done?

BETTER CERTIFICATION

Clearly, there are important steps to be taken by Fairtrade itself. Certification should be reworked to include the provision of wages and working conditions at least equivalent to the best pay and conditions on similar farms in these producing areas. Consumers also need clearer product information about what buying Fairtrade actually does, and there has to be better monitoring of farms and plantations. There is also a challenge for local authorities, although it is hard for African governments to enforce labour legislation, while trade unions tend to be weak and

fragmented, which makes direct intervention difficult. It would be easier to take indirect action, for example, by trying to increase demand for labour and so making it in employers' interests to treat workers better. That tightening of demand could be achieved in several ways: by lifting productivity through infrastructure investments or making education compulsory and accessible, thereby taking many young people – girls in particular – out of the labour market.

For consumers, the challenge is to ask more questions of Fairtrade and similar certifying bodies. As 'ethical trade' has expanded and become more sophisticated, so consumers hoping to do the right thing need to ask more challenging questions. They might also want to consider an alternative – to spend as much as they can on the best quality. We do not know enough yet about the mechanism, but it is possible that to produce the very best quality coffee, for example, farmers need to look after the bushes better and try to raise productivity. Both those requirements, we suspect, seem to lead to more days of labour – which is what waged workers depend upon for survival – and better rates of pay.

As for governments, and the European Commission, conditions should be placed on the taxpayers' money they donate to the likes of Fairtrade. In the same way that incentives are used to steer industrial policy, so the donations, tax exemptions and NGO support that Fairtrade organisations receive should come with conditions about productivity improvements and the treatment of workers and at an absolute minimum about the provision of much more, and more accurate, information on wage employment, payments, and conditions. Currently, these rural cooperatives are asked to do very little, and the result is the egalitarian fantasy world we have today.

“99.9% OF WORKERS HAD NEVER HEARD OF FAIRTRADE – DESPITE WORKING IN FAIRTRADE FIELDS.”



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© Kevin Braim

ABOUT

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Deborah Johnston is a Reader in Development Economics at SOAS, specialising in African affairs and the political economy of agriculture and food.

CALL FOR SOLIDARITY

*Asylum, migration,
and integration policies in Europe*



FOCUS

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FIXING FICTION

The truth about migration to Europe

Throughout history, the ability for people to migrate has been a catalyst for societal transformation, reinvention, innovation. Migration has been a constant in the building of Europe. From trade, to music, to food, European culture has been moulded by neighbours near and far. How then with such a rich history, has solidarity for migration been broken down?



by Zakeera Suffee

Long before the global financial crisis, attitudes towards migration had turned sour, with the spotlight particularly on those seeking

protection. What once was the language of the far right has now become the mainstream, despite the pressing need for a younger labour force undeniably made up from migrants. This issue of Queries seeks to understand whether solidarity for migration has been extinguished or whether Europe can reignite the flame.

Migration is as broad as Europe itself. Not only do issues associated with migration vary from country to country, but the topic is as complex as the human body. Where the human body is made of different organs with different needs, migration too is made of different elements that require different

perspectives. The type of migration or movement undertaken will often dictate how states react, and will have a clear consequence on the economic socio-political make-up of the host country, as well as access to rights for the migrants themselves. Understanding the differences within migration will allow us to explore why the prevailing attitudes towards migration have influenced policy, and allow us to question why such a complex issue is treated with simple and inaccurate disdain.

There is a political crisis in Europe. Many people have become disillusioned with the mainstream parties, leading the way for more fringe parties to gain momentum. This has resulted in an attack on immigration, on a foreign workforce and those seeking protection. Migrants are seen as a threat, not just to security, but to the European way of life, but why now has immigration become an

issue? The first inquiry in this edition looks at the history of modern European migration, the role of European colonialism and the current relations with Europe's neighbours. Benjamin Stora, the Director of the Cité de l'Immigration in Paris, frames the modern European history of migration, and highlights through this perspective the need to reverse the negative trend set by fringe anti-immigration parties.

WHY MIGRATION AT ALL?

In a joint interview with Elizabeth Collett, Director of MPI Europe and MEP Juan Fernando Lopez-Aguilar, we see what processes have allowed migration towards Europe, and whether it remains a viable alternative to the 'American Dream', despite the impact of the global financial crisis.

Undeniably, Europe's ability to attract workers will depend on how it responds to the

latest wave of anti-immigration sentiment. Disregarding the need for a younger labour force, this discourse begins with a curb to immigration, then with a view to stop the process completely. These perspectives are not rare, and are found in some major European Union countries that question the need to offer protection to the vulnerable amid an overarching focus on “security”. What tools have been available to the EU to handle migration flows? Have they suffered from the prevailing anti-immigration perspective? Do they respond to the needs and rights of workers, or just emphasise this restrictive agenda? In our inquiry and the essay by Luiz Miguel Pariza Castaños, we will explore whether this lack of solidarity has led to European doors closing to migrants, and what impact this will have for the future.

This inward looking perspective has inspired not only restrictive migration policies, but has suddenly devalued one of four freedoms which underpin the European Union, freedom of movement. In an interview, Annemarie Muntz, Director Group Public Affairs at Randstad Holdings explores the need for labour migration, the ability for workers to move throughout the European Union and whether hostility towards mobility has affected the rights of foreign workers.

BORDERING UP SOLIDARITY

Europe’s need for labour migration is evident; the need to offer protection is not. Can Europe reconcile the negative attitudes towards those who have no choice to migrate, with the responsibility to have their fundamental right be protected? Looking at forced migration, it is clear that Europe’s response to refugees is very different to its response to asylum seekers, yet often the European public are unaware of these differences. The rights accorded to refugees, protected by international law, mean

that they are, at least on paper entitled to access essential services, but massive variances between countries remain. For asylum seekers, there is no international protection instrument. The European Union has attempted to harmonise the legal response between countries but still has a long way to go.

Michael Diedring, Director of European Council on Refugees and Exiles, describes the problems in gaining access to the asylum procedure, the difficulties in receiving quality legal assistance and the possibility of detention in many EU countries while the application process is underway. These obstacles are also beautifully portrayed in Bruce Goodison’s film *Leave to Remain*, which follows the life of a young boy seeking asylum in the UK, and his response to the situation.

By exploring the Common European Asylum System, and highlighting the gaps where countries need to focus attention, we can see where Europe has attempted to respond to the problems. Ultimately, the lack of political will in the varying EU Member States means that this response can be diluted, and again shifts towards security. Is there a pandering towards the fringe anti-immigrant parties and their policy recommendations? Is the rhetoric genuinely impactful on decisions at the political level? What can this mean for migrants themselves? The EuropeWatch section explores exactly this, and asks how solidarity towards immigrants, in particular asylum seekers’ rights have been discussed and voted on in the European Parliament since the new MEPs have taken office.

INTERNAL REFLECTION, EXTERNAL WISDOM

Looking from the European level at integration presents a variety of complex issues, which ultimately affect migrants, and Euro-

pean citizens themselves. Yves Pascouau, Director of Migration and Mobility Policies at the European Policy Centre explores the EU competence in the field of integration and the non-legislative bodies which foster the coordination of EU Member State policies. Providing a more local perspective Sarah Walker, researcher at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society looks at how these policies interplay within a school learning environment and how different schools across the European Union have prioritised integration at an early age.

Whilst analysing European policy, we can learn much from those outside Europe too. The world is not flocking to Europe alone; there is a rich mix of migratory paths forming from which lessons can be drawn. The Beyond Europe section offers three unique perspectives on migration from countries with similar and very different challenges; those countries are South Korea, Australia, and Switzerland.

Whatever will be the political makeup of the European Institutions, or the political rhetoric in the European Member States, what is known is that migration will not go away. Whether responding to a demand for labour, or answering the call to a friend in need, Europe will be changing. Embracing this change will not be easy, but it is certain that without it, life would be much harder.

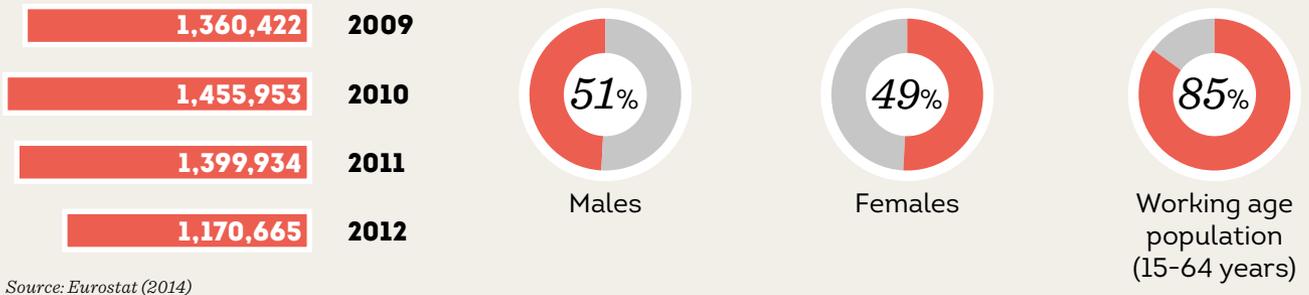
ABOUT

Zakeera Suffee holds an MSc in Migration, Mobility and Development from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. She has since worked for the European Council on Refugees and Exiles, and the Norwegian Refugee Council.

THE NUMBERS ARE IN

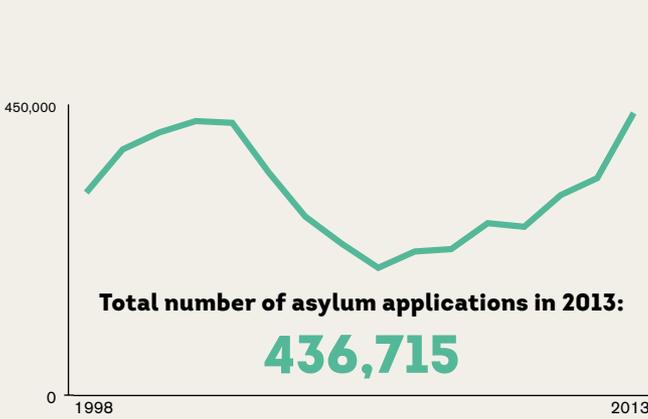
Immigration and asylum in the EU

IMMIGRATION OF NON-EU NATIONALS



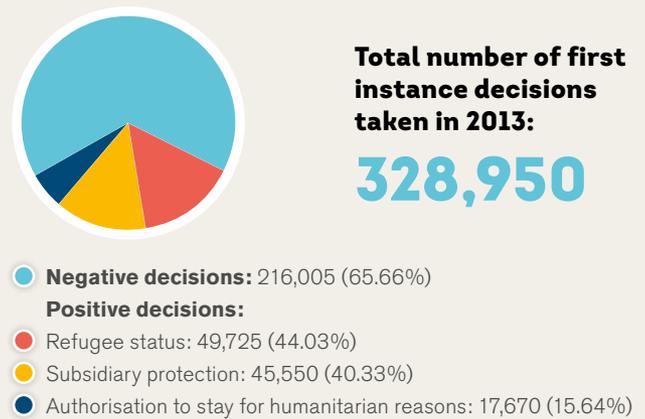
Source: Eurostat (2014)

ASYLUM APPLICATIONS IN 2013



Source: Eurostat (2014)

DECISIONS ON ASYLUM APPLICATIONS IN 2013

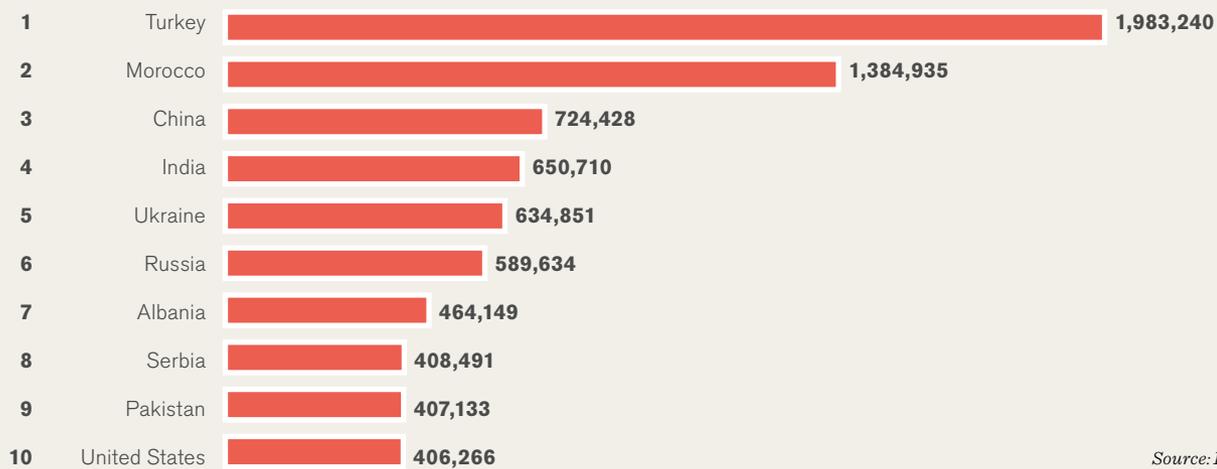


Source: Eurostat (2014)

TOP 10 COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN OF NEWLY ARRIVED NON-EU NATIONALS TO THE EU

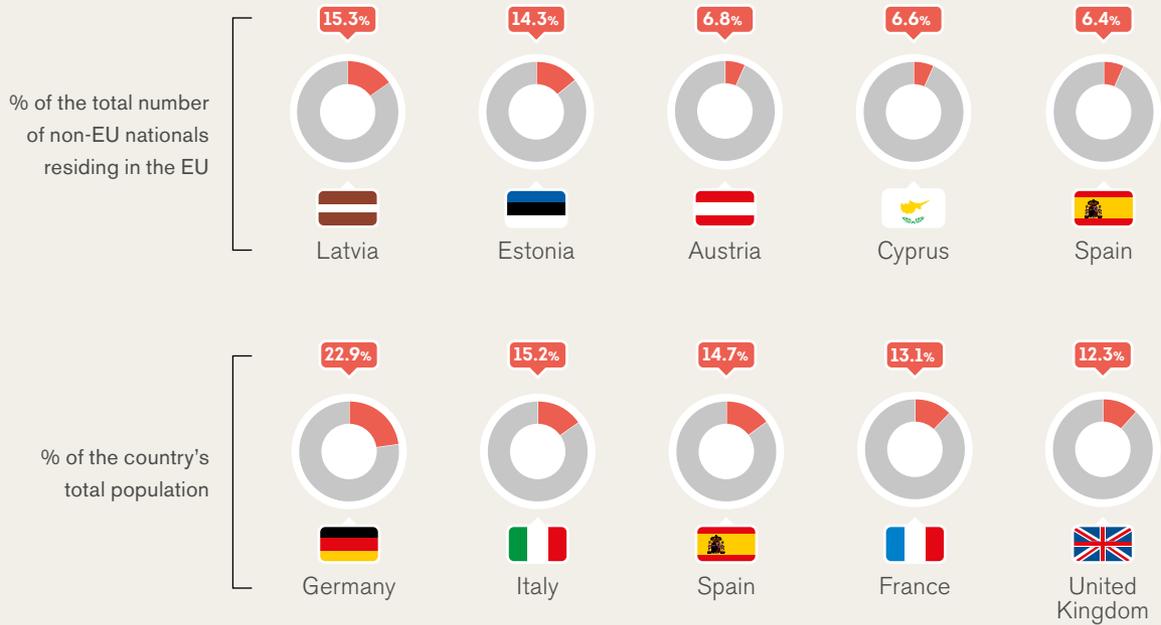


TOP 10 COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN OF NON-EU NATIONALS RESIDING IN THE EU



Source: Eurostat (2014)

TOP 5 COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION OF NON-EU NATIONALS IN 2013



RESIDENCE PERMITS ISSUED TO NON-EU NATIONALS

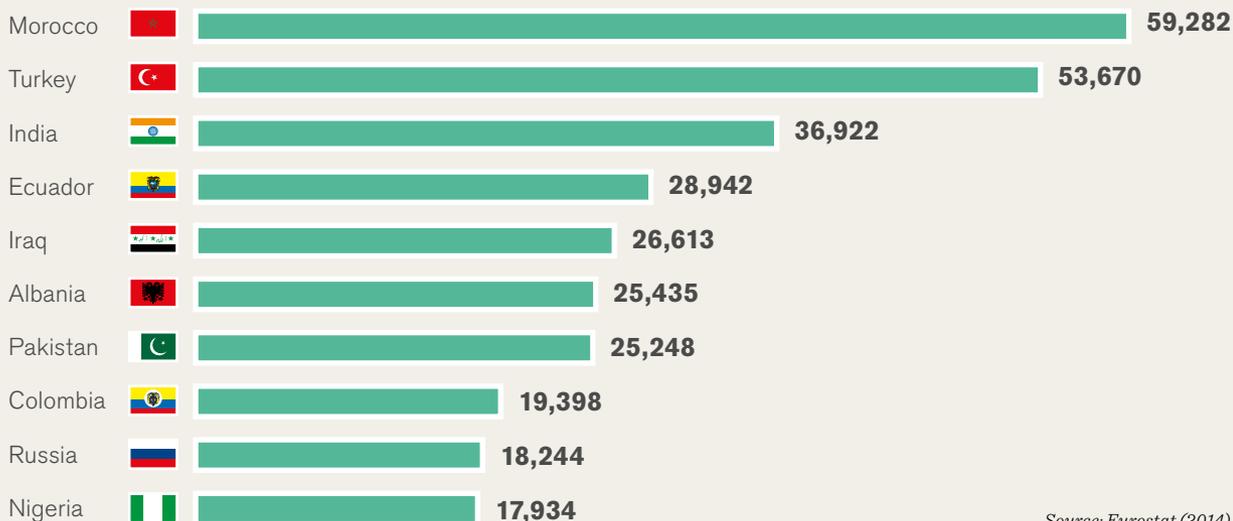


In 2012, these permits were issued:



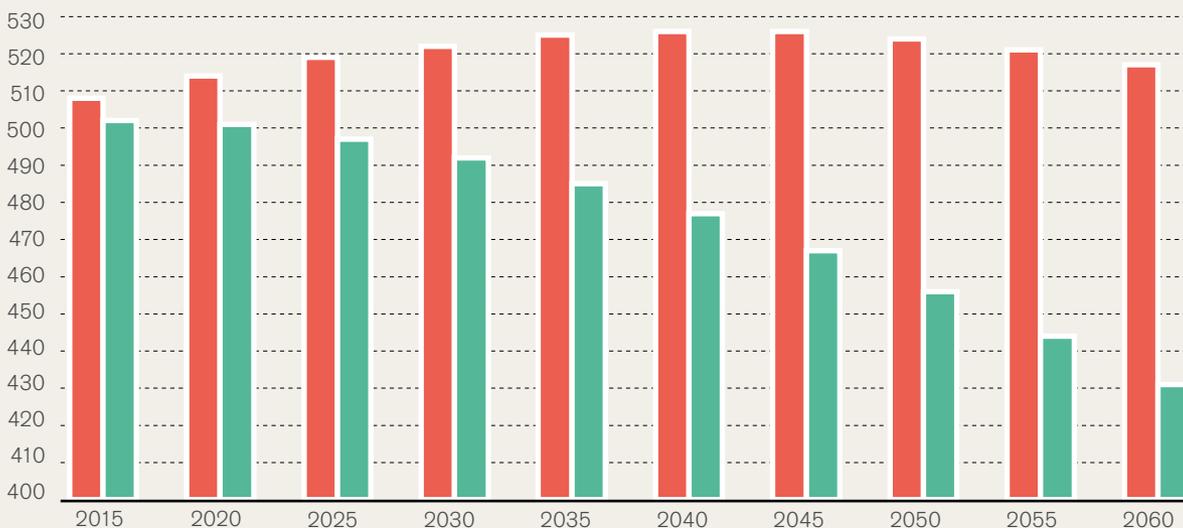
CITIZENSHIP ACQUIRED BY NON-EU NATIONALS IN AN EU STATE

In 2012, 695,810 non-EU nationals acquired the citizenship of an EU State, with the countries of origin with the most non-EU nationals receiving citizenship being:



Source: Eurostat (2014)

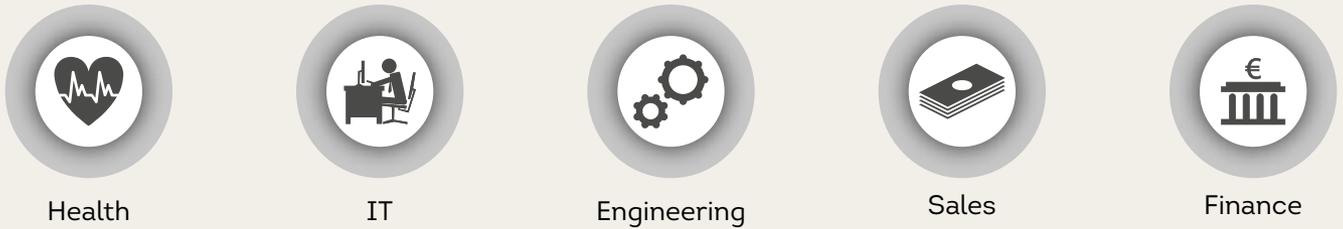
POPULATION PROJECTIONS IN THE EU



● Population change with migration ● Natural change in population without migration

EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN THE EU

Top occupations with labour shortages



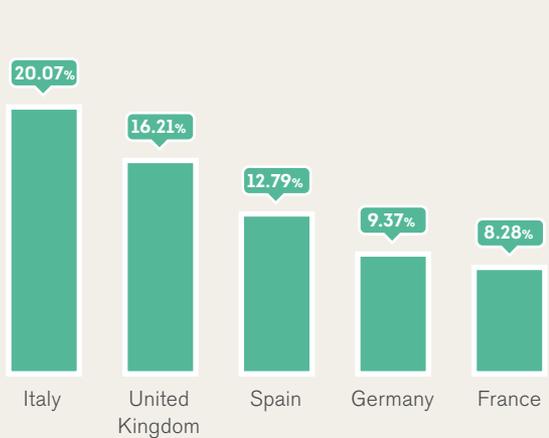
Source: European Vacancy & Recruitment Report (2012)

EU ACTION

Evolution of the total amount of the EIF (European Fund for the Integration of non-EU immigrants)



Top 5 countries that received the largest part of the EIF in 2013



Source: DG Home Affairs (2013)

IMMIGRATION: THE NEED FOR A COMBINED APPROACH

EU Member States need to agree a clear policy on immigration and asylum – a policy that includes the resources needed for its deployment. The tragedy of migrants who lose their lives during perilous journeys across the Mediterranean must be brought to an end. Controlled immigration is a resource, not a threat to the EU.



by Gianni Pittella

The Eurostat report show that immigration to the EU fell during 2010-12 and that 65% of asylum requests in 2013 were refused. Yet

the perception among many EU citizens is that immigration is not effectively controlled. Immigration is a complex phenomenon and, like all complex phenomena, it requires different actions to be carried out at different levels. To start with, there is an underlying perception – both widely shared and understandable – that Member States with a Mediterranean coast have been abandoned by the EU to face this immigration emergency alone. Tragedies like that of Lampedusa, when over 360 migrants lost their lives in 2013 after their boat sank on its way from Libya, are simply unacceptable. And yet, every day, desperate people are dying in their attempts to cross the Mediterranean to reach Europe.

The problem is that the egoism of certain Member States has made it difficult to agree a common policy on immigration. These tragedies on the high seas are, in part, the result of that egoism. So it's not hard to

understand why European citizens develop a strong sense of resentment towards European institutions and a distorted, vastly out-sized perception of the immigration phenomenon. As Socialists and Democrats, we will continue to fight for a sharing of responsibility for population flows between EU states, an EU frontier control force, bilateral agreements with coastal countries on the southern side of the Mediterranean, assistance centres, and the possibility of applying for asylum in countries of origin.

Another finding of the Eurostat report is the extent to which two countries in particular, Turkey and Morocco, are a major source of migrants to the EU. Immigration is a phenomenon that has to be controlled. Where there are emergencies, as with the borders of Turkey and Morocco, structures need to be strengthened – both in terms of policies and manpower. Brussels and certain Member States in particular need to understand that Europe's southern sea and land borders are just as important as its eastern frontier. Today, the flow of migrants is no longer from East to West, but from South to North. The EU needs to be in a position where it can show real solidarity in facing up to this phenom-

non, and be equally tough in dealing with people-traffickers.

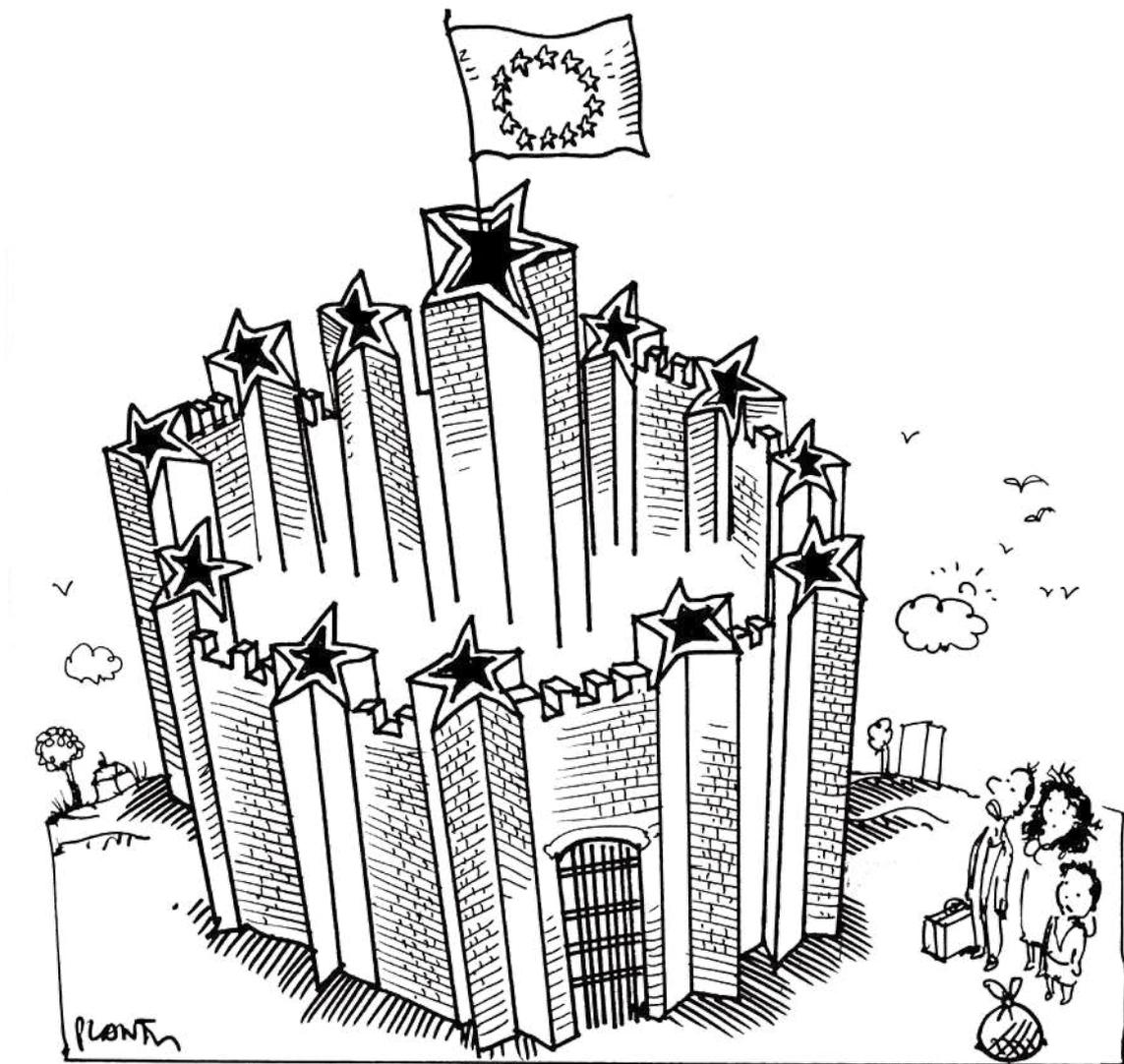
Eurostat also shows the extent to which Europe needs immigration. However, we must not repeat previous mistakes, dealing with this issue as mere do-gooders causes more damage than immigration itself. We must be careful. If it's controlled, immigration is a resource. But a policy without controls or limits inevitably causes problems, conflicts and rejection by sections of society – often the poor and most exposed to the effects of immigration. It also plays into the hands of extremist and xenophobic parties. Good immigration allows the economy to grow, doesn't run the risk of rejection and is based on EU policy that combines solidarity, controls and security.

ABOUT

Gianni Pittella is the president of the S&D group in the European Parliament. He entered politics in 1979 as a municipal councillor for the Italian Socialist Party in the southern town of Lauria.

BENJAMIN STORA

Immigration: a source of pride for Europe



© 2014, Plantu

Benjamin Stora is an eminent French historian who seeks to change the way many people think about immigrants, to encourage people to no longer see immigration as a threat but as a source of pride. He was recently appointed to head the museum of immigration history in Paris, the Cité de l'Immigration.



by Benjamin Stora

European progressives should make it clear that multiculturalism and the flow of ideas have always been a source of enrichment:

if we shut ourselves off from the outside world, we will lose our vitality and fade away. France's cultural influence in the world, for instance, stems largely from the fact that a number of its authors—at times unknown in their home country but taught in the United States, such as Edouard Glissant, Kateb Yacine and Tahar Ben Jelloun—were not born on the mainland and are not necessarily “French” in the conventional sense of the word. Our people need to understand this, to grow through this diversity: if we do not, we mutilate ourselves; we deprive ourselves; we diminish ourselves. These exchanges are a source of enrichment. This is something we must reassert, loud and clear, in the face of those who claim that immigration and foreigners are a threat, something to be feared or a source of destruction.

Today, the two dominant lines of discussion are split between talk of assimilation, on the

one hand, and that of liberalism, on the other. They are two lines of discourse that suffocate other, more complex, intermediate areas of debate. The notion that we should say “yes” to the universalist republican principle while also saying “yes” to the recognition of origins—which was previously an idea promoted by the political left—no longer finds voice in the public arena, where it is met by accusations of communitarianism.

Nowadays, globalisation and a united Europe have shifted the goalposts. We can no longer pretend to be alone in the world, to say we all have the same history or to renounce our roots. People no longer live that way: cultural globalisation is a reality. **Communitarianism then appears as a reaction to assimilation—a way of hiding behind a single identity, which is inevitably simplistic.** The dominant line of discourse espoused by today's elites is fuelled by fear of immigration, cultural assimilation and refusal of reciprocity.

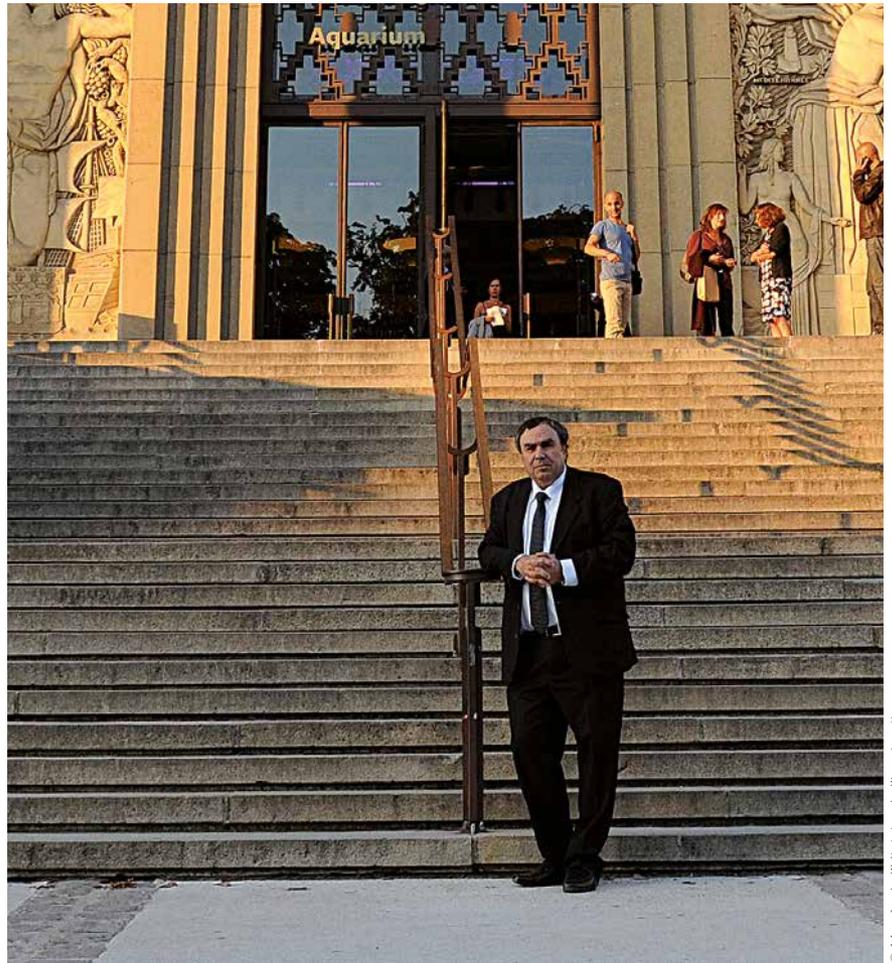
IMMIGRATION: THE HOUSE THAT EUROPE BUILT

The history of Europe is criss-crossed with migratory flows, beginning in the late

Key Points

- EU member states only regard immigration as an economic and security issue, and thus fail at proposing a joint strategy on immigration
- There has been a shift in the elites' dominant lines of discourse, which now promote a fear of immigration, cultural assimilation and the refusal of reciprocity
- Schengen has been seen as a step backward by both extra-European bordering countries and Eurosceptics, the former because it closes European external borders, the latter because it opens up the internal ones.

“SCHENGEN WAS SEEN AS A STEP BACKWARD, AKIN TO BUILDING A LONG BARBED-WIRE FENCE MAKING IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO ENTER EUROPE.”



© Musée de l'Histoire de l'immigration

19th century and continuing throughout the 20th century. People had of course moved around before then but never on such a scale. **The history of the 20th century is written in the ink of immigration.** That immigration goes back a long way and has shaped our history deeply and productively. The immediate post-war period saw a number of ethnic minorities and other displaced persons return to their country of origin. Despite these great migratory movements across the continent, there was an apparent shortage of manpower when it came to post-war recon-

struction. To offset the problem, the powers that be in the countries concerned joined hands with business and industry to hire immigrant workers, who contributed to the economic growth and development of Europe in the “glorious thirty” years between 1945 and 1975. This led to migration both within Europe and from less-developed nations. Between the early 1960s and the early 1970s, more than 30 million foreign workers entered the European Economic Community (EEC). By the early 1980s, the number of foreign citizens living in Western

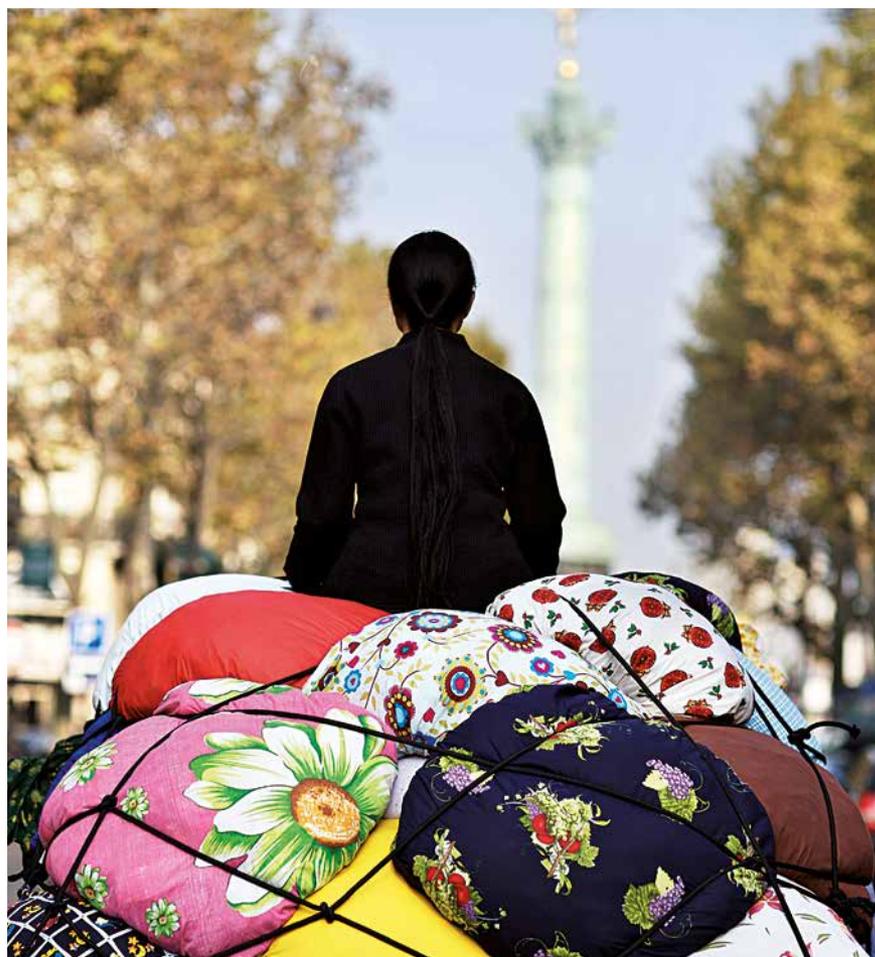
Europe had tripled from that of 1950, totalling 15 million people. In 1985, European countries signed the Schengen Agreement, which came into effect ten years later. This gave people the freedom to move between signatory countries but at the same time closed the door to those from poorer, non-EC nations. **In Africa and, more specifically, the Maghreb, Schengen was seen as a step backward, akin to building a long barbed-wire fence making it much more difficult to enter Europe.** Meanwhile, the citizens of poorer EU countries

found it easier to move across the continent, fostering a new type of attitude towards “European foreigners” such as the Roma and Bulgarians, whom some saw as a threat to prosperity, security and national sovereignty.

Schengen was based on the simple principle of building a united Europe. It was designed to promote agglomeration. Schengen and the common currency were key milestones in shaping a united Europe within which European citizens were free to move around, along with assets, capital and commodities. It was an undeniable step forward. Yet some—such as the intransigent nationalists who seek to close every border—do not see it that way. Among them are the leaders of the National Front in France, who are against Schengen on the basis that it opens up France’s borders to other EU countries.

OPENING UP MINDS

This swing, this turnaround in attitudes towards immigration dates back to the early 1990s. And in France, the situation is somewhat unique, as a result of the Algerian War. Millions of French people felt affected by this chapter of history when, in the early 1990s, they watched on television as terrorism, war and violence returned to Algerian soil. Many felt they were witnessing a horrible remake of what they had seen or experienced between 1954 and 1962. In this respect, France is a very unique case. Europe has steadily become mired in a fear of people arriving from poorer countries, less well-off than the UK or Germany. Another typically French fantasy is fuelled by the movement of people within EU borders. By way of comparison, it is worth noting that since the start of the crisis in Syria in 2011, more than 500,000 Syrians have sought asylum in Turkey, according to



© Kimsocja-Bottiani Truck Migrateur

FOCUS

*The **Cité de l’Immigration** aims to show that, for the past century, France has been built by and backed by immigrants, including foreigners such as Chagall, Picasso and Modigliani. Not to mention all of those hard-working people who—for the past 30 or 40 years—have helped our country grow. It is time to reconstruct their journey, their path and their memories. This museum seeks to bring these stories into the public arena. My priority will be to give new impetus to this initiative and to make the museum a forum for discussion and exhibition. To this end, I hope to involve the national education system, by encouraging schools to visit. And in addition to these activities, the Cité will also focus on the present: in November, it will host an exhibition on immigrants and haute couture, featuring Azzedine Alaïa, Cristobal Balenciaga and Karl Lagerfeld.*

“NATIONALISM IS THE LAST SECRET BASTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY, WHICH WE SEEK TO KEEP FOR OURSELVES, WITH ALL THE SHAME AND GUILT THAT ENTAILS.”

French government estimates. By year-end 2013, one million Syrians were thought to have arrived in Turkey, including around 300,000 in refugee camps and 700,000 elsewhere. That is a phenomenal surge! Yet when 150 migrants appear in Calais, France is capable of whipping itself up into a national frenzy...

The paradox is that we actually need more immigrants. We have yet to come to terms with the mass immigration that occurred in the sixties and seventies from our former colonies and particularly North Africa. The children of these immigrants joined French schools and entered the French job market in the eighties and nineties. Yet politicians and the elite remain silent on the subject of this southern source of manpower: we do not talk about it. Nowadays, it is not European immigration that is the main “problem”; it is immigration from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa. With this in mind, I would like to ensure that these particular aspects of history are better known in France in the broadest sense and that they permeate our national history rather than being detached from it. This is what I have been calling the need to “open up minds” for the past 30 years. It is a goal we can achieve through exhibitions, films and documentaries, for instance. There is much groundwork to be done, which is where the Cité comes in.

Germany also has colonies, though a lot smaller. Togo and Cameroon, German-speak-

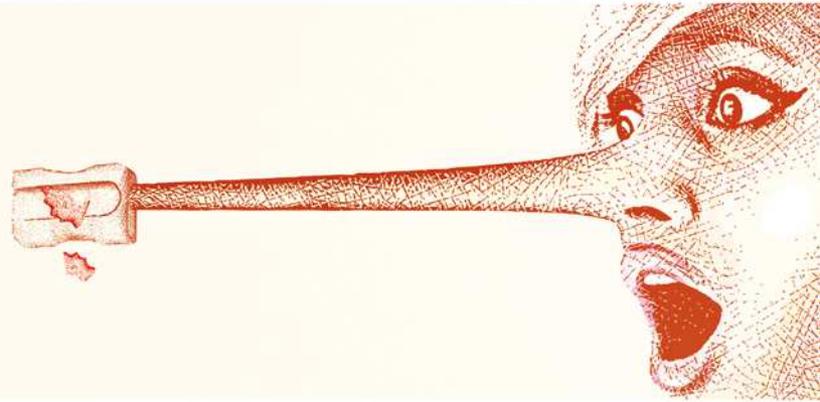
ing parts of East Africa (Tanganyika, now the continental part of Tanzania) and Rwanda-Urundi were not huge territories. The UK, on the other hand, which had the world’s largest colonial empire, espoused a policy very different from that of France, and always sought to prevent “integration”, which it achieved through a widespread system of protectorates that gave power to local elites. This was no Jacobin assimilation in which everyone had to learn the same language. That was the main difference between our colonial empires. The second outstanding difference lies in the fact that the British never came to terms with their colonial past. They avoided it. They never really dealt with the issue, as if it had never existed. **The British term “postcolonial” is a reference to literature.** Postcolonial studies in the English-speaking world cover literature, language, poetry, philosophy and authors. **In France, “postcolonial” refers to the traces of a traumatic past,** traces that never fade and invariably leave us attempting to look into the past yet never succeeding.

Within the EU, migration policy therefore deals only with economic and security concerns—there is no long-term outlook, no joint strategy on migration. That is probably because **nationalism is the last secret bastion of national identity, which we seek to keep for ourselves, with all the shame and guilt that entails...** From England to France, via Hungary and Austria along the way, there is a rising tide of na-

tionalism and populism, reflected in anti-European sentiment. These forces must not be underestimated. We may feel European when we are outside the EU, but the overwhelming feeling is one of national identity since any European identity—while vital—has yet to take shape.

ABOUT

Benjamin Stora is a French historian. He teaches at the University of Paris 13 (UP13) and the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations (INALCO), specialising in modern North African history, wars of decolonisation and the history of North African immigration in Europe. On 1 August 2014, he was appointed to chair the advisory board of the Palais de la Porte Dorée and became director of the Cité Nationale de l’Histoire de l’Immigration in Paris.



This is the age of Truth.

When the crisis roars, when the world is in search of direction, when people produce their own information system and question any official word, Truth is the answer. It's management, is our expertise.

Tomorrow will be Truth Well Told.



THE LONG PATH TOWARD *a common European asylum system*

In 1999 the European Council set out the goal of establishing a Common European Asylum System. Despite much progress, that system today is neither common, fair nor efficient. It is time for all Member States to step up in ensuring that those fleeing conflict and persecution are offered protection and dignity, in line with Europe's fundamental values.



by Michael Diedring

W

hen the European Council set out a timetable for the creation of a Common European Asylum System (CEAS)

in Tampere, it drew widespread praise for its ambition and its vision.

Fifteen years on, however, the applause has been replaced by concerns that the CEAS is in danger of becoming a contradiction in terms, with wide disparities emerging in the way individual Member States treat asylum seekers.

Even though the legislative instruments for a CEAS were completed in 2013, our recent research – carried out through our Asylum Information Database (AIDA), a review of Member State asylum decisions, through our study of the treatment of unaccompanied children seeking asylum and the application of key provisions in the EU Qualification Directive – shows that many significant challenges remain.

The EU and Member States simply must do more, acting closely together and sharing money, ex-

pertise and people, to ensure the CEAS operates fairly and effectively.

In Tampere in 1999, the political message had been straightforward: “The European Council reaffirms the importance the Union and Member States attach to absolute respect of the right to seek asylum [...] and offers [...] guarantees to those who seek protection in or access to the European Union.”

This is fully consistent with Article 18 of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights, which guarantees the right to asylum in the EU. The Charter, more generally, also stipulates that the fundamental rights of all people on European soil must be respected, regardless of their status.

COMMON RESPONSES TO COMMON CHALLENGES

Decisions on who should be granted asylum in the EU are made at national level by Member States. Common external borders and European responsibilities under international human rights law and EU law, however, have led to the need for common responses via a CEAS.

Key Points

- The Common European Asylum System still faces major challenges before it can claim to be common, fair and efficient.
- Member States must commit to removing the wide disparities in asylum applicants recognition rates.
- They must also share best practice and seek new solutions where current measures, such as the Dublin Regulation, fall short.



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Asylum seekers in Petrou Ralli detention center.

“THE 28 EU MEMBER STATES PLUS ICELAND, LIECHTENSTEIN, NORWAY AND SWITZERLAND HOST **ONLY 6%** OF THE WORLD’S REFUGEES.”

The system’s stated goal is to ensure that asylum seekers enjoy the same rights in any EU country and have access to fair and thorough procedures in determining their protection needs and asylum claim. Under the Stockholm Programme, the CEAS must be based on high standards of protection, so that similar cases are treated alike and result in the same outcome, regardless of where the asylum application is lodged.

Our AIDA project, however, reveals wide disparities in asylum applicants recognition rates (i.e. the share of positive decisions within the total number of decisions). These rates at first instance range from 4% in Greece and 8% in Hungary to over 80% in Malta and Bulgaria. Even for Syrians, who have a refugee profile, there exist divergent recognition rates across the EU - as low as 51% in Italy and 60% in Greece, compared with 99% in Germany.

Other problems associated with EU asylum include irregular transit and residence, onward movements from the first Member State entered, delay in the asylum procedure and a lack of opportunity to integrate, which undermines public

confidence in the system. Such problems are compounded by the way different Member States operate. As a result, it is totally understandable that, say, a Syrian woman and her family should seek to have their claim considered in Germany rather than Italy, given the considerable gap in the rate of recognition.

The figures for 2013 show that five Member States – Germany, France, Sweden, Italy and the UK – registered 70% of all applicants. Southern Members States, meanwhile, are coming under increasing pressure due to arrivals by sea. Clearly, the responsibility for asylum seekers is not equally distributed across all EU Member States. Given the high stakes - including the possible loss of human life during dangerous sea journeys - greater co-operation in terms of shared financing, expertise and people is required.

OBSTACLES, DISPARITIES AND THE DUBLIN REGULATION

It should not be forgotten that the new asylum package has resulted in improvements, such as strengthening the right of asylum seekers to be

heard and providing additional protection for particularly vulnerable groups such as torture survivors, trafficked women and unaccompanied children.

But our research also identifies other ways in which the CEAS does not yet meet the standards of Tampere and Stockholm. Asylum seekers still face many other obstacles and disparities between Member States, beyond differences in recognition rates. There can be difficulties in gaining access to the asylum procedure, there are inadequate housing conditions or a lack of housing, there are problems over receiving quality legal assistance and there is also the possibility of detention in many Member States while the application process is underway.

Another particularly striking illustration of the system's fundamental deficiencies is provided by the Dublin Regulation. Simply put, it requires that the Member State immediately responsible for the asylum seeker on his or her arrival on EU (or Shengen Associated States) territory should also be responsible for making the asylum decision. The problems begin to mount, however, when an asylum seeker arrives in Italy but then travels to, say, Germany to meet up with relatives there. The Regulation stipulates that Germany should physically send the individual man back to Italy for the case to be settled.

The Dublin Regulation, it should be added, is based on the flawed assumption that there is a level playing field across the EU.

There are myriad reasons why an asylum seeker would choose to apply in one country rather than another. These include migration routes, the location of family or diaspora, language, integration prospects, living conditions and the likelihood of being granted international protection. The concentration of asylum applications in just five Member States in itself graphically illustrates the failure of the Dublin system.

Worryingly, the Regulation also gives rise to other harsh consequences for asylum seekers.

Claims are often delayed for an extended period or not decided upon, individuals returned from one country to another may be detained or find themselves living on the street because of lack of support, while families are frequently separated. What is more, the system is highly expensive for Member States to administer.

A MORE HUMANE SOLUTION

Clearly, a fair, equitable and more humane solution is required, where the wishes of the asylum seeker are considered, as are his connections with a particular Member State. Such a solution would also help individuals to integrate more easily. The emphasis should surely be on the transfer of funds in such cases, rather than the enforced transfer of people.

The scale of the problems surrounding European asylum should not be exaggerated, however. Indeed, they should be put in clear perspective. More than 51 million people around the globe are now categorised as forcibly displaced, the highest number since the end of World War II. Yet while the world's developing countries host 86% of all refugees, and the least developed nations host 24%, the EU's 28 Member States (plus Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland) host a mere 6%.

In 2013, 435,385 people sought asylum in the EU, a region with a population of 507 million, most of them coming from Syria, Russia and Afghanistan. Lebanon, in comparison, has a total population of four million people yet currently hosts more than one million refugees from Syria alone. Extrapolating those number, that would be like the EU hosting around 126 million refugees.

“THE DUBLIN REGULATION IS BASED ON THE FLAWED ASSUMPTION THAT THERE IS A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD ACROSS THE EU.”

“A FAIR AND EQUITABLE SOLUTION REQUIRES THE DESIGN OF A NEW, MORE HUMANE SYSTEM THAT CONSIDERS THE PREFERENCE OF THE ASYLUM SEEKER.”

Most refugees, as the Syrian conflict illustrates, remain in their immediate regions. Only four per cent of those affected in Syria have sought protection in Europe. Over one weekend in mid-September, 140,000 refugees were taken in by Turkey after escaping from Syria. That compares to the 113,000 people who received some form of protection in the EU in 2013. In considering these figures, the EU's responsibility for asylum under international and EU law takes on renewed importance.

THE WAY FORWARD

Today, the ability of asylum seekers to enter the EU lies at the centre of the debate. Given the dramatic increase of arrivals by sea and the dangerous journeys being taken by refugees over the Mediterranean, there is an urgent need to establish safe and legal channels of entry for those fleeing conflicts and hardships, such as Syrians, Eritreans and Somalis. Europe's policy needs to pivot toward protecting people, rather than merely maintaining its focus on controlling borders.

Furthermore, now that the basic legislative package for the CEAS is in place, there is an important opportunity during its transposition and implementation for Member States to establish high protection standards in national legislation and build upon examples of good practice in other Member States. There is a need for Member States to be ambitious and implement the *acquis* to its fullest potential for the CEAS to properly reflect fundamental rights and Europe's

fundamental values (which include respect for human dignity, freedom and the respect for human rights).

The role of the European Parliament in the asylum debate remains important, even after the adoption of the asylum package, and particularly so given the rise of some extreme right parties and the increase in xenophobia across Europe. Acting as the Commission and Council's 'watchdog', it can promote high standards by Member States; support safe and legal routes of access to the EU including an increase in resettlement; support the efforts of civil society; and encourage the Commission to play a strong role in monitoring the implementation of the CEAS while ensuring that fundamental rights and EU legislation are respected.

Finally, our research has highlighted several other important areas where improvements to the asylum system are needed:

- **Legal assistance** – Access to free, high-quality legal assistance must be guaranteed at all stages of the procedure, thus ensuring that asylum seekers can assert their rights. It is clearly unfair to expect them to understand the demands and increasingly sophisticated procedures of the system, particularly if they are operating in a language other than their own. The current practice represents an inefficient use of resources. Legal assistance from the outset (i.e. front-loading) would allow for a fairer adjudication of asylum claims and more efficient administration.

“EUROPE’S POLICY NEEDS TO PIVOT TOWARD PROTECTING PEOPLE, NOT MAINTAIN ITS CURRENT FOCUS ON CONTROLLING BORDERS.”

• **Effective remedies** – Asylum seekers must have an effective right and opportunity to appeal, with the concurrent right to remain in the territory until that appeal has been examined. This is a fundamental right under European law, and is closely linked to the international principle of non-refoulement (i.e. forbidding the rendering of a true victim of persecution to their persecutor).

• **Adequate access to housing and a means of subsistence** – A lack of housing or support can, in some cases, amount to inhuman and degrading treatment. Moreover, ensuring that asylum seekers become self-sufficient, maintain their dignity through employment and integrate into their host country is in the interests of both the asylum seeker and society as a whole.

• **Detention** – As a general rule, asylum seekers should not be detained, given the adverse consequences this can have on their physical and mental health. It can also be devastating for people who have suffered trauma. Children should never be detained - it can never be in their best interest. EU Member States should not ‘welcome’ persons fleeing conflict and persecution by locking them in a cell.

• **No race to the bottom** – EU Member States should aim for high protection standards within their asylum systems to enhance both the efficiency and fairness of EU asylum procedures. An asylum system which fails to protect the legal rights of refugees and asylum seekers also fails to do justice to the fundamental values of the EU.

The implementation of the Common European Asylum System gives the EU and its Member States the opportunity to develop a system providing protection and dignity for people fleeing war and persecution. Several aspects of the system have improved, but on-the-ground research on how it actually operates reveals that much more must be done. The future development of the CEAS will add value if it improves asylum policies and practices in line with Europe’s international responsibilities, and if it puts the emphasis on protecting and rebuilding the lives of people.



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ABOUT

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MIGRATION

Europe lacks teeth



The President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, aims to set new priorities to effectively tackle illegal immigration one year after the Lampedusa tragedy. The outgoing Commission claims to have brought all of its resources into play but confesses that it still lacks teeth. Is Europe poorly equipped to tackle the problem?



by Loreline Merelle & Nicolas Gros-Verheyde

No matter what we do, we cannot prevent this kind of tragedy,” lamented Michele Cercone, spokesperson for former EU Commissioner for Home Affairs Cécilia Malmström, reacting to the death of nearly five hundred migrants off the coast of Malta. The Commission, which exercised its right of initiative as soon as the Maas-tricht Treaty came into effect, nonetheless claims to have brought all of its resources into play. Irregular immigration has been a shared competence since the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009 and is one of the joint EU priorities in the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum signed the previous year, a document which Sarah Wolff, a researcher at Queen Mary University of London condemns as having “no legal value”. Indeed, the result is a “fragmented” collective policy that has only partially been implemented.

“TECHNICAL” TOOLS

For the past ten years, the EU has nonetheless been increasing the operational instruments at its disposal. A number of agencies designed to promote cooperation—Eurojust for justice, Europol for policing, Frontex for border management and Eurosur for surveillance—are chiefly responsible for coordinating the capabilities of member states on both land and sea. These agencies are required to provide strictly technical support and have a limited mandate, the product of lengthy negotiations between European institutions. According to Ms Wolff, Frontex has ended up a compromise between establishing a central division of guards to monitor European borders—a move sought by the Commission—and networking between different units of border guards—a bare-bones option backed by the Council. As a result, Frontex is controlled by the European Commission but is managed internally by the 28 member states, on which it depends for its budget

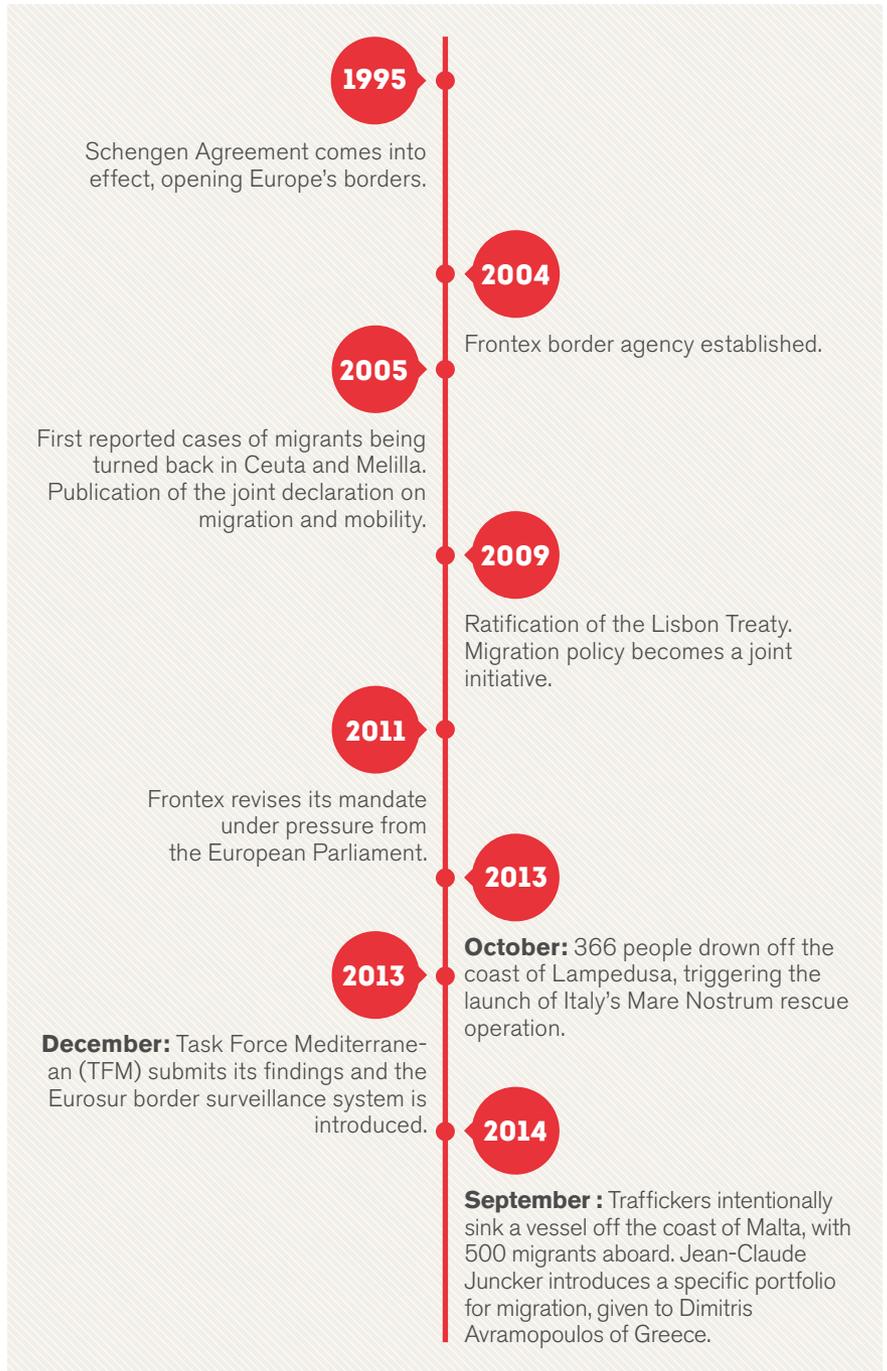
Key Points

- Tighter borders prompt immigrants to take riskier routes and go through trafficking networks.
- Frontex will most certainly eventually replace Mare Nostrum but doesn't have the logistical capacities to save the lives of migrants in danger.
- When a tragedy occurs, Frontex is an easy scapegoat for individual states, whereas it depends on them for its budget

and resources. This decentralised structure allows the Commission to lay responsibility at the door of individual countries in the event of inaction while leaving member states free to point a finger at the agency when things fail to run smoothly, notes the London-based researcher, underscoring the agency's role as a scapegoat (see page 64).

TACKLING THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM IN COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND TRANSIT

However, the work of these agencies extends well beyond European borders: its representatives are also active in migrants' countries of origin and transit. The Commission and the European External Action Service (EEAS) have undertaken and backed several hundred consultancy initiatives on managing borders, supplying resources and sharing information, mainly in Africa. The goal is to get to the root of illegal immigration and human trafficking. Yet NGOs seeking to protect the rights of migrants have criticised these initiatives as short-term measures that are "ineffective" and "dangerous". As Caroline Intrand, spokeswoman for the Migreurop network, explains: "Tighter border controls prompt people to take riskier routes and encourage them to seek out trafficking networks." "They are also poorly adapted," adds Socialist MEP Ana Gomes. She cites the example of the European civilian border assistance mission EUBAM Libya, which was launched in 2013 in Tripoli before being hurriedly relocated to Tunis: "How can you set up a mission to manage security and borders when there is no security at all?" Instead, the MEP claims, the EU would do better to focus on establishing democratic institutions. >>





COOPERATION WITH NON-EU COUNTRIES IS THE KEY TO AN EFFECTIVE EUROPE

António Vitorino was European Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs from 1999 to 2004. He has expressed concerns over the influx of migrants into Europe and has called for improved cooperation with non-EU countries.

Queries: Europe is now criticised for its lack of joint responsibility. Is that a result of the instruments that the EU has put in place?

António Vitorino: On the contrary, instruments such as Frontex help to promote joint responsibility. The agency is a good example of how we can share the burden on an operational level. Some countries have maritime boundaries; some have land borders; some need only focus on managing their airspace. The agency has made it possible to coordinate individual capabilities. Each member state has become responsible for monitoring all of Europe's external borders. That is already a good start.

“INITIATIVES UNDERTAKEN BY THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES SUCH AS MARE NOSTRUM AND FRONTEX HELP TO DISCOURAGE TRAFFICKERS.”

Q.: Yet some still have doubts over the agency's efficiency...

A.V.: I did not say the agency had a straightforward mandate. It is a very slow process. It involves sharing the experiences of border guards. Training them is already a challenge in itself. We know to what extent it can be hard to enable cooperation between NATO soldiers, even though the system has been in place for a number of years. Bringing together border guards with very different backgrounds on the same operation is a real headache. It takes time to get everyone on the same page. But things are moving forward. We have now deployed agents at the land borders between Greece and Turkey and tangible missions are being put in place in the Mediterranean. Other resources have been developed to support Frontex, such as Eurosur, which can identify European networks along with the vessels and ports used by

migrants. It's a wide-ranging issue that requires better cooperation, especially with non-EU countries.

Q.: In what way is cooperation with non-EU countries a solution?

A.V.: We cannot be effective if we do not cooperate with the countries through which migrants are travelling and from which they originate. Government authority is weak in Libya and Egypt, for instance. There is limited cooperation, which is one of the problems. The number of refugees has risen by 25% as a result of the situation in Syria. We need to go to the root of conflicts and make sure that migration policy is one of the first things on the agenda in talks with the countries that migrants are coming from. It is only in this way that we can monitor our external borders more effectively and combat human trafficking.

Q.: Through Mare Nostrum or Frontex?

A.V.: Initiatives undertaken by the Italian authorities such as Mare Nostrum and Frontex help to discourage traffickers. However, deliberately sinking the boats of migrants at sea is an appalling crime. These people are criminals and must be arrested. A key method of effectively addressing the issue lies in tackling the root of the problem in transit countries. At the same time, it is important that we clarify our responsibilities with regard to policing the seas, in terms of both our humanitarian obligations and our obligations under treaties governing maritime law.



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António Vitorino is the President of the Jacques Delors - Notre Europe Institute. He is currently a member of the Transatlantic Council on Migration.

FRONTEX

An obvious scapegoat

European border agency Frontex is tasked with a number of missions both inside and outside the EU, including intercepting migrants. These missions involve high-risk operations that leave it open to criticism from every direction.



It can take months or even years to put together a European border-monitoring operation. Frontex has been working on “Operation Triton” [see p. 67] since October 2013 but the mission has yet to get off the ground, largely because of a multi-tier internal process. The scope of a Frontex operation—its operating area, budget and host country—is determined through a yearly risk analysis conducted in partnership with the European Union Satellite Centre (EUSC) and border surveillance system Eurosur, as well as through talks between the 28 member states via the Frontex management board. Only once the scope of the operation has been approved internally can representatives begin to draw up an operational plan comprising the type and quantity of resources needed. The European Commission then issues a request for participation among the 28 member states. Each EU country is required to indicate whether it wishes to take part in the operation and to specify to what extent. “The participation of member states is voluntary,” explains Frontex spokesperson Izabella Cooper: “The agency is there only to coordinate resources.” Frontex co-finances deployment of boats and patrols, along with transport for teams to the operating zone and field training for border guards. Member states are responsible for paying agents’ wages.

IN THE FIELD

Whether working at the border between Greece and Bulgaria or patrolling the Mediterranean coast, Frontex border guards have a strict remit to provide technical support for initiatives undertaken by individual countries. They take part in patrols to find and intercept migrants and are always fewer than national operatives in number. When it comes to operations at sea, explains Caroline Intrand, spokesperson for the Frontexit campaign, “the agency has neither the mandate nor the resources needed to save migrants, since its vessels are always too small.” In contrast to the Italian rescue operation, Mare Nostrum, which uses corvettes and frigates that can accommodate more than 1,000 people, Operation Triton will not be equipped to rescue migrants.

VAGUE RESPONSIBILITIES

Another bone of contention involves the responsibilities and room for manoeuvre given to Frontex agents in the field in the event of an incident or in dealing with migrants who are turned back at the border. Caroline Intrand: “Frontex agents have submitted internal reports of actions that infringe human rights, especially with regard to migrants being turned back by national border guards, while they look



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on, powerless to do anything. In response to its detractors, Frontex has published a Code of Conduct that border guards are required to follow: “If they fail to do so, they can be suspended from our operation, sent home and reported to their authorities,” says Frontex. However, the code is not legally binding. Frontex does not have the power to conduct criminal investigations or discipline officers.

FRONTEX AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In a bid to dissuade unwanted practices, Frontex appointed a fundamental rights officer following the revision of its mandate in 2011. The position has been held by Inmaculada Arnaez Fernandez of Spain for nearly three years. She reviews operational plans before they are implemented, assists operations in the field, draws up recommendations, suggests preventive measures and provides fundamental rights training for border guards. But her resources are limited. Her team consists of only one part-time assistant and an intern. As a Frontex representative, her goal is to work independently, as required by the regulation, with the benefit of “direct access to information.” That is a contradiction in terms, according to associations that seek to protect the interests of migrants, which note that monitoring human rights is still an internal issue that “lacks transparency”. Both the

fundamental rights officer and international organisations—liaising with Frontex through an advisory forum—are bound by a “confidentiality clause” confirms the Migreurop network, adding that their actions are “subject to the approval of member states”.

PROMOTING AN INDEPENDENT AGENCY

As a result, member states are closely involved in the running of the agency. Too much so, according to Sarah Wolff, who deplors what she describes as the “schizophrenic attitude” of EU countries. Frontex is used as “a scapegoat to offset the inconsistency of national policies”. Countries such as Spain, Greece and Italy, she says, “lambast Frontex for its lack of efficiency yet fail to provide more financial support or resources”. Ms Wolff is campaigning for “an overhaul in Frontex governance to remove the agency’s dependency on member states”.

**“FRONTEX HAS PUBLISHED
A CODE OF CONDUCT
THAT BORDER GUARDS
ARE REQUIRED TO FOLLOW.”**

>> THE GIVE WITHOUT THE TAKE

From a diplomatic standpoint, cooperation with non-EU countries also requires agreements to allow re-entry of migrants and facilitate their return. The Balkans, Russia and Turkey have already signed such accords. Yet Mediterranean countries—chiefly Algeria and Morocco—remain highly reluctant. Largely because they feel Europe's terms and conditions are unacceptable, Sarah Wolff explains: "According to one clause, Morocco would have to allow re-entry not only of its own nationals but also of any migrants that have travelled through the country to reach the sea." This is something Morocco refuses to do without guarantees on facilitating visas for its citizens. Yet European member states balk at the idea. Talks have been bogged down for the past ten years as a result of the stand-off.

However, as one source with a detailed knowledge of the case notes: "It is not up to the EU to provide more legal methods of migration; it is up to member states to use or not to use the tools at their disposal... Especially within EU borders."

THE UNCRACKABLE ASYLUM CONUNDRUM

The European Asylum Support Office (EASO)—set up in 2010 to provide a centre of expertise on asylum—faces an impossible conundrum. EASO is tasked with contributing to the development of the Common European Asylum System—which the EU has been working to create since 1999—and is more in demand than ever before as a result of the strain of migration felt in member states such as Italy, Greece, Malta and Spain. Yet it has never been so hard for migrants to seek asylum in Europe. There are no guarantees that they will be recognised as asylum seekers—the first



step for anyone seeking the protection of another state. "Sometimes, 'forced migrants' are not considered as such and are deported even though they are subject to international protection," deplores Franck Düvell, a researcher at the Centre On Migration, Policy And Society (COMPAS) at Oxford University. More than 60% of migrants seek asylum outside of the first EU country they enter, aiming to reach France, the UK or Germany. As the Dublin Regulation suggests, some migrants refuse to give their fingerprints when arriving at ports in Italy and Malta for fear of being forced to remain in the initial host country. As a result, as a former European expert notes: "They disappear off the radar and leave the first EU country they enter via networks run by traffickers."

UNTAPPED POTENTIAL

"If we fail to provide suitable legal channels, then people will use underground

alternatives and trafficking networks will flourish," the same expert predicts. Sadly, managing legal migration is an area that has been largely overlooked. No agency has yet tackled the thorny problem of people within European borders legally entering the EU with a short-stay Schengen visa and staying as undocumented migrants, which Mr Düvell says accounts for nearly 80% of irregular immigration. In creating a specific portfolio on migration, Mr Juncker has raised hopes of a more effective Europe and of greater internal coordination between its departments. Yet to meet expectations and open up legal channels for migration, the new president-elect of the European Commission will need to join battle with member states to promote mobility, which could be seen as a threat to national security against the current backdrop of terrorism. The prospect of a clash of powers already looms large.

CLANDESTINE AND IRREGULAR IMMIGRATION TO THE EU

CLANDESTINE IMMIGRANTS

Number of clandestine immigrants spotted by Frontex in 2014:



120,000
on the
Mediterranean
Sea



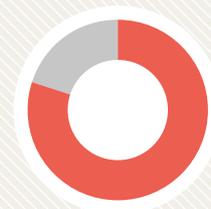
28,000
at the
Greco-Bulgarian
border

IRREGULAR IMMIGRANTS



1 to 3 million

undocumented migrants are currently living in Europe after arriving legally with a VISA.



It accounts for 80% of the total immigration figures

Frontex launches operation Triton in support of Mare Nostrum

Triton is acknowledged as the largest operation ever coordinated by Frontex. The mission is due to be launched in November and will operate in Italian waters in the Central Mediterranean to provide support for Italy's Mare Nostrum rescue operation. With three vessels, three surveillance aircraft and seven teams of border guards, the operation will be equipped only to find migrants, not to rescue them. As a result, the Commission has warned that Triton "cannot replace the Italian operation". Its budget is limited to €3 million per month, compared with €9 million for Mare Nostrum, which Italy has threatened to wind down once the European operation is up and running.



PROMOTING AN EFFECTIVE APPROACH TO LEGAL MIGRATION

Ana Gomes is a member of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE) and a member of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence at the European Parliament. She defends the implementation of a real strategy on legal migration and questions the validity of the European Union's security-oriented approach.

Queries: How do we stop the influx of migrants at our borders? Is there a solution to the problem?

Ana Gomes: We cannot stop people coming into the European Union, whether they are fleeing a war zone or simply are seeking a better life. The majority are refugees towards whom we have an obligation to provide a welcome and hospitality. It is ludicrous to think that focusing all our efforts on security might halt the influx. As long as there are wars in the world, migrants will continue to come.

Q.: What do you think of the instruments the EU has put in place?

A.G.: The security-centred systems in place cannot work effectively. On the one hand, they don't have the resources; on the other, they lack an underlying policy designed to manage migration, particularly with regard to legal channels, which is the only means of effectively combating human trafficking. The first step in tackling irregular immigration is to put in place a regular migration policy. There is a joint policy on paper but member states do not implement it.

Q.: What kind of tools would be needed to implement such a strategy?

A.V.: There is no single effective solution. We need to share costs in a more balanced fashion while better identifying the status of migrants when they arrive. We cannot confine ourselves to a «blue card»¹ strategy that funnels the smartest people into a handful of European countries. We need real policies. A humanitarian visa is an obligation. We need to open up legal channels. Why would people turn to traffickers if they had a legal means of migration? Europe now carrying the cost of its failure to manage this type of regular migration. And that cost is not only felt in human terms. It is also economic. Trafficking networks open the floodgates to an influx of cheap labour.

“EUROPE NOW CARRYING THE COST OF ITS FAILURE TO MANAGE THIS TYPE OF REGULAR MIGRATION. AND THAT COST IS NOT ONLY FELT IN HUMAN TERMS. IT IS ALSO ECONOMIC.”

Q.: What can the European Parliament do to help?

A.G.: The LIBE Committee is constantly in contact with key representatives from European agencies to monitor their development. For instance, we work to support improved rescue capabilities for Frontex. Yet it is the European Commission that has the right of initiative. As a result, we put political pressure on the Commission. However, the new European Parliament now has a majority of right-wing members who seek an ever-harder line on security. And we have yet to see the full extent of such policy. One thing is for certain: it will have an impact on future developments.

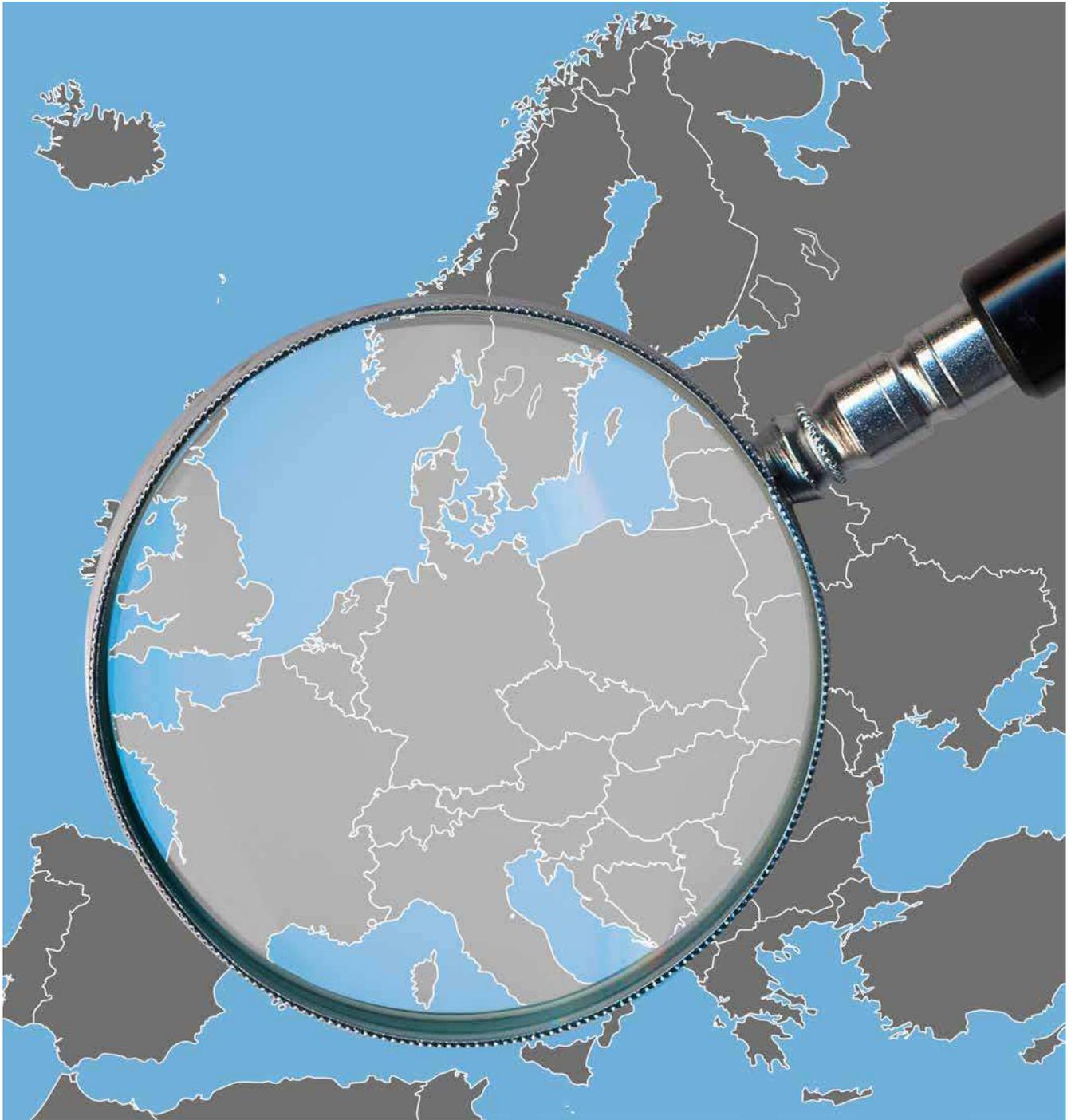
1- Ed. work permit granted under certain conditions to non-EU citizens, launched in 2007.



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Ana Gomes of Portugal has been an MEP since 2007 for the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament.

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SHOULD EUROPE SHUT THE DOOR *on migration?*

Migration is a natural human behaviour. As twenty-first-century Europeans, we should not be so foolish as to believe that we can live in an impregnable fortress, in an impossible Europe irretrievably in decline. It is disheartening to witness a rising tide of nationalism, racism and xenophobia. Such as it stands today, European policy on migration is untenable, as it lacks a common approach to the challenges this reality poses. Migration legislation must not allow discrimination and social dumping.



by Luis Miguel Pariza Castaños



It is discouraging to witness the criminalisation of immigrants by many European political leaders and media outlets, and the steady rise of nationalism, racism and xenophobia.

An ominous discourse that was a part and parcel of only a few minority extremist ideologies a few years ago has since crept into the political agendas of European governments and, to a certain extent, the agendas of European institutions as well.

A number of opportunistic government and political leaders have acted extremely irresponsibly by taking advantage of the current economic and social crisis to sway voter opinion with populist pandering. The history of Europe has taught us the dangers of straying down this dubious path.

A NATURAL HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

Emigration is a natural human behaviour. In given circumstances,

people decide to pull up stakes and move elsewhere, a phenomenon that has occurred in every culture and region of the world throughout human history. The massive scale of European emigration over the past two centuries—not only within Europe, but also to other parts of the world such as North and South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania—should have served to inoculate us against intolerance and xenophobia towards those we perceive as “different”.

We Europeans desire to sell our goods and services in the world marketplace and have our currency circulate freely. It is therefore foolish to think that twentieth-first-century Europeans can live in an impregnable fortress, in an impossible Europe irretrievably in decline.

Shutting the door on immigration is not consonant with the interests of Europeans, human nature, the times we live in, or the interdependence between Europe and the rest of the world. It is neither viable nor intelligent.



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Nations, businesses, organisations, cities and people are individual links in networks that connect and bind them together, networks that extend beyond the administrative boundaries of individual states. With every day that passes, information technology and modern modes of transport are bringing us closer and closer together. This is a hallmark of our times.

The EU is negotiating bilateral and multilateral agreements designed to facilitate and govern the free trade of goods and services and capital mobility. The international community is also implementing collective security systems to deal with new global risks.

CREATE INTERNATIONAL REGULATIONS TO FACILITATE MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

Why are European and other developed countries unwilling to facilitate migration and mobility? The time has come for us to change tack on this issue and develop international regulations based on flexible, transparent procedures to make migration and mobility easier. The regulation of the free movement of people, just like the regulation of the free movement of capital and goods, is an essential pillar of globalisation. The right to mobility and migration should be a fundamental tenet in a globalised world.

Key Points

- Fragmentation of migration policies between the 28 member states prevents the creation of a clear and legal immigration path to EU.
- It also prevents access to labour markets in need of workforce to extra-European migrants looking for work.
- It also leads to contradictory policies and can sometimes endanger migrants' human rights.



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We Europeans like to travel freely throughout the world and expect easy access to visas. How can we promote international mobility for Europeans while hindering the mobility of the rest of humanity? Let's be pragmatic: Europeans should urge the international community to develop a global governance system for mobility and migration based on UN human rights treaties, International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions and the International Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, which the majority of EU member states have yet to ratify.

The first and most urgent step that the European Parliament and the Council must take is to make Schengen visa rules more flexible.

INTERNAL MIGRATION

From a legal point of view, one must make a distinction between the labour mobility of European citizens and the immigration and mobility of third-country nationals.

The Maastricht Treaty provides a sound legal basis for the free movement, residence and employment of all EU citizens within the European Union. An increasing number of European citizens have been prompted to make use of their freedom of internal mobility in the wake of imbalances in the European labour market.

However, this flow of internal migration has come under the fire of various political leaders and governments, which reject the fundamental right of all Europeans to free movement within the EU – a key building block of European citizenship. The demagoguery and populism of certain irresponsible politicians who practise such foolish brinkmanship are endangering one of the very pillars upon which rests the Union.

The legal framework of the Treaty grants member states an ample margin of autonomy regarding the harmonisation of their legislation on immigration from third countries. Yet the harmonisation of other policies governed by similar legal frameworks has proved less difficult.

In this light, it is deeply frustrating that the Union has yet to establish a common policy and harmonised legislation on immigration and asylum. Although various policy initiatives and directives have been adopted during the last ten years, each member state has its own legislation and makes its own decisions, which at times are contradictory and fail to adequately protect human rights.

ASYLUM & PROTECTION

It's worth taking a closer look at the Union's asylum policy. Although all member states must comply with international requirements regarding asylum, each has a very different set of national laws. The joint goal within the EU is to establish a common European asylum system and status, establishing a greater degree of solidarity between member states. Several basic directives and regulations have been adopted to this end.

However, at Europe's eastern borders, in Africa and in the Middle East, hundreds of thousands of displaced people are fleeing from war and persecution. European countries have been involved in some of these conflicts.

Despite the fact that the number of world refugees is now at a level not seen since the Second World War, European governments are wasting time engaging in hypocritical debates. Instead of fulfilling their commitment to protect these people and developing an effective programme that would ensure protection and solidarity in collaboration with neighbouring countries and international organisations, they have merely agreed to implement the Dublin Regulation, which fails to foster solidarity on refugee policy. European governments have decided that the best way to resolve

“EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE DECIDED THAT BEST WAY TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM IS PLACING THE FATE OF DISPLACED PERSONS **IN THE HANDS OF CRIMINAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING NETWORKS.**”

the problem is placing the fate of displaced persons in the hands of criminal human trafficking networks and erecting new barbed-wire fences and impenetrable walls along Europe's frontiers. To be fair, the governments of Italy and Spain at least have systems in place to rescue immigrants in peril at sea.

The incoming Commission must take the initiative and urge the Council and the Parliament to approve an ambitious protection plan that would ensure greater solidarity between member states in terms of the acceptance and resettlement of refugees.

FOR AN IMMIGRATION THAT IS RESPECTFUL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Current immigration policy falls short of the mark. It fails to provide a joint approach to the challenges Europe faces. The common framework is very weak, consisting only of basic entry legislation that is very sector-oriented. Governments continue to believe that national entry legislation is the key to preventing the arrival of new immigrants. They resist the introduction of a more open policy respectful of human rights. They also reject the notion that EU external border management should be the shared responsibility of all member states.

Four years ago, the Belgian presidency of the EU asked the Economic and Social Committee to prepare an opinion on the role of immigration in the context of demographic challenges. The conclusions reached were clear: in order to reverse the current demographic trends, action must be taken in a number of areas (including family policy, social protection and reconciliation). The EESC also recommended the implementation of a more open immigration policy. The legal entry of new immigrants is part of the solution to the demographic challenges facing Europe.

EU immigration policy should take a holistic approach and take into account numerous factors such as human rights, labour mar-

ket developments, integration, the fight against discrimination, family reunification, entry legislation, irregular immigration, border control and cooperation with countries of origin and transit.

We must adopt a medium- and long-term view. Unemployment levels are currently on the rise as a consequence of the economic crisis and austerity policies. This situation is provoking major asymmetry between labour markets in Europe: while companies in some countries are not in a position to provide employment for much of the national labour force, companies in other countries are unable to find workers with the specific skills they require.

Many European businesses need to increase their capacities, yet many workers cannot gain access to labour markets, which are too closed.

INCREASING THE MOBILITY OF EUROPEAN WORKFORCE

However, European legislation must be changed so as to ensure that intra-European labour mobility is voluntary and fair. It must put an end to the wage gaps and social discrimination that are common today.

Obstacles that impede mobility or internal migration must be overcome, including those related to the recognition of academic qualifications, pension rights, social and labour discrimination, and language skills. The EURES portal has the capacity to provide the information companies and workers need to take advantage of intra-European labour mobility.

We must keep in mind that economic cycles are always shorter than demographic ones. Economics and demographics have different timeframes and rhythms; demographics are affected by social trends that have profound and long-lasting consequences.



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Today we are witnessing the concurrence of a negative economic cycle and a demographic cycle marked by a low fertility rate and an increasingly ageing population. Experts across the board warn that the ageing and decline of a society's population has an inevitable negative impact on its activity rate, labour market, social security system and public finances. The demographic situation in Europe will notably limit the continent's economic growth once the current international cycle has run its course.

European political leaders must assume a role in educating citizens not to be easily swayed by the appeals of xenophobes and populists. They should clearly explain the European Union's need for a more open, common immigration policy as well as greater harmonisation of national immigration laws and inform the public that the current situation, in which immigration is subject to twenty-eight distinct and contradictory policies and laws, is simply not sustainable.

The current EU immigration directives have been fragmented in their transposition into national law in the EU-28 due to their sector-based focus, creating an impenetrable maze that does not

afford third-country nationals legal and transparent procedures for entering Europe. This state of affairs is hindering the efficiency of businesses and hiring agencies.

With the present instruments, it is impossible to manage immigration well. Current national laws and policies have been contrived to restrict the entry of new immigrants, but what Europe needs now is to set more ambitious objectives and establish a more proactive common immigration policy.

The European Economic and Social Committee has warned European governments and institutions that they must consult with companies that are well aware of the problems that must be solved. Europe is a second-division player when it comes to attracting international workers. European companies face the challenge of hiring workers in a globalised world while operating under the strictures of national labour markets and immigration laws.

Businesses and hiring agencies are telling us that many qualified international job candidates look elsewhere for employment because they perceive Europe to be xenophobic and racist.

The EESC has also recommended that national leaders throughout Europe consult trade unions in their respective countries. These organisations are very conscious of how the use of cheap immigrant labour to force down local wages and social dumping distorts markets and sparks social confrontation. Populism draws strength from the ways in which European and national laws allow businesses to engage in wage discrimination and social dumping.

Populists often accuse immigrants of abusing social welfare systems. This is a myth that has no basis in reality. The EESC has consulted with experts and analysed the data: immigrants' contributions in the form of taxes and social security payments far outweigh the costs of the services they use, in part because immigrants constitute a relatively young age group. If irregular workers were to be able to legally enter the formal economy, contributions to the system would undoubtedly rise.

IMMIGRANT WORKERS MUST HAVE EQUAL WAGES AND SOCIAL RIGHTS

The European Confederation of Trade Unions has been taking a leadership role in calling upon EU institutions to ensure that immigration laws protect immigrant workers from discrimination and exploitation in the workplace. For the sake of proper immigration management, both European directives and national laws must guarantee freedom from discrimination, equal treatment, equal wages, equal working conditions and equal social rights to all immigrant workers.

The EU has a beautiful slogan that sums up its aspirations: "unity in diversity". European society is becoming more diverse by the day in terms of ethnic, religious, cultural and national identity. Diversity is simultaneously a great opportunity and a great challenge for European businesses, cities, organisations and society at large. It is therefore essential to develop policies that nurture integration and immigrants' sense of belonging.

The EESC has been driving the European agenda on integration for years. It collaborates with the European Commission in organising European Integration Forum meetings, events that bring together more than one hundred experts on the subject as well as representatives of immigrant organisations and Europe's main NGOs. At the most recent meeting, which was held in April of this year, the Forum recommended that the Council continue to use

its Common Basic Principles for Integration as a roadmap for European policy.

One highlight of the Forum's November 2013 meeting was its adoption of a declaration on citizenship rights for immigrants and their involvement in the democratic life of Europe.

Integration is a social process that can be furthered by good political decisions; however, poor political decisions can hinder the achievement of this goal. Integration is a collaborative process that depends upon the involvement of both immigrant communities and the societies that receive them. Local communities and workplaces present the greatest challenges.

To achieve integration at the local level, the entire spectrum of local social and political agents must be involved. Civil society and immigrant organisations must also be called upon to take part in forums and consultative platforms.

Integration in the workplace is a challenging process that social partners must learn to navigate. Businesses should take advantage of the benefits that diversity offers, and trade unions can draw upon their long history of receiving and integrating immigrant workers.

For this reason, social partners at the national and European levels should be consulted and called upon to play a new role. The European Commission should create a new platform in collaboration with social partners to ensure the proper and effective development of the EU's labour immigration policy.

ABOUT

Luis Miguel Pariza Castaños is a member of the European Economic and Social Committee, President of the Immigration and Integration Standing Group and rapporteur for numerous opinions regarding immigration and asylum. He is also a member of the Trade Union Confederation of Worker's Commissions (CCOO) of Spain and has served as a member of the organisation's executive committee.

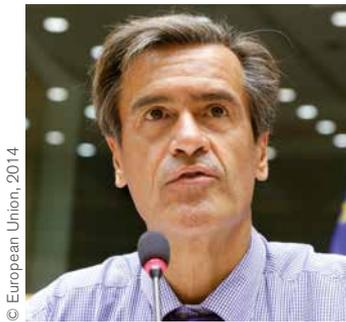
MIGRANTS AND EUROPE

A challenge to our values

Migrants see Europe as a haven where fundamental rights and the rule of law apply to all residents, regardless of their nationalities. In contrast, the EU must change its punitive approach and stand for its values, no matter the cost.



Joint interview by Lorenzo Consoli



Juan Fernando López Aguilar is a Spanish Member of the European Parliament, and chair of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE). He is also a former Minister of Justice in the government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero.



Elizabeth Collett is Director of Migration Policy Institute Europe and Senior Advisor to MPI's Transatlantic Council on Migration. She is based in Brussels, and her work focuses in particular on European migration and immigrant integration policy.

Queries: What is the current perception that migrants have of Europe? What are their motivations to emigrate? What are their expectations? And why is Europe still their destination of choice?

Elizabeth Collett: It is hard to make generalisations, as the migrant populations itself is so diverse. For those attempting to escape conflict and persecution, Europe may be seen as not just a safe haven, but also a place to rebuild lives. For others, it may be an opportunity to receive further education, develop skills and build a career. Would-be migrants receive information about Europe from a variety of sources, including international media, or informally through networks of friends and relatives already residing in Europe. These sources can sometimes present a distorted picture of life in this continent.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar: They keep coming as they still see Europe as a beacon of social welfare and opportunities, despite evidence that this has been worsening because of austerity policies implemented and imposed on communities. Their expectation is to have a better life. They expect to be an avant-garde of national or social groups, or local clans. Once they are here, they hope that fundamental rights and the rule of law will apply, including protection of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees or job seekers.

Q.: What has integration of migrants in Europe been like in the past five years?

J.F.L.A.: It is a fact that the EU perception

of migrants has been worsening. Still they insist on knocking at our doors, which is good because we need them. Despite the deterioration of social integration patterns for migrants, which has gone on for decades, there is still a EU model for their integration. This has much to do with the rule of law, which applies to all residents in the EU, regardless of their nationalities. But as the EU is becoming larger, the implementation of these rights has lost momentum. Social patterns of integration are not the same in the UK or in Bulgaria, in Romania or in Finland. An accurate analysis often shows differences according to the economic status and social or national origin of migrants.

E.C.: Integration policies and outcomes vary greatly across the EU. Immigrant outcomes still lag those of native citizens in key areas such as employment and education, even in countries where investments into integration have been significant, such as Sweden. Over the past five years, European political parties have noisily debated the pros and cons of immigration, often rejecting so-called 'models' of integration, predominantly multiculturalism. This has, in countries such as the Netherlands and Spain, been accompanied by a sharp reduction in public financing for immigration programmes, as broader austerity measures have begun to bite. But, at the same time, some governments are placing the responsibility for immigrants, along with other disadvantaged groups, within mainstream public service provision. This 'mainstreaming' responds to the idea that immigrants and their children have themselves become a diverse and significant segment of European society, forming almost a quarter of the total population in many European

“WE SHOULD CREATE ‘SAFE CORRIDORS’ FOR LEGAL IMMIGRATION, AND ALL MEMBER STATES SHOULD BE INVOLVED, NOT ONLY THOSE WITH EXTERNAL BORDERS.”
(JUAN FERNANDO LÓPEZ AGUILAR)

countries, a proportion that rises significantly in urban areas.

Q.: Is there a gap between the perception that migrants have of Europe before and after they arrive in Europe?

E.C.: For many, the reality of living in Europe can be quite different to initial expectations, in terms of the availability and quality of employment, and the cost of living.

J.F.L.A.: Their expectations about Europe are higher than for any other part of the world, including the US, which has developed the ideology of America as the land of opportunity. This is because they have in the first instance an idea of Europe as a land of social welfare, aid and protection.

However, when they are here and they experience difficulties, they are challenged to be integrated or to react. Part of the radicalisation has to do with this shock.

Q.: What has the European Parliament done in order to make European citizens understand the importance of integration? What is being done in the LIBE committee?

E.C.: The European Parliament has played an increasingly important role in the promulgation of EU legislation on immigration and asylum policy over the past decade, and became a co-legislator with the advent of the Lisbon Treaty. Alongside this, the LIBE Committee has undergone a learning process and there are now a significant number of MEPs with expertise in the area of immigration policy. Certainly, whilst the involvement of the European Parliament has lengthened the legislative process overall, it has had a positive effect on the quality of the resulting legislation.

However, one of the challenges for the European Parliament is the fact that, increasingly, the EU's policy on immigration and asylum is taking a non-legislative form, and the Parliament has fewer opportunities to intervene. It has little say over initiatives to enhance practical cooperation between EU Member States, and has a limited role with respect to efforts made to enhance cooperation with third countries.

J.F.L.A.: I have been in the LIBE for five years. It is one of the busiest committees, with the heaviest workload in the European Parliament, as it deals with citizenship, integration, free movement of persons, and management of external borders. Because of its composition, the LIBE is more pro-

gressive than the Parliament plenary, as it attracts many personalities interested in human rights, social integration, and political pluralism. Our committee has advocated the need for changing the negative outlook sent by the EU about migration, aiming at reducing migrant flows and calling for a more punitive approach. For years, the EU conservative majority has done this, with a touch of populist temptation, until considering migration as a threat. The LIBE at large (with the exception of some Europhobic and nationalist individuals) considers this approach wrong, and calls for a

more positive stance. There is now a window of opportunity to regulate legal migration. If we insist in shutting down the channels of legal migration, the only outcome will be more illegal immigration and trafficking of human beings. I do believe we should create 'safe corridors' for legal immigration, and all member states should be involved, not only those with external borders, which are external borders of the EU as a whole.

Q.: In its new structure, the Juncker Commission has given a portfolio specifically dedicated to Migration, besides Home affairs, to the Greek commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos. Would you consider

this to be a positive development? In your opinion, did the former commissioner, Cecilia Malmström, do good work on the migration issue?

J.F.L.A.: The fact that Avramopoulos has been appointed with the explicit mention of migration in its portfolio should be good news, as this was implicit in the previous Commission. However, this is not enough to make a difference. Malmström performed correctly in her role, even with some passion. We'll see how it will be with Avramopoulos. He will need commitment,

**“THE REALITY OF LIVING IN EUROPE CAN BE QUITE DIFFERENT TO INITIAL EXPECTATIONS, IN TERMS OF THE AVAILABILITY AND QUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT, AND THE COST OF LIVING.”
(ELIZABETH COLLETT)**

energy and the political will to face the Council, which has leaned towards renationalisation of migration policies, despite the fact that with the Lisbon Treaty they have become a 'shared competence'. It was disappointing that the Barroso II Commission was neither strong enough, nor did it have the political will to stand against the governments. The Commission was subordinated to the Council, and to those governments that think they are stronger than others.

E.C.: It remains to be seen whether renaming the Home Affairs portfolio will herald significant change in terms of the prioritisation and coordination of immigration policy; certainly, very little has changed in



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Hearing of Commissioner for Migration and Home Affairs, Dimitris Avramopoulos

terms of competence within the portfolio itself. The strong link that has been made with the office of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs should be seen as a positive development, but there is a need for far greater coordination of immigration issues across the various portfolios of the Commission. Malmström has been a strong leader in promoting the benefits of immigration and highlighting the need for a balanced policy approach. This has been a difficult task at a time of recession, when the majority of EU Member States have been inclined to reduce economic migration, and as geopolitical shifts in the European neighbourhood, beginning with the Arab Spring, have created new challenges for EU policy.

Q.: 'Mare Nostrum' has been criticised by the Commission and other member States as a 'pull factor' for irregular migration, with traffickers putting desperate people on boats that were not seaworthy. New Frontex operation 'Triton' will mainly be a surveillance operation that will only cover an area up to 30 miles from the Italian coasts. To put it bluntly: will it mean more or less deaths at sea?

E.C.: Mare Nostrum has saved many lives. Whether it is a 'pull factor' or not can be debated ad nauseam but, at root, the existence of a 'pull factor' is irrelevant. If the lives of vulnerable individuals are at stake in such

close proximity to the external borders of Europe, then the European Union has a responsibility to respond. This can become quite a difficult imperative for governments to accept when that vulnerability is a result of the unconscionable acts of smugglers. Operation Triton is troubling in so far as it won't have the same scope as Mare Nostrum, and there is a risk that this will increase mortality in the region, even as we head towards the winter months which have historically seen lower numbers of crossings.

J.F.L.A.: Regardless of criticism of the 'pull factor', the first priority for Europe is to save lives. We must do it. However, we also have to be effective in preventive action, through cooperation with the countries of origin and transit of migrants, even with Libya, which is now a failed state. It is not regrettable at all that Italy saves lives in the Mediterranean. No matter the 'pull factor', I praise the Italian effort. However, this should be a European effort, not only Italian, or Spanish, or Greek, or Maltese. Article 80 of the Treaty on the functioning of the EU states that implementation of migration policies shall be governed by the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility between the Member States, but we are not there yet. This article should be taken seriously and implemented, which is not now the case.

Q.: Do you think the Dublin Convention should be revised, in order to modify the rule that refugees should lodge their asylum application in the first Member State they enter?

J.F.L.A.: Yes, I do. The EU should stand up for its values, no matter the cost. Otherwise we are lost.

EU'S ACTION IN THE FIELD OF INTEGRATION

A policy balancing between hard law and soft law mechanisms

Even though the EU has the competence to adopt rules in the field of immigration and asylum notably to harmonise national rules, it cannot do so when it comes to integration where its power is limited to the coordination of national laws and regulations. However, this division of competence didn't prevent the EU from going beyond the sole scope of coordination, blurring the lines of the balance between hard and soft powers.



by Yves Pascouau

In 1999, the Amsterdam Treaty gave competence to the EU to adopt rules in the field of immigration and asylum.

These issues cannot be dealt with properly without envisaging the question of the integration of people admitted on the territory of a State. But the Treaty did not devote any specific provision to integration. This was done few months later during the Tampere summit which took place in October 1999. On that occasion, Heads of States and governments underlined the necessity of fair treatment of third country Nationals and equal rights.

However, the orientations drawn by the Tampere conclusions, followed by The Hague (2004) and Stockholm (2009) programmes, the breadth of EU's competence and action regarding integration remained unclear. Put differently, did the EU have full competence, i.e. legislative competence, to act in this field or did the EU have minimal power? The Lisbon Treaty (2009) gave final an answer to this question with its article 79.4 of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union (TFEU) which states:

“The European Parliament and the Council, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, may establish meas-

ures to provide incentives and support for the action of Member States with a view to promoting the integration of third-country nationals residing legally in their territories, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States”.

This provision means that EU Member States have refused to transfer their national competence in the field of integration to the EU. As a consequence, the main competence remains the remit of the States and the EU is only able to adopt measures which aims to coordinate national policies. In other words, the EU is entrusted with the lowest level of competence as it only has the competence to coordinate, and not harmonise, national policies.

The EU level is therefore characterised by a particular situation where the EU has a harmonisation competence, and sometimes even an integration competence, in the fields of immigration and asylum and a coordination competence regarding integration issues. Such a solution goes against a basic assumption which considers that migration and integration policies should be developed together and with the same level of commitment. While true in theory, this discrepancy in terms of competences at EU level is no coincidence. It has to do with the domains covered and the players involved.

On the domain, the definition of a comprehensive integration policy requires taking into account an impressive set of connected policy fields. Hence, integrating people into the receiving societies implies that the persons concerns should be granted access to a large set of crucial services like health care, housing, education, the labour market, vocational training, culture, etc. But in all of these policy fields, EU's competence is minimal where it exists.

Secondly, integration policies involve an impressive number of players from different levels: governmental, regional, sub-regional, local, district and even sometimes at street level. In this context, and according to the principle subsidiarity, the EU does not appear to be the most appropriate level of intervention.

This is the background against which Article 79.4 of the Lisbon Treaty should be understood. However, from 1999 to 2009, EU's action in the field of integration has not always been locked to the coordination level. Far from it, the EU has adopted a series of rules and tools some of which have enable the coordination of national policies and some of

which have harmonised national rules. As a consequence, the decade running from 1999 has been the theatre of an intricate mix of actions between coordination and harmonisation, or to put it differently between hard law and soft law mechanisms.

HARD LAW: THE HARMONISATION OF NATIONAL RULES

The EU has adopted two different types of rules having the effect to harmonise national legislations: rules which embody an integration purpose and rules opening access to certain rights which improves migrants' integration into the receiving society.

Rules pursuing an integration purpose

The Family Reunification Directive and the Long Term Resident Directive fall within the first type of rules. These two EU Directives, while defining the conditions for the exercise of the right to family reunification and for the granting of a long term residence status, pursue an integration purpose per se.

The Family Reunification Directive makes it clear where it states "Family reunification is a necessary way of making family life possible. It helps to create sociocultural stability facilitating the integration of third country nationals in the Member State, which also serves to promote economic and social cohesion, a fundamental Community objective stated in the Treaty" (Preamble point 4).

The Long Term Resident Directive follows a similar line of reasoning. The Preamble states "the integration of third-country nationals who are long-term residents in the Member States is a key element in promoting economic and social cohesion, a fundamental objective of the Community stated in the

Treaty" (point 4). It adds further on "in order to constitute a genuine instrument for the integration of long-term residents into society in which they live, long-term residents should enjoy equality of treatment with citizens of the Member State in a wide range of economic and social matters, under the relevant conditions defined by this Directive" (point 12).

To summarise, the EU has adopted rules which, in their aim and content, deal with integration issues and lead to the harmonisation of national rules in the field of integration as they set conditions for the exercise of these rights.

Rules opening access to rights enhancing integration

A wide range of EU rules adopted in the field of immigration and asylum define conditions under which Member States shall or may grant access to a series of rights, which eventually have a positive impact on the integration of third country nationals. This concerns more precisely, rules granting access to the labour market; education; vocational training; health care; housing; equal treatment; recognition of diplomas and qualifications; branches of social security and tax benefits; goods and services, etc.

However, the possibility for third country nationals to have access to these rights is not similar in all of the instruments adopted and depends on the field covered and status concerned. This is the case whether it deals with international protection or admission of migrants, the status of third country nationals, temporary or permanent, the conditions to be fulfilled and the obligation or possibility for States to open access to these rights.

Where there is still a wide heterogeneity, it is worth noticing that the EU intervenes in

areas which are closely linked to integration. Indeed, having access to the labour market, benefiting from equal treatment or being able to receive health care are all elements which participate, where open, to a better integration process of third country nationals in the receiving society. In including provisions related to these rights in its legislation, the EU creates the conditions of an approximation of national rules and policies.

Hence, the EU has developed rules which directly or indirectly address integration and create the conditions for the harmonisation of Member States rules. However, and alongside harmonisation, EU institutions have also developed a wide range of tools and bodies aiming at coordinating national policies.

SOFT LAW: THE COORDINATION OF NATIONAL POLICIES

This part aims at addressing the main measures which have led to an enhanced coordination of national policies in the field of integration. They can be divided into two main types of action: policy orientation and exchange of information between relevant stakeholders.

Policy orientations

While this policy field remains largely within the remit of the States, they have adopted several political documents defining orientations regarding integration policies. Three main documents or groups of documents deserve to be highlighted in this regard.

The first document, which remains a key driver of action in this field, is the Common Basic Principles of Integration. Adopted by the Justice and Home affairs Council in November 2004, these 11 principles pursue three main objectives. First, to assist Member

States in formulating integration policies by offering a non-binding guide of basic principles against which they can judge and assess their own efforts. Second, to serve as a basis for Member States to explore how EU, national, regional, and local authorities can interact in the development and implementation of integration policies. Third, to assist

“THE EU HAS A HARMONISATION COMPETENCE, AND SOMETIMES EVEN AN INTEGRATION COMPETENCE, IN THE FIELDS OF IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM AND A COORDINATION COMPETENCE REGARDING INTEGRATION ISSUES.”

the Council to reflect upon and, over time, agree on EU-level mechanisms and policies needed to support national and local-level integration policy efforts, particularly through EU wide learning and knowledge-sharing.

Secondly, Ministers in charge of Integration issues have met since 2004 on a regular and informal basis to discuss integration issues (Groningen in 2004; Potsdam in 2007; Vichy in 2008 and Zaragoza in 2010). These conferences are designed to ease the debate among ministers on integration issues. Each of these conferences led to the adoption of conclusions which all have later been endorsed by the Justice and Home affairs Councils.

Lastly, the European Council itself played an orientation role. It did it in 1999, 2004 and 2009 while adopting the five years programmes in the area of freedom, security and justice. All of these programmes have defined orientations regarding integration of third country nationals. Alongside these reg-

ular “rendez-vous”, the European Council has adopted in 2008, under the French Presidency, the European Pact on Immigration and asylum. Primarily devoted to immigration and asylum, the document covered integration issues. While it reiterated previous engagements, the Pact marked a shift in this policy field in reinforcing the obligation for migrants

to show integration skills before benefiting from additional or enhanced rights.

On its side the European Commission has also been quite active in putting Member States orientations into effect via appropriate tools. It did so firstly with the adoption of so called “Integration Agendas” published in 2005 and 2011 which aim is to define the concrete steps to take following Member States orientations. Secondly, the Commission was tasked to manage the European Integration Fund, running from 2007 to 2013, and aiming at assisting Member States in their effort to support third country nationals’ integration and reach set priorities. In managing the Fund, the European Commission is at the centre of EU policies and able to influence national developments and therefore European convergence.

Exchange of information

Given the limited competence attributed to the EU in the field of integration, enabling and enhancing the exchange of information

between national stakeholders is a key element of the coordination of national policies. In this view, the EU has developed several types of actions which aim is to gather and share experiences and practices among Member States representatives and civil society players. **This coordination process has developed on the basis of three main routes.**

The first one takes the form of the organisation of formal meetings between national stakeholders (National Contact Points Integration) or civil society organisations (European Integration Forum). The main objective of the National Contact Points Integration meetings is to create a forum for the exchange of information and good practice between Member States, with the purpose of improving migrants' integration and to ensure policy co-ordination and coherence at national level and with EU initiatives. On its side, the European Integration Forum involves various stakeholders and in particular civil society organisations. Its objective is to enable these key players to take part in the debate at EU level and to express their views regarding challenges and priorities on integration issues. Such a participation should help EU institutions and more precisely the Commission to get feedback from "the ground" and assess whether the policy choices meet the needs of the integration process. So far, it is not entirely convincing as to whether civil society contributions have been taken into account at the appropriate level.

Second, alongside formal meetings, the Commission has developed several tools to share information. It has published a series of integration handbooks which should act as a driver for the exchange of information and good practice for policy-makers and practitioners. The Commission has also created



The Tampere Special European Council of October 1999

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the European Web Site on Integration aiming at becoming an EU-wide platform for networking on integration through exchange about policy and practices. In this view, the Website provides for different types of information including inter alia papers, good practices, country information sheets, external links, updates and events, etc. Finally, the Commission has prepared European Integration Modules. They are designed to become reference frameworks to contribute to successful integration policies and practices across Europe. Modules cover the following areas of 1) introductory courses and language classes; 2) a strong commitment by the receiving society; and 3) the active participation of migrants in all aspects of collective life.

As a third route, the Commission started developing a pilot project with Eurostat and the Member States for monitoring results of integration policies, including development of a set of common core indicators aimed to enhance comparability and reinforce the European learning process.

Neither fully competent, nor fully incompetent, EU's action in the field of integration has

been based on hard law and soft law mechanisms. This mix of actions, based on the difficult division of competences between the EU and its Member States, has enable the development of a so called EU integration policy. However, addressing the right policies in the field of integration will remain a key priority and a huge challenge for the future. Indeed, the integration of migrants is an exercise which requires to understand an increasingly mobile and diverse world and to define the right answers to make social inclusion of migrants a real success. Whether this has to be achieved through soft law or hard law mechanisms is secondary insofar sound priorities and actions are defined by the EU and Member States together.

ABOUT

Yves Pascouau joined the European Policy Centre (EPC) in February 2011 as Senior Policy Analyst and Head of the European Migration and Diversity Programme.

CAREER MIGRATION

set to be trend in globalised world

Intra-EU migrant workers are important for “Project Europe”. But demographics suggest that long-term we will need to open up to non-EU migrants in order to fill a large shortfall in the workforce. So says Annemarie Muntz, director of public affairs for Randstad and president of Ciett and Eurociett.



Interview by Ian Willoughby

Queries: Migration is obviously a big issue in today’s world. If we look at the labour market in Europe, what is the percentage of immigrant workers?

Annemarie Muntz: It depends which level you look at. If you talk about third-country nationals living in Europe, there are a fair number of them. Because we brought in labour especially from Arab Middle Eastern and North African countries, and Turkey, in the 1970s. But these are people with dual nationality who’ve lived in Europe for 30-odd years and I don’t see them or their children as labour migrants. If we consider labour-related immigration from outside Europe, it’s a very, very, very small portion. It’s really low because of the barriers that we’ve willingly created in order to prioritise European labour. Then there’s intra-EU immigration, which really started up when the 10 Central and Eastern European countries joined the EU in 2004. But still, if you look at that percentage, it’s only about 3 percent.

Q.: Randstad doesn’t normally deal with non-EU workers because of the red tape involved and the difficulty of getting them work permits. Is the European Union wise to make it so hard for non-EU citizens to work legally here?

A.M.: Of course it’s not wise. But it’s understandable if you look at the Europe of today. There’s the political tendency to protect fortress Europe. And on top of that there’s been the crisis over the last five years. So that’s the political reality. But look at the megatrends, look at the demographics. Even today in Germany the working population is shrinking. Other countries are also going to have labour shortages. In recent research that Randstad produced, we calculated that we will potentially lack 35 million workers in Europe by 2050. So if productivity remains around today’s level, we will need 35 million new workers to keep our welfare at current standards.

Q.: So do politicians then need to educate the public in order to make it clear to them that down the line we will have to fill this shortfall you’re talking about?

A.M.: Yes. That’s one side of it, but we need a holistic approach. It’s about looking at the future of Europe and saying, hey, we have this great position, in the world... because we’re always complaining in Europe, but if you look at the facts and figures we’re actually doing quite well in terms of competitiveness, in terms of GDP and in terms of skilled working population. But that’s today. If we want to maintain it the future, we need, when we look at demographic developments, to think about quite a few things and migration is absolutely one of them. Instead of making people afraid of migrants, which some of us seem to be doing these days, we should educate them about what’s really going to happen in a couple of decades.

“EVEN TODAY IN GERMANY THE WORKING POPULATION IS SHRINKING.”

Q.: Could you envisage a situation under which temporary, “guest workers” would come to European countries for a limited period?

A.M.: Well, more circular or temporary migration is already the case today. If you look at Polish workers – now we’re talking intra-EU – there is a steady group of about 100,000 Polish workers in the Netherlands. Is it the same group? No, of course not. It’s constantly changing. The average time that Poles stay in the Netherlands to work is between 15 and 19 months. So what we’re seeing is more and more temporary migration.

Q.: But if you had temporary workers coming from poorer, non-EU states they might be more inclined to stay than Poles, who know they can come and go.

A.M.: I don’t know. With the globalised world it’s becoming easier to travel. The Netherlands and some European other countries provide easier work permits to highly skilled, higher earning professionals from outside the EU. These young professionals have no intention of staying here. They come here for a job, as a step in their career. Global citizenship is becoming a kind of phenomenon among these highly skilled, high earning young people. I’m an optimist. If you look at India and China, you really see some upskilling there. I absolutely think we will see more temporary or circular migration. Or let me put in a new phrase: career migration.

Q.: But aren’t you talking about an elite? They will surely be a relatively small percentage of all migrants.

A.M.: I don’t like the word ‘elite’. Because if you look now at India and China, the number of highly educated professionals there is already growing very much. So it will be a fair amount. Today it’s not so many, also because of restrictions. But in the world of, let’s say, 2030, we will see a fair amount of career professionals moving around the world.

Q.: Getting back to intra-EU labour migration, we have freedom of movement, Schengen, the euro. But still compared to people in the United States, most Europeans are relatively reluctant to move long distances for work. Do you think in the future more may be willing to move to other countries in search of employment?

A.M.: That depends very much on country and culture in Europe. Polish people – for economic reasons, but also because the culture is like that – move easily. They moved in 2004 and they are still moving today, even though salaries in Poland are now much higher than they were a decade ago. If you look at southern European countries there’s also that willingness. However, there are also some countries where the culture is such that people won’t even move 20 kilometres for a job. Hungary, for instance, is famous for that. Another issue is if you look at the number of students moving in Europe, for a year at

Key Points

- Europe could lack as many as 35 million workers in three and a half decades’ time.
- Europe will need to rethink its current restrictive policies concerning non-EU nationals.
- Increasing globalisation will create a trend of “career migrants” gaining experience before moving on.

“THE AVERAGE TIME THAT POLES STAY IN THE NETHERLANDS TO WORK IS BETWEEN 15 AND 19 MONTHS.”

university here, a year at university there – that will also lead to more mobility. Twenty years ago students hardly ever did a year away from their own hometown college or university – and these days in Europe look at the success of the Erasmus programme! That’s also educating future career migrants.

Q.: Do many companies have programmes in place to help migrants adjust to life in their new country?

A.M.: Of course we have programmes for temporary work migrants. For instance, in the Netherlands, Randstad has a programme where we bring workers from Poland, low to mid-skilled, who work mainly in logistics, agriculture, metal and construction. And if you bring them here, you as a company are responsible for what I call work integration, and housing. Work integration means the right qualifications and language training, in so far as it’s needed. And of course when we bring them in they are fully covered by the collective labour agreements for temporary agency workers.

Q.: How does the impact on labour migration of the two different waves of EU enlargement in the 2000s compare? In 2004, 10 states joined and then in 2007 Romania and Bulgaria became members, even though some EU states at first restricted their workers’ movement.

A.M.: I’ve checked the figures for the Netherlands, where borders opened up for Romanians and Bulgarians in January this year, and we now have a registered total of 3,500. I wouldn’t say that’s overwhelming. So it may still come, but I myself don’t believe that it will be of the same order in terms of numbers as the Polish workers moving to the West.



Q.: Even though the percentage of intra-EU migrant workers is small, are they an important part of the European economy?

A.M.: You can look at it macro and micro here. Macro, I wouldn’t call 3.1 percent important. However, for ‘Project Europe’, it is important. And if you look at the micro level, speaking again for the Netherlands, it’s cer-

tainly important in agriculture, construction and the metal industry. We simply cannot find Dutch, Holland-based workers for these kinds of jobs. It would be quite a problem if they weren’t filled by workers from mainly Poland. What’s interesting is that there’s a kind of movement from the East. Polish workers are still coming to the Netherlands, to the United Kingdom and to Ireland. But then as Poland is getting more prosperous economically – and not having had the dip that we’ve had – they’re also in need of labour, and they give workers from Ukraine permits to work in Poland. And in Ukraine there’s also a gap, which they fill with workers from Georgia. So it’s a kind of chain. That’s interesting. There’s also a kind of movement of work and production to the East. We’ve been talking about people moving. At the same time, whole industries like the automobile industry and manufacturing are going East – and the number of jobs moving East is much larger than the number of people moving West.

ABOUT

Annemarie Muntz is public affairs director of Randstad, a Dutch human resources consulting firm with offices in 39 states, and president of Ciett and Eurociett, which bring together private employment agencies at international level.



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ON RISING RACISM AND INTER-ETHNIC VIOLENCE

Should Europe take a lesson from its schoolchildren?

Racism is on the increase in many European countries. It was thought that globalization, diversified migration flows and EU enlargement would help eradicate the fault-lines between ethnic groups, yet instead the opposite seems to be happening. So are the same tensions rising in the region's schools?



by Sarah Walker

The more people mix, the more they grow to understand each other. That, at least, is the theory. And Europe is mixing like never before,

not only due to migration flows beyond its external borders, but also owing to the dilution of its internal national boundaries. Recent political shifts, however, paint a different picture as 'Eurosceptic', right-wing and even xenophobic voices have grown louder during recent election campaigns across the region.

It would be logical to assume that this rise in inter-ethnic tension would be reflected throughout each strata of society, right down to its schools. Again, though, the evidence suggests otherwise.

Recent case studies have revealed that while members of the younger generation within Europe's schools are not immune to external influences, inter-ethnic conflict and violence do not necessarily represent a major problem within the education system in multi-ethnic schools.

A KEY AND DIRECT ROLE

Indeed, the welcome conclusion from such research is that education and schools themselves - as key spaces in which children interact, learn and grow – can actually play a key role in the integration of migrant children through fostering understanding and celebrating diversity.

Similarly, schools, by adopting an inclusive ethos as well as involving children's parents or guardians and the wider community, can help alleviate wider interethnic tensions in a very positive and direct way.

That said, schools can be complex places, and diverse in character. There is clearly a 'duality' to the education system, in that it has the potential on the one hand to reflect



wider society's values and climate (ethnic prejudice, stereotypes, xenophobia and racism), and yet on the other to act as a space in which social norms are challenged, and equality and inter-cultural dialogue are promoted. Additionally, even when violence or bullying exists between children from different ethnic groups, these situations are not always what they seem and should not prompt quick or simplistic judgements.

A recent research study, 'Children's Voices: Studies of interethnic conflict and violence in European Schools' (Sedmak, Medaric & Walker, Routledge, 2014), co-funded by the EU's Fundamental Rights and Citizenship programme, examined inter-ethnic violence in five European countries – England, Austria, Cyprus, Italy and Slovenia. Primary and secondary schools

with above-average ethnic mix took part from January 2011-December 2012, with a quantitative survey carried out among 10 to 12-year-olds and 16 to 17-year-olds, as well as focus groups with the children and young people, school staff and experts in the field.

The research showed that where schools promote values of inclusivity and inter-cultural co-existence and violence prevention, pupils feel respected and free to express themselves. In the English schools, for example – where the ratio of white British students was fairly low at 20% - pupils felt able to express their culture and religion and felt they were safe, had a sense of belonging and that diversity was valued – even if this was not necessarily the case outside their school gates.



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“CLEAR RULES, ZERO TOLERANCE TOWARD DISCRIMINATION AND VIOLENCE, RESPECT FOR AND INDEED CELEBRATION OF DIVERSITY, AND THE PROMOTION OF AN INCLUSIVE ETHOS ARE KEY MECHANISMS FOR THE PREVENTION OF INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS.”

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND VERBAL VIOLENCE

Psychological and verbal forms of aggression, such as name-calling, were the most common form of violence manifested across the two age groups and across all countries in the study, but especially in the younger children, where the prevalence of all forms of violence was higher. Pupils from the non-dominant ethnic backgrounds were found to experience higher levels of interethnic violence.

Other causes for friction between schoolchildren also exist, however, which must be taken into consideration. Indeed, findings revealed that ethnicity was only one factor in the interplay of categories, such as gender, socio-economic status, or sexual orientation, which can influence the

likelihood of violence incidents occurring in schools. As such, it is important to recognise the intersectional nature of violence. And outside influences still effect schools in certain circumstances. In Cyprus, for example, inter-ethnic peer violence was more of an issue in the other countries. Participants in the research noticed a growing concern about the presence of migrants at the national level. Interviewees referred to subtle discriminatory practices by Cypriot youngsters towards peers from other ethnic groups. Indeed, the prevalence of most forms of violence was higher in Cypriot schools.

In Austria, Italy and Slovenia, Roma and Sinti people still represent the most marginalised, socially vulnerable ethnic group that are habitually a target of discrimina-

Key Points

- Schools have the potential to play a key role in the integration of migrant children
- Zero-tolerance and a whole-school inclusive ethos are key to promoting integration
- Peer violence is not necessarily 'caused' by interethnic tensions; rather it should be understood as intersectional

tion and stereotyping, which also transcends from everyday life into the school environment.

In Slovenia, the majority of the migrant population are from the former Yugoslavia and the recent history of inter-ethnic conflict in the region can sometimes be replicated among individuals or groups of migrant origin. The Italian case study also highlighted the impact of wider issues within the school environment. Researchers found violence was often triggered by events outside the school community, such as when local petty crime or violent incidents were presented in the media and the ethnicity of perpetrators highlighted in a negative, stereotyped manner.

SCHOOLS AS PROTECTED SPACES

Despite the historical and contextual differences of the five case studies, a few common points emerged - primarily, that schools can make a significant difference in preventing violent behaviour as well as combating discrimination and segregation by creating a safe environment for children to communicate and express their culture. Clear rules, zero tolerance toward discrimination and violence, respect for and celebration of diversity, and the promotion of an inclusive ethos are key mechanisms for the prevention of interethnic violence in schools. Another important point is that pupils need to see themselves reflected positively in the curriculum. Some critics argue that certain multicultural educational policies can actually reproduce inequalities through a 'hidden' curriculum that masks intolerance and helps endorse and perpetuate current power relationships.

Yet although good practices in schools can clearly make a difference, their effect is ultimately dependent on the education system receiving sufficient resources and staff



Still from Bruce Goodison's film *Leave to Remain* (see our portfolio on page 100)

© Leave to Remain / Indefinite Films

training to deal effectively with these issues. Teacher training can be taken for granted. Yet much research on racism within schools highlights that some teachers often deny - or are simply oblivious of - its very existence. Such findings reflect the often widely-held view that racism is obvious, coming in the form of violent, physical attacks, rather than reflecting the reality that many forms of racism are much more subtle, and even unintended. Indeed, this ethno-centrism and insensitivity to cultural differences can itself be seen as a form of symbolic violence, and its effect is arguably tantamount to a form of exclusion.

CONSISTENT FINANCING IS CRUCIAL

What is clear is that there is no room for complacency. If one accepts that schools are key sites of secondary socialisation – where, once outside their homes, children

learn to act in appropriate ways – then it follows that they should be fully supported in achieving this. And not only should ongoing policies and procedures be implemented in schools, they should also be regularly monitored and re-evaluated. Educators, of course, face many challenges in preventing violence and promoting an inclusive ethos. Lack of consistent financing, though, belongs at the top of the list, particularly in times of economic crisis. Without backing, programmes quickly become fragmented and ineffective. At worst, they are simply allowed to wither into irrelevance.

To conclude, much has been achieved in this area. During the second half of the 20th century in Europe, the educational system has come to be seen as a key institution with the power to promote – or, indeed, inhibit - cultural and linguistic diversity, intercultural dialogue, and the integration of migrants.

THE CONTINUING ROLE OF THE EU

It is widely acknowledged today that the EU can - and should - play a role in encouraging schools to promote inclusive policies and work to counteract negative imaging and stereotyping of ethnic minorities.

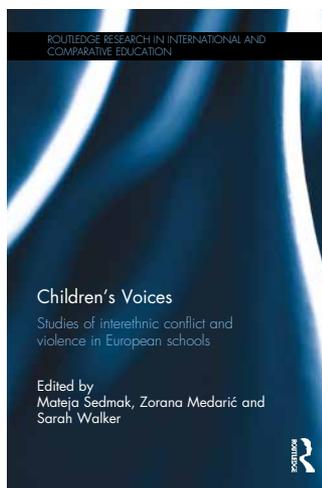
In the last 20 years, we have witnessed the introduction of numerous supra-national directives from the EU to its Member States focusing on inter-cultural education and inter-cultural citizenship.

Examples include the White Paper on 'Inter-cultural Dialogue' in 2008, and such recommendations as the White Paper on 'Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society' in 1996. Additionally, in 2006, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) issued Recommendation No.10 on 'combating racism and racial discrimination in and through school education'.

Few would now contest that, by adopting an inclusive ethos and involving children's parents or guardians and the wider community, schools can play a key part in alleviating inter-ethnic tensions.

However, this can only happen with the implementation of appropriate policies and practices promoted at national level, and this requires funding and an ongoing commitment to the promotion of diversity and the unacceptability of any forms of violence. Since identity-based bullying is a social issue, preventative measures need to also involve the wider community. Schools, after all, can only do so much within the particular space in which they operate.

“EDUCATORS FACE MANY CHALLENGES IN PREVENTING VIOLENCE AND PROMOTING AN INCLUSIVE ETHOS. LACK OF CONSISTENT FINANCING, THOUGH, BELONGS AT THE TOP OF THE LIST, PARTICULARLY IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISIS.”



ABOUT

Sarah Walker is a Research Assistant at the Centre on Migration Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford. She has worked for several years as a researcher and practitioner in the field of migration and young people. She is particularly interested in helping to combat exclusionary practices through research and practice.

EU IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM POLICIES

What impact of the 2014 EU elections' results?

After the European elections of May 2014, the extremes on the left, but especially on the right side of the political spectrum have increased their numerical strength in the European Parliament. Voting records of MEPs show that the new balance of powers is likely to have an impact on the positions of the newly-elected EP on issues such as immigration, protection of asylum seekers, and borders control.



by Doru Frantescu & Elisa Irlandese

The EU's immigration policy looks set to come under serious scrutiny during the new European Parliament (EP) following the rise in popularity of fringe parties opposed to European integration. Indeed, centrist parties which suffered at the hands of the 'Eurosceptics' during the 2014 European elections will need to co-operate more closely than before if they are to successfully fight off this challenge while continuing to work towards a common approach on immigration, asylum issues and border controls.

Eurosceptic MEPs have always opposed proposals designed to create or grant basic rights for irregular migrants or asylum-seekers, while also advocating stronger controls at both the external and internal borders of the EU and criticizing the fundamental right of free movement.

By examining the voting records of the MEPs during the 7th EP term on key questions regarding the role of the EU in these areas, we can analyze how the new composition of the European Parliament is likely to prompt demands for changes in policy.

TACKLING IRREGULAR MIGRATION VS. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

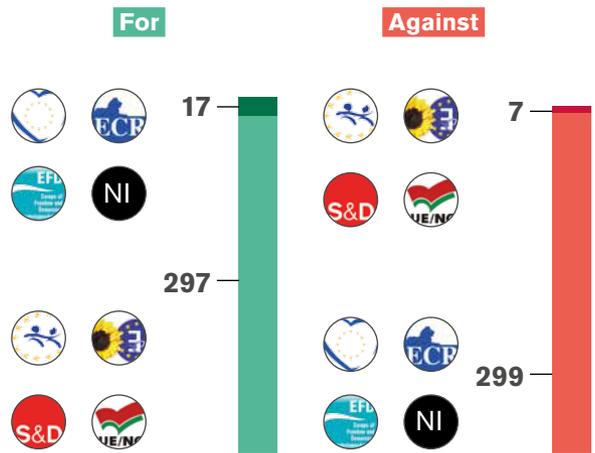
It is striking that some votes during the last parliament, on reports dealing with lighter procedures for granting international protection or admitting basic rights for irregular migrants, were passed by the narrowest of margins. These votes invariably reflected a traditional left/right divide.

The increased presence of parties at the fringes of the political spectrum might play a key role in re-shaping such policies in future, since these topics are generally crucial to them and their electorate.

“THE INCREASED PRESENCE OF PARTIES AT THE FRINGES OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM MIGHT PLAY A KEY ROLE IN SHAPING THE UPCOMING EUROPEAN POLICIES.”

Take, for example, the vote on the report entitled “Granting and withdrawing international protection”, which was drawn up to establish minimum standards of procedure among Member States for granting and withdrawing international protection, in order to be fair and accessible to both asylum-seekers and the Member States themselves.

A centre-left coalition (S&D + Greens/EFA + GUE/NGL) and the ALDE group struggled to push through the directive by a margin of only a few votes. The EPP, ECR, EFD, and non-attached MEPs, meanwhile, opposed the law, fearing that the directive would lead to an abuse of social benefits by applicants.



Again, the vote was very close, and, again, the resolution was adopted thanks to the support of the same centre-left coalition and the ALDE group. The main concern of the EPP and the ECR groups, who voted against, was that the EU, by proposing basic rights to irregular migrants, would end up supporting – and even rewarding – irregular immigration.

It is clear that, with the numerical make-up of the new EP, such texts dealing with the legal protection of basic rights for irregular migrants or asylum seekers will be more difficult to push through. The advocates of such policies, the centre-left coalition plus the ALDE group, have lost seats while groups traditionally sceptical of such provisions have increased their political strength.

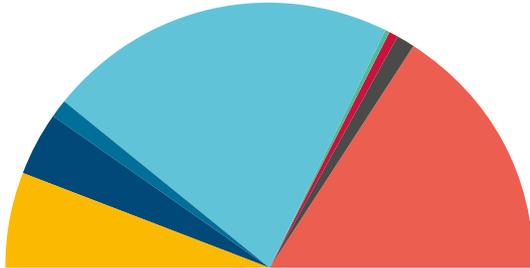
CONTROL AT EXTERNAL BORDERS

Some issues, however, command greater unity among MEPs belonging to Europe’s centrist groups. The EPP and S&D groups usually vote together on legislation targeting the enhanced control of the European Union’s external borders, the prevention of irregular migration and the rescue of migrants. In these cases, they seem certain to push through their common policy goals.

The vote on the motion for resolution entitled “Undocumented women migrants in the European Union” provides a further example. The resolution addressed the issue of granting basic services to undocumented migrants in their host country. The text called for immigration policies to be separated from the fundamental rights of healthcare, education and housing.

In October 2013, for instance, the EP voted through a report entitled “The European Border Surveillance System (EUROSUR)” by a large majority, based on their shared aim of improving the management of EU external borders and of harmonising systems among the Member States.

Votes in favour of the resolution:



	ALDE/ADLE:	57	
	ECR:	37	
	EFD:	11	
	EPP:	206	
	Greens/EFA:	1	
	GUE-NGL:	2	
	NI:	4	
	S&D:	153	

“GROUPS AT THE CENTRE OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM WILL BE ABLE TO EASILY ADOPT MEASURES ON WHICH CONSENSUS CAN BE REACHED AND TO **WIN AGAINST THE POSITIONS OF THE EXTREMES**”

Votes against the paragraph:

	ECR:	30
	EFD:	15
	EPP:	23
	NI:	16

Only the Greens and the radical left opposed the report, both groups arguing that the general focus of EUROSUR was on preventing irregular migration rather than on saving lives.

FREE MOVEMENT

Euro-sceptic MEPs are extremely critical of the right of free movement in the EU, which they believe should be limited. On such topics, however, they always found themselves in a minority in the previous EP. The majority of MEPs believe that freedom of movement is a defining principle of the European Union and one that brings significant benefits. The vote on paragraph 2 of the resolution “Respect for the fundamental right of free movement in the EU” demonstrated this, with an overwhelming majority supporting it and calling on Member States to refrain from any actions that could affect the right of free movement.

Consequently, it remains highly likely that, where such broad consensus can be reached, centrist groups will be able to easily adopt such measures in this new term of the EP, whatever the challenges of fringe parties.

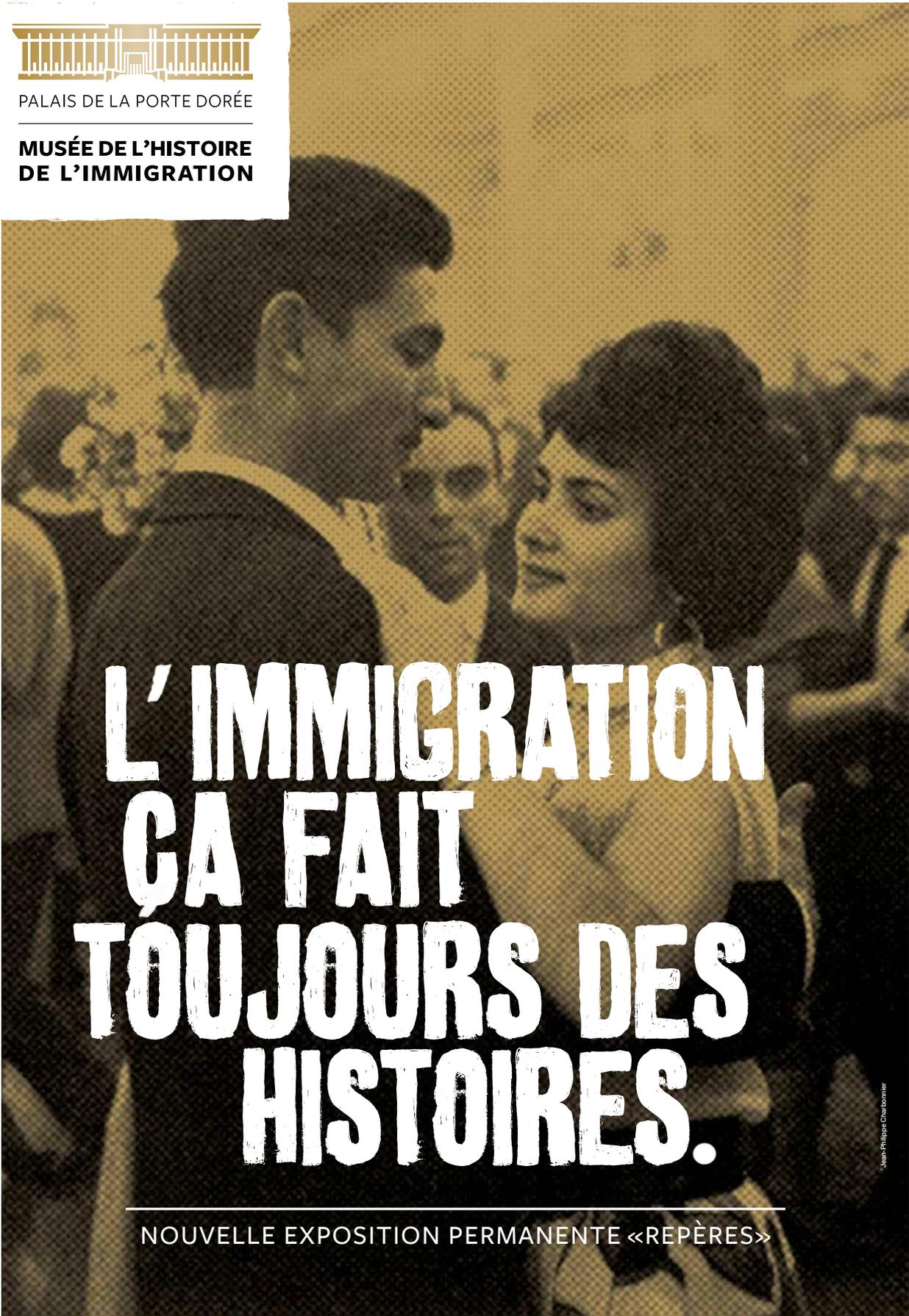
Therefore, the new make-up of the EP in the wake of the 2014 EU elections points towards potential changes in key areas of immigration policy, with calls for new measures to restrict migrant and asylum-seeker rights while also introducing tougher procedures designed to limit the illegal crossing of EU borders.

Only greater cooperation among centrist groups will see off such calls for change. Criticism of the EU's fundamental right of free movement may also increase, but the levels of consensus among supporters of this policy suggest that changes in this area remain far less likely.



PALAIS DE LA PORTE DORÉE

**MUSÉE DE L'HISTOIRE
DE L'IMMIGRATION**



**L'IMMIGRATION
ÇA FAIT
TOUJOURS DES
HISTOIRES.**

NOUVELLE EXPOSITION PERMANENTE «REPÈRES»

MIGRATION CHALLENGES OUTSIDE THE EUROPEAN UNION

Queries asked three international migration experts to answer the same question: “How does your country handle its migration flows?”



THE AMBIGUITY OF SWITZERLAND'S POSITION

Dependent, participating and still not completely on board: Switzerland has a difficult relationship with EU migration policy.



by Peter Uebersax

S

witzerland has a hybrid, ambivalent and almost schizophrenic relationship with EU migration policy.

Hybrid, because it takes part in it to some extent but also maintains its own separate migration policy. Ambivalent, because it benefits from EU policy but repeatedly complains that it

is at a disadvantage. And schizophrenic, to the extent that the failure of EU migration policy is regularly pilloried in domestic politics although the country is not yet willing to surrender the benefits it gains from it.

In the meantime, this ambiguous attitude has popular appeal. In February 2014, a national referendum approved a constitutional amendment that requires Switzer-

land to have independent controls on immigration, introducing a raft of measures designed to discourage freedom of movement, including quotas and priority for Swiss nationals. Switzerland therefore risks a power struggle with the EU that ostensibly relates only to freedom of movement but could ultimately endanger the entire bilateral relationship.

MIGRATORY PRESSURES

When Switzerland introduced the free movement of persons in 2002, most Swiss welcomed the move with high expectations. The principal hope was that it would preserve economic prosperity. The subsequent Schengen and Dublin association agreements were also initially welcomed as positive achievements. Since then a certain disillusionment has set in. The economic slowdown in the EU has increased migratory pressure within Europe to Switzerland,

which still has a relatively robust economy. This trend has only increased as the EU continues to expand eastward. Annual net inward migration is projected to be approximately 8,000 people a year, but the actual figure is 10-12 times greater, placing pressure on the labour market and the social welfare system.

Internal European conflicts and increasing problems at the EU borders have exacerbated the problem. These include, for example, Greece's inability to stem the tide of refugees, images of migrants on boats in the Mediterranean and the partially ineffective reactions on the part of the EU. Criticism has also been levied at Italy for its treatment of refugees. Things have reached the point where even participation in the Dublin system is being openly questioned, although Switzerland is one of the few states that, on a purely quantitative basis, benefit from the Dublin transfers. Schengen has also come under fire, among other things because of the theft rings operating across borders.

The positive aspects of EU policy often go unnoticed. Open borders and freedom of movement are fundamentally guaranteed and represent an opportunity for the citizens of Switzerland. That became apparent once again, at least to the academic community, when the EU suspended the Erasmus programme in reaction to the February 2014 referendum.

Parallels can be drawn between Switzerland and the European Union's efforts to channel immigration from non-member states toward individuals with technical qualifications and management staff. Questions remain, however, as to what extent that makes sense in terms of growth policy and whether or not it will lead to a greater burden on the asylum system and an increase in illegal migration.

“SWITZERLAND WILL NOT BE ABLE TO TEACH THE EU ANYTHING BEFORE IT SOLVES ITS OWN PROBLEMS.”

SHARED RESPONSIBILITIES

As a consequence, initiatives to shore up the EU's borders and combat human smuggling may take on increased importance. We can expect further humanitarian and human-rights issues. As a member of FRONTEX, Switzerland shares in the responsibility for protecting the EU's borders. In spite of this fundamental solidarity, however, the actual distribution of responsibilities seems inadequately regulated. For the time being, competing national interests are still hindering the introduction of the required harmonisation measures.

Switzerland is having a hard time with such shared responsibilities too. Although compared to other European states it has to handle a high proportion of refugees in percentage terms, it is however used to dealing with such issues, albeit on a much smaller scale, on account of its federalist organisation.

The EU has a clear head start on Switzerland through its European Neighbourhood Policy. In this respect, it undoubtedly benefits from its size and geopolitical heft. Yet overall, EU migration policy still appears too multifarious and is certainly in need of improvement. For its part, Switzerland will not be able to teach the EU anything before it solves its own problems. There is also reason to fear that sympathy for the rights of foreigners is waning. For instance, as a result of another recent amendment to the

Swiss Federal Constitution, “removals” from Switzerland (*Wegweisungen*) could in the future be issued without an examination of the proportionality of the process and the Federal Parliament recently raised the bar for naturalisation.

There is an increasingly dangerous tendency to view the relationship of Swiss citizens and foreigners as a case of “us versus them”. Humanitarian compassion is fading in Switzerland, and similar trends are also showing up in individual EU member states. That said, the EU itself is at least attempting, with a still uncertain outcome, to consolidate the legal status of foreigners. EU citizenship should strengthen the internal sense of community. The balancing act between domestic and international or European concerns will prove difficult for Switzerland, and it may also represent a challenge for the EU and its member states.

ABOUT

Peter Uebersax is an honorary professor of public law, specialising in migration law at the University of Basel in Switzerland.



THERE IS NO AUSTRALIAN SOLUTION

Australian government policy toward people seeking asylum has periodically dominated Australian national politics for the past fifteen years. The search for a “solution” is part of the problem



by Michael Cooney

The origins of current Australian policies lie in two recent periods of boat movements to Australia (earlier periods include that following the Vietnam War).

From 1989 to 1994, boats arrived in Australia carrying 735 people (predominantly Cambodian nationals). A Labor Government enacted “mandatory detention” requiring all who arrive in or enter Australia without lawful authority be detained for health, character and security checks. Then between 1999 and 2001, around 9500 people sought asylum here (predominantly from the Middle East). A conservative Government enacted “the Pacific Solution”, transporting asylum seekers directly from boats to Pacific island detention centres, not allowing them to land on Australia’s mainland. The Australian debate has since polarised.

A conservative argument – which can be summarised as “cruel to be kind” – is that only tough measures to prevent irregular arrivals, including detention of children and temporary protection even of some people granted status of refugees, can prevent

deaths at sea and over time reduce the number of people detained in Australia. Order is the ethic. In some mouths, this extends to hostility to outsiders and a determination to protect the Australian sanctuary from “the other”.

The alternative – an argument usually characterised as of the “left”, which can be summarised as “open borders, open arms” – is that deterring boat movements cannot justify the measures against individuals inherent in the Australian model. Compassion is the key. As voices of resistance, these advocates frequently deny responsibility for the human costs of this approach.

My own view – hardly universally held or uncontroversial – is that on balance, the proven risk to human life from boat movements around the remote Australian coast means no progressive Australian government can refuse all methods of mandatory detention and offshore processing to deter these boat movements over time.

It is certain however that in Australia, a persuasive, progressive policy response has not been found. And this shorthand of a “Solution” has become a major barrier to progress. It has since 2001 been applied

in Australian public debate to many bilateral and multilateral co-operative responses: an “East Timor Solution” in 2010, a “Malaysia Solution” in 2011, a “PNG Solution” in 2013. All this implies that policy success lies in a complete elimination of the “problem” of cross-border movement. This is the wrong goal altogether: it encourages counter-productive and extreme measures and disproportionate and inefficient allocation of resources while still remaining impossible to achieve.

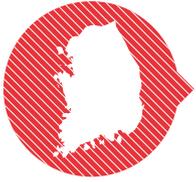
In a promising alternative, Desmond Manderson of the Australian National University argues in the leading Australian journal Griffith Review for a shift from “zero-tolerance” to “harm-reduction” strategies. His analogy is with effective policy responses to the harm of illicit drugs.

Can Australians be persuaded? Perhaps. Yet Tim Soutphommasane, now Australia’s Race Discrimination Commissioner, has written of the Australian ideal of “a sanctuary of sun and surf and suburb”. Orderly arrival, citizenship-based migration, large refugee settlement programs, well-planned suburban development and a tolerant liberal multiculturalism are essential to this sanctuary.

The sentiment of many is any substantial number of people seeking asylum by boat risks much that is precious, and even progressive, in Australian life.

ABOUT

Michael Cooney is Executive Director, Chifley Research Centre, the Australian Labor Party’s think tank. He was speechwriter to Prime Minister Julia Gillard.



MIGRATION: EU AND SOUTH KOREA FACE NEW CHALLENGES

Some EU Member States today want tighter immigration and asylum controls. In South Korea, the question is: should stringent restrictions on migrant workers be relaxed? How different are the problems they face?



by Julian J. Shin

Few issues within the European Union today cause as much heated debate as migration. It is also a big issue in South Korea, although the circumstances are very different.

The EU's common immigration and asylum policy is being constantly questioned by Member States who long to re-establish their sovereignty in governing the immigration flows of third country nationals. The debate, in relation to temporary workers and asylum seekers in particular, has been intensified by the rise of 'Eurosceptic' groups.

In this climate, it is unsurprising that Member States support a stronger system of border surveillance. Critics, though, argue that this puts the lives of refugees and asylum seekers at risk, forcing them to attempt increasingly perilous, clandestine journeys to reach Europe. They also point out that most irregular migration is caused by people already in the region overstaying their visas.

On the face of it, the EU's well-intentioned commitment to integrating immigrants, as well as its policy of 'migration and development' – which acknowledges how the 'brain drain' of migrants can damage their countries

of origin, even while helping to fill important job vacancies in Europe – has given a lead to other countries, South Korea included. Europe, though, knows it faces problems surrounding labour market shortages in the future. As its birth rate declines and its population ages, it will need to attract increasing

“PEOPLE ARE
CHOOSING
TO STAY IN THEIR
OWN REGIONS
RATHER THAN
TRAVEL FURTHER
AFIELD IN SEARCH
OF WORK.”

numbers of manual and skilled workers from elsewhere. Studies of contemporary global migration flows, though, reveal people are choosing to stay in their own regions rather than travel further afield in search of work. Migrants in Asia are more likely to stay today rather than head for Europe.

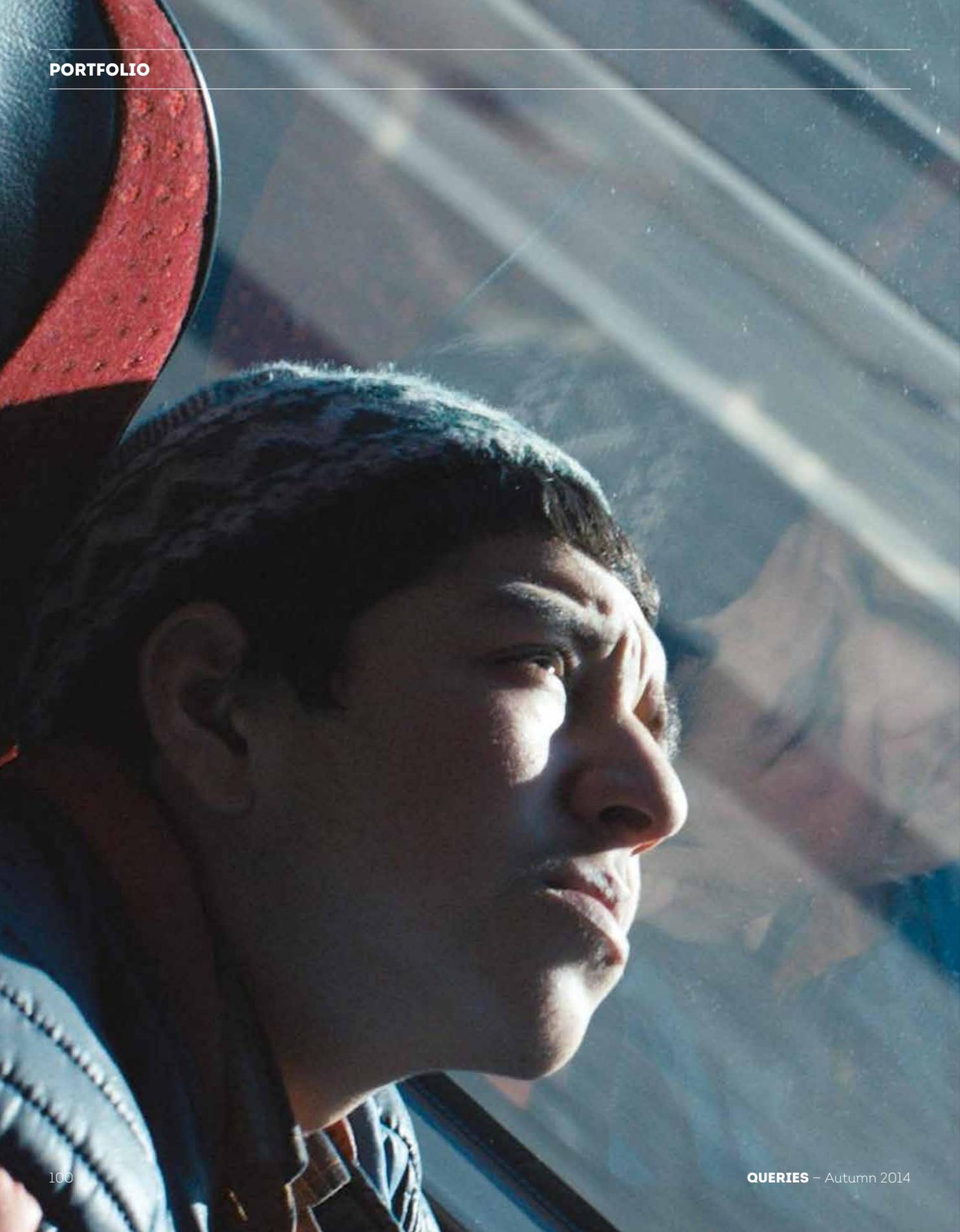
South Korea is one of Asia's top destinations for foreign workers. Most of the country's migrants, indeed, come to work. Yet it, too, is at a crucial juncture in terms of immigration. Its registered foreign population stands at around 562,000, about half of whom entered the country through the Employment Permit System (EPS). The system, developed to meet rising labour demands in the late 1980s, is strictly managed and designed to attract low-skilled workers to fill 3D (Dirty, Dangerous and Demeaning) vacancies.

The migrant workforce enjoys certain rights and benefits but is restricted to such industries as manufacturing, construction and agriculture. Permits are time-limited and individuals cannot change jobs or bring their families with them.

South Korea, though, has noted how the temporary, circular migration of workers in the EU ultimately led to permanent settlement and social diversification. The naturalization and integration of foreigners who have married Koreans is already a fact of life in the country. Now policy makers are considering ways in which 'temporary' migrant workers and their families might be integrated. As repeated, as circular international labour migration increases, all countries – South Korea and EU nations included – need to look beyond their labour needs to develop a holistic approach that also benefits countries of origin as well as migrants themselves.

ABOUT

Julian J. Shin is assistant professor at the Department of Sociology of the Chonnam National University, in South Korea.



LEAVE TO REMAIN

A European story

Ironically, while migration issues have been in the spotlight with the election to the European Parliament of political parties calling for the advent of a “fortress Europe” and the tragedies of boat-people, the individuality of migrants has remained largely ignored.

This is this very individuality that Bruce Goodison’s 2013 movie Leave to Remain brought to silver screens through the story of Omar, a charismatic Afghan teenager, who is at the precarious juncture of having his refugee status decided. For him, and thousands like him, who arrive alone and scared to our shores each year, the asylum system is a cruel game of chance.

Based on real-life stories, Leave to Remain depicts a world hidden from view, brought to life by powerful performances from an ensemble cast of emerging talent, young refugees and acclaimed actor, Toby Jones.



Captions by Bruce Goodison & Felix Wiedemann



ZIZIDI THROUGH THE WINDOW

© *Leave to Remain/ Indefinite Films*

The character of Zizidi embodies hope. Incredibly, despite her horrific past – which the Home Office does not believe in – she somehow manages to be optimistic that things will get better. Here we see her smiling with her eyes closed; she is lost in a fleeting moment of freeing joy. She uses music and her headphones to allow her to escape.

ZIZIDI ON THE TRAIN

© *Leave to Remain/ Indefinite Films*

She looks out the window which separates her from the outside world; a world where she is not allowed; a world in which she wants to belong, but must wait in limbo to be told her fate.



ZIZIDI IN THE UNDERPASS

© *Leave to Remain / Indefinite Films*

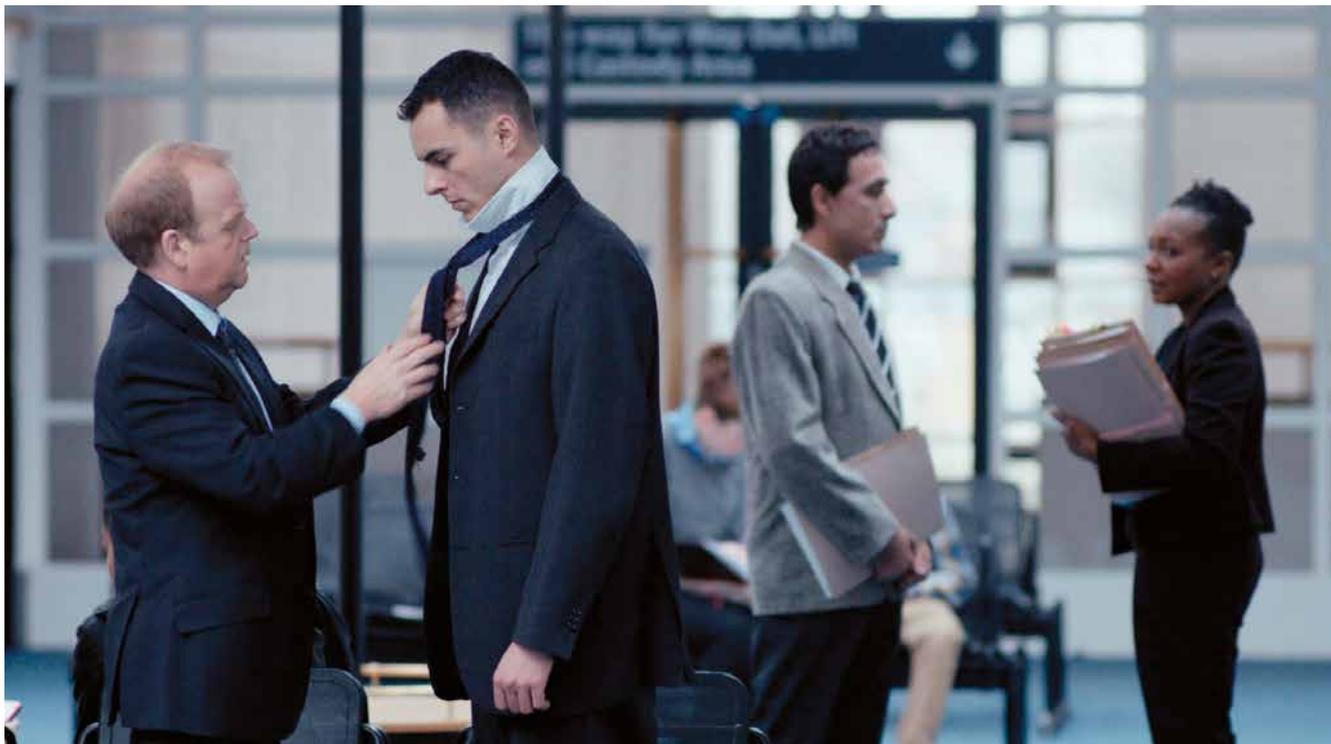
Zizidi walks alone through this underpass leading to Lunar House. Lunar House is the Home Office Building where young refugees need to register. Although the colour of the light is warm and almost golden, these walls must feel cold when touched. We are reminded of the journeys refugees take in order to escape, to get to the end of the tunnel.



OMAR AND NIGEL OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM

© *Leave to Remain/Indefinite Films*

We see Nigel, played by the acclaimed actor Toby Jones, doing Omar's tie for him, showing how helpful and caring he is, treating Omar like his own son. He ties the knot of Omar's tie, representing how he is trying to fix things for Omar and secure a better future for him. It also suggests how Nigel is entangling himself in the mess of Omar's dark past, as we later see Nigel being put in a tricky situation by the revelation of Omar's lie.





ABDUL IS INTERVIEWED AT THE HOME OFFICE

© *Leave to Remain / Indefinite Films*

His nervous, fiddling hands rest on the surface of a clinical table like countless others have before him. The room is small and plain; austere and grey however a little light shines through the window – hope – is his ordeal nearly over? This lost, desolate boy is anxious, confused and scared. How old is he? Will they believe him?



CLOSE UP OF ABDUL'S FACE

© *Leave to Remain / Indefinite Films*

This shot is from the pivotal scene where Abdul unleashes the pain he has bottled up inside of him, enmeshed with Omar's secret past, which is finally revealed. Abdul experiences conflicting emotions of grief, anger, fear and confusion, revealing a side of his character we haven't previously seen.

**ZIZIDI AND ABDUL IN CLASS**

© *Leave to Remain / Indefinite Films*

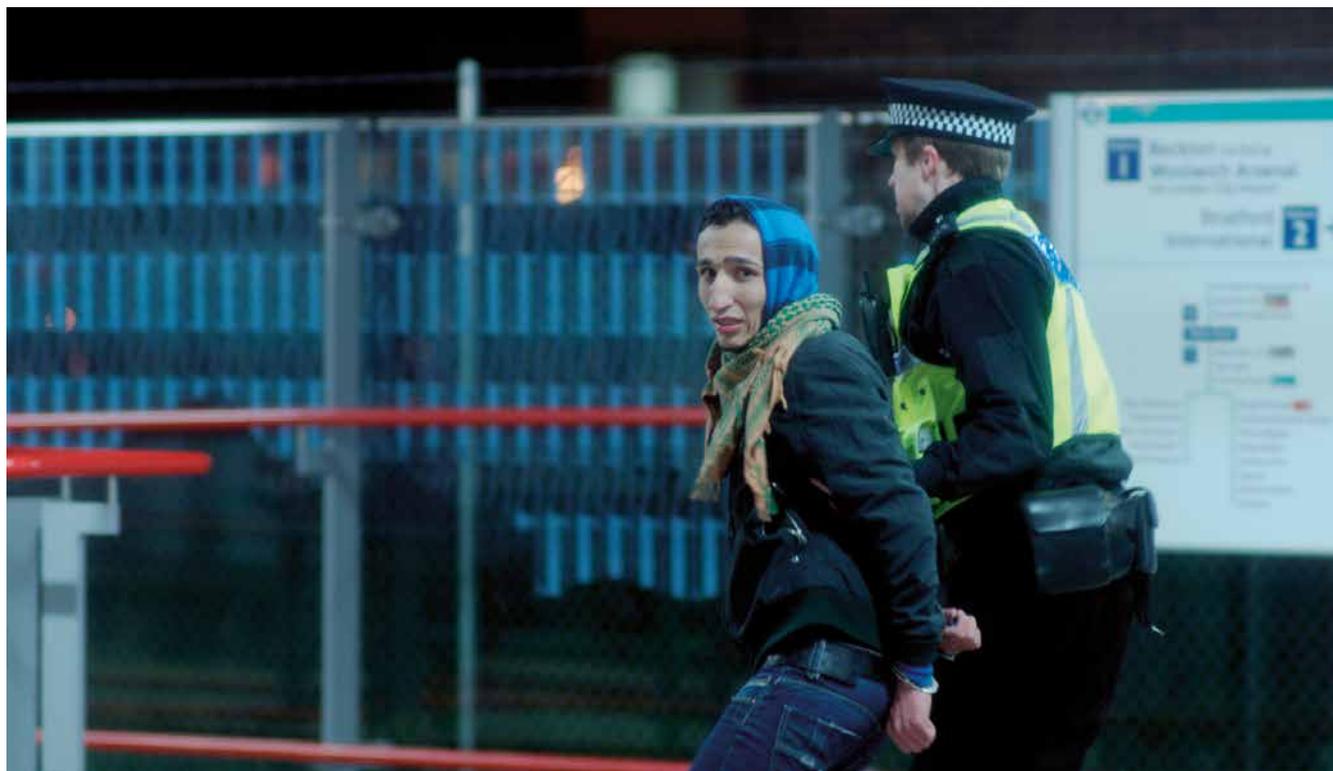
The welcoming environment of the classroom. The start of a vital friendship. Zizidi looks out for newcomer Abdul. They bond, build trust, help each other along this unknown path, providing comfort and advice. As they embark on starting a new life without their family, community, familiar surroundings, language and culture, they must build a new family support network for themselves in this foreign country.



**GROUP DRESSED UP
FOR A NIGHT OUT**

© *Mike Massaro*

A brief moment of fun, excitement and joviality. They are on their way for a night out to forget their many worries. We are reminded that despite the difficulties this disparate group face, they want to enjoy life; they are teenagers after all! Adolescent life is hard enough for most children, growing up with your parents, a roof over your head in the country you call home. These children have been unwillingly uprooted and forced to leave one hell for another. The group are dressed up in colourful clothes and playful fancy dress, with two boys ironically wearing police hats; an omen of what's about to happen.



RAFI IS TAKEN AWAY BY THE POLICE

© *Leave to Remain* / *Indefinite Films*

Rafi is handcuffed and lead away by the police. Why must they take him? What is his crime? What will they do with him? For many refugees, being sent back to the country they came from puts them at risk of death. Rafi looks back desperately at his friends. There is nothing he, nor they, can do. They will never see him again.

Leave to Remain (2013)

United Kingdom – Indefinite Films

Directed by Bruce Goodison

Lit by Felix Wiedemann

Starring Toby Jones, Zarrien Masieh, and Yasmin Mwanza



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9 781092 727050

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18 L - 26 CHF

Automne-hiver 2014
Fall-winter 2014

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INSPI- RA- TION

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WHAT DOES EUROPE MEAN TO KHALIFA SALL?

Mayor of Dakar, Senegal



© DR

E

uropean integration began in the aftermath of World War II, based on values such as peace, solidarity, harmonious develop-

ment and a shared vision of progress for humankind. The process suffered vicissitudes resulting from mutual distrust, especially between France and the United Kingdom, along with the choices between a political and an economic project, and the debate over intergovernmental management versus supranational management.

Having grown from the six-nation European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) into the European Union with its 28 member states, via the EEC along the way, Europe has established itself as one of the world's most dynamic economic centres while, to a certain extent, successfully pursuing integration through a common currency, removal of barriers and the creation of its own parliament.

EUROPE & ACP

However, there is still a lot to be done, particularly as regards politics, a social Europe and relations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP). This last issue has given rise to the problem of a new economic partnership following the Lomé, Cotonou and Yaoundé agreements. The partnership agreement sought by the European Union is a hot topic in our country as a result of globalisation and liberalisation of trade. It gives the impression of a strategy aimed at securing market share for Europe in the face of growing competition from countries such as China, Russia, Brazil and India, along with other Asian nations including Japan, South Korea and Thailand.

ACP countries have of course had special access to the European market—both in the past and still today—through specific mechanisms and conditions. Unfortunately, this special access has applied only to raw materials for European industry and products that will not compete with those made in Europe. In many ways, although ACP countries have taken advantage of the situation, Europe has also drawn immense benefit from the arrangement. Now, this latest proposed partnership—by removing all customs barriers—threatens to destructure the emerging ACP economies (given the still-fledgling industrial and commercial development in the majority of these nations), which risk seeing their markets flooded by European products.

crats in Brussels, at best only discussed with the governments of ACP countries. Neither the people of Europe nor the populations of ACP countries have had their say; and their concerns have not been properly taken into account.

In addition, the issue of migration towards Europe remains a difficulty over which more suitable policies must be put in place in the interests of all involved. From a humanitarian standpoint, the tragedies seen today in the Mediterranean and recently in Spain are simply unacceptable.

A CHANGE OF TACK

That is why I believe the European project needs a change of tack, with a focus on the following areas:

“THE CRISIS AFFECTING THE WORLD TODAY IS A CLARION CALL TO **PROVIDE AN EFFECTIVE FRAMEWORK FOR FINANCE AND FREE TRADE THAT WILL MITIGATE THEIR POTENTIAL TO DO HARM.**”

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Beyond the issue of economic cooperation, there is the matter of how the people of European and ACP countries fit into the whole process. Indeed, the interests of populations have very often been overlooked in relations between Europe and the ACP. Clearly, there have been measures such as the Stabex finance scheme and the European Development Fund (EDF) to support the policies of ACP countries, but these tools were and are the result of strategies drawn up by techno-

- Rethinking the European project by incorporating social aspects related to unemployment, social security and the role of employee representatives in companies;
- Reworking decision-making mechanisms by better taking account of the interests of populations rather than tightening the grip of the technocracy in Brussels when it comes to policies and strategies;
- Successfully tackling the problem of investment in Europe, along with competitiveness and the redistribution of income in the European area;

“THERE IS STILL A LOT TO BE DONE AS REGARDS RELATIONS WITH THE AFRICAN, CARIBBEAN AND PACIFIC GROUP OF STATES.”



Aerial view of Dakar, Senegal

- Moving more effectively towards a political Europe that does not dismiss individual national characteristics, by improving segmentation of identities to ensure that the European identity is as strong and accepted as national and regional identities;
- Reviewing the partnership with ACP countries from a less economic/free-market standpoint to build a partnership that can ensure real development in ACP countries, which must not be seen solely as consumers of European products and instead as preferred partners through a win-win approach to trade;
- Addressing the issue of migration towards Europe from a humanitarian angle that respects the lives of individuals as well as

from a global political standpoint in order to reduce people's desire to migrate through investment strategies targeting migrants' countries of origin.

SHAPING A UNIVERSAL CIVILISATION

The crisis affecting the world today, especially in Europe, is a clarion call for major changes and new regulations to provide an effective framework for finance and free trade that will mitigate their potential to do harm. In this respect, the European left and progressives must rally to ensure that neoliberal single-mindedness is no longer given free rein and to introduce a democratic and social alternative into the European project.

Here in Senegal, our battle to build a strong, stable democracy, to ensure balanced growth that can benefit our people, to promote solidarity and sharing in our society in support of this balanced growth, and to shape relevant, effective African integration to some degree ties in with the ideals that must be shared with Europe.

That is why Europe—which has been Africa's natural, direct partner for many a year—must work with us to forge a strong partnership based on these paradigms, which will help our respective peoples flourish. The Universal Civilisation and the Concert of Nations, so often evoked by our first president, Léopold Sédar Senghor, are goals we can reach through peace and stability, provided each member of the orchestra is allowed to play their part in harmony as we create and invent a new future together.

Khalifa Ababacar Sall *has been the Mayor of Dakar since 2009. Dakar is the capital city of Senegal, and comprises nearly half of the country's total population.*



© Howard Sooley / Anselm Kiefer, Courtesy Royal Academy of Arts

ANSELM KIEFER AND THE TROUBLED WATERS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

Retrospective at the Royal Academy of Arts - London - September 27 to December 14, 2014

The Anselm Kiefer exhibition conveys the brutal trauma of the Second World War to a dizzying degree, through a blend of aesthetic emotion and the cry of a continent stripped bare. Discover a committed artist who has produced an oeuvre filled with meaning that can help to rebuild Europe's collective memory.



by Charlotte Saliou



© Anselm Kiefer, Courtesy Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, Munich



© Anselm Kiefer, Courtesy San Francisco Museum of Modern Art

AN EXTENSIVE EXHIBITION

Anselm Kiefer's art is the product of 40 years' work, and has been brought together in a magnificent showcase for this latest exhibition. The pieces are on loan from public and private collections around the world, including the most recent, a sign of the artist's appeal on the art market.

Kiefer has used a wide array of media throughout his career to express himself more freely, including paintings, sculptures, installations and photographs. The current exhibition reflects the full extent of his work, as well as the thinking that has inspired him over the years. His fascination with history comes through clearly as something that is deeply rooted and a guiding force. As does his attachment to the work of past masters. His pieces are permeated by mythology, which he reflects in a modern light, while adding symbolic and semantic scope of his own. Scientific discoveries and progress are another source of inspiration, along with the Kabbalah,

alchemy, philosophy and the poetry of Paul Celan, all of which leave their mark on an oeuvre that echoes the darker hours of Germany's past. Such is the impact of history that it shapes both the style and substance of his work.

"I FEAR
THE BEAUTY
OF ART
MAY TURN
TO ASH
ONCE IT
IS PUT
INTO WORDS."

Highlights of the exhibition include paintings from the controversial Occupations and Heroic Symbols (Heroische Sinnbilder) series from the late 1960s and early 1970s.

These images record Kiefer's re-enactment of the Nazi salute in locations across Europe. The pieces carry a dual meaning, both provocative and symbolic, and were made in the belief that one must confront rather than suppress the experiences of history. It seems his entire opus is born of the need to give voice to truth, to leave nothing unsaid and to never silence the pain. His work is acknowledged for its rich meaning and depth, and reveals a clever technical use of natural materials such as clay, lead, ash, earth, fabric and dried flowers. These materials add powerful symbolism that conveys a sense of the natural, the living and the "vestiges" of the living (ash). As such, their impact on the canvas mirrors that of a myth, returning to the roots to better explain the essence of things, both culturally and in terms of universal fundamentals. The work is powerful, imbued with clear values, indescribable aspects, enigmas and a range of registers (the gravity of the symbols is striking when one considers the author's sense of sarcasm and irony).

“BORN IN GERMANY JUST THREE MONTHS BEFORE THE END OF THE WAR, KIEFER GREW UP BECOMING MORE AND MORE AWARE THAT **THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF GERMAN HISTORY THAT WASN'T REALLY TALKED ABOUT.**”



© Studio Tromp, Rotterdam / Anselm Kiefer, Courtesy Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

The exhibition features a series of paintings from Kiefer's Attic series, including the 1973 pieces *Father, Son and the Holy Ghost* (*Vater, Sohn, Heiliger Geist*) and *Notung*, based on the studio space where the artist lived in Walldürn-Horbach in south-west Germany, which he has referred to as “a place to teach [himself] history.” Indeed, the need to tackle subject matter from Germany's past is a driving force behind Kiefer's work on rebuilding a collective identity, and through which he is able to express his own.

The exhibition also includes his monumental architectural paintings, such as the 1983 work *To the Unknown Painter* (*Dem unbekanntem Maler*), and shows the artist's engagement with the facets of history through works such as *Palette on a Rope* (*Palette am Seil*), 1971, the ultimate symbol of his commitment to combat totalitarianism. Kiefer's books are also on display, including *For Paul Celan*, *Ash Flowers* (*Für Paul*

Celan, Aschenblume) and *Black Flakes* (*Schwarze Flocken*), 2006. His work offers an unwavering, grave and solemn insight into the power of memory and the passage of time, set against the ravages of history and its impact on the future. Kiefer also produced a number of new works for the exhibition, incorporating large-scale paintings and sculptures, including a major installation for the Royal Academy's courtyard.

AN INSPIRED, COMMITTED ARTIST

Anselm Kiefer draws inspiration from science, literature and poetry, “muses” that buoy him in his creative process and give him reason to believe. The artist's work is far from pessimistic, yet it can appear dark and obscure. This weighty visual aspect stems perhaps from the semantic depth of the oeuvre and its many sources of inspiration, which can at times produce pieces that are abstruse while brimming with emotion. However, his work becomes clearer, revealing the enigmas it hides, if we are able

to at least temporarily leave the realm of art theory and explore a wholly different lexicon spanning cosmogony, universality and constellation—an approach also found in the work of French author Victor Hugo, whom the artist cited in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France in 2010. From this standpoint, Kiefer's work appears profoundly poetic and can captivate any audience. His oeuvre might be described as being filled with fervour for life, or perhaps “survival”. In the artist's own words: “Art will survive its ruins.” The hand of man may leave a trace, which time and the universe will cause to evolve, and will protect against the emptiness of fashion, trends, kitsch and the “underground”. The “hideous” then becomes that which is not living and remains devoid of evolution or perspective, confined by contingency. In this respect, his work takes on more meaning, seen as an eternal study that comes to life between hope and hopelessness, on the path followed by the work itself.

Kiefer also has a strong affinity for the poet Rainier Maria Rilke. There is no denying that in Letter to a Young Poet—a rich text containing an abundance of candour and advice addressed to the reader and, more specifically, to the poet’s “student”—art appears to be defined as an animate object akin to an evolving human being. Anselm Kiefer does not appear to have any pre-conceived ideas in his approach to art. However, he undoubtedly draws inspiration from poetry and history, especially European works.

AN OEUVRE IMBUED WITH EUROPEAN HISTORY

The artist and his work are haunted by the memory and the tale of a worldwide tragedy. They carry the scars of the barbarism, the ineffable pain and the tribulation of the Holocaust, which left ontological values such as hope, happiness and belief in ruins. The cogito itself, providing the origin of thought, was left floundering in absurdity. The fundamentals of knowledge, understanding and optimism barely survived the crisis. Europe then wrestled to emerge from the ashes.

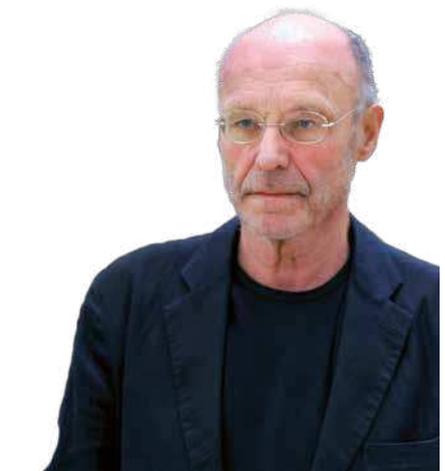
Art, permeated by these realities, offered a means to “rebuild” our collective memory. Perception remained yet the values found in elegant proportions, classical harmony, and the Renaissance perspective could no longer truly show the world as they did before the Holocaust. Art came to embrace other values; charting other troubled waters, exploring a new truth, full of doubt, with all its deconstruction and reconstruction, its intervening periods and peripateticism. The artist sought to free his imagination in his work yet found it bridled by facets of history and “truth”. However, through different media, he found a way to “rebuild” his own identity and to help recapture the collective

“HIS ENTIRE OPUS IS BORN OF THE NEED TO GIVE VOICE TO TRUTH, TO LEAVE NOTHING UNSAID AND TO NEVER SILENCE THE PAIN.”

identity through the aforementioned universal myths, with history too heavy a burden, much too grave to be made an instrument of art and literature.

The concepts of modern writers have clearly inspired the artist, pushing him to reflect. There is, in his work, a willingness to interact with reality and a need to revitalise his approach, to destroy past stereotypes and to better convey what art means to us in our time. The struggle with a dominant ideology and the desire to escape the language that characterises it is quickly apparent, giving rise to the “crisis of Logos”, a concept that fuelled art in the second half of the 20th century. Speaking at the Collège de France, Anselm Kiefer voiced his own view on the issue: “I fear the beauty of art may turn to ash once it is put into words.”

The exhibition offers a retrospective on the life and work of an artist whose engagement and inspiration provide an amply fertile seedbed to rethink European history and express his ideas while allowing the emotions to which they give rise to come to the fore and be felt. Such feeling and reflection could enlighten the minds of many an individual, making the collective European identity undeniably stronger through the power of newfound memory.



© Howard Sooley/Anselm Kiefer

ABOUT

Anselm Kiefer was born in 1945 in Donaueschingen, Germany. After studying law, he began his art education in Karlsruhe and then Düsseldorf, representing Germany at the 39th Venice Biennale in 1980. His work is now shown at major museums throughout the world. In 2010, he was appointed to the Chair of Artistic Creation at the Collège de France, where he delivered nine lectures entitled “Art will survive its ruins” (Die Kunst geht knapp nicht unter).



PLAYING WITH THE RUBBLE OF THE WAR

Interview with Kathleen Soriano, curator of the Anselm Kiefer retrospective at the Royal Academy of Arts in London

Queries: From a global point of view, what is Kiefer's artistic vision?

Kathleen Soriano: I think that Kiefer is very interested in the big questions in life: how did we come to be here? What are we here for? What are we here to do? I think that from a global point of view, this is what he is considering in his work. When you understand that he has a very sceptical view of history rather than a linear one, you then get a better understanding of what you are looking at on the walls.

Q.: How much did Europe influence his life and work?

K.S.: Europe has been a fundamental influence for Kiefer's work. He talks about the importance of being born and raised in Donaueschingen, in Germany, of how he was surrounded as a child by the rubble of the war and how he used to play with it. The rubble goes on to figure in some of his painting later on, some of the brick paintings. That was a fundamental influence, that precise period in Europe when he was born. Also, his travels to Europe, and then across the world, have always influenced his work and some of the scenes one can encounter in his work.

Q.: It seems like he used myths to talk about history and the changes inherited from World War II. Why is that?

K.S.: His work began with the Second World War because that was the period he experienced most pointedly, as a child who was born just three months before its end. He grew up becoming more and more aware that there was an important part of German history that wasn't really talked about. I guess that History lessons at school didn't really deal with that topic for very long because it was only associated with the third Reich and the National Socialist Party. There were a group of young artists and writers in Germany at that time, in the sixties, who were concerned that there was a blanket of silence over the country, with regard to that very difficult period. It was very hard to be an artist in Germany after the war because the Nazi had defined what was good and/or acceptable art. These artists were very keen to reclaim the world of art for German artists.

The Second World War had a very important influence on the beginning of his work. What I always tell people is whilst the stories that are told in the paintings are often directly referencing that war, they are as much about today and the future as they are about the past. Underlying the precise issue of World War II, Kiefer is also actually exploring the tension between good and evil, between heaven and earth. And it goes up to the big questions rather than the simplistic analysis of these historical events.

“KIEFER GREW AWARE THAT THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF GERMAN HISTORY THAT WASN'T REALLY TALKED ABOUT.”

Q.: What messages is he trying to convey in his work?

K.S.: I don't think he's trying to convey any message at all and if you ask him that question he would say that he paints in order to understand and work through his thinking on a subject. If people take a message from that, then that is their doing, because he doesn't paint in order to communicate one.

Q.: Regarding his vision of Europe, would you say it is pessimistic or hopeless?

K.S.: I think he's always hopeful because he thinks about time and history in a geological sense. Time is bigger than all of us, and even human history on Earth. He's ultimately hopeful about how we will develop. In his work and study, when he looks at philosophy, history and religion, he's really trying to understand how we behave and why we behave the way we do.

I don't think it is as simple as whether or not he is hopeful or has no hope for Europe, for the world is going forward.

BROAD ALLIANCE AGAINST THE ISLAMIC STATE

Around 40 states have joined forces under the US's leadership to fight the Islamic State (IS). Airstrikes and support for moderate Syrian rebels are to put an end to the advance of the terrorist militia. Is this the start of a new war on terror?



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14.09.2014

THE GUARDIAN



Cameron didn't fall into IS trap

In announcing that there would be no immediate military retaliation the British prime minister reacted coolheadedly to the killing of aid worker David Haines, the left-liberal daily The Guardian writes in praise: "In spite of Mr Haines's horrific killing, to assert a unilateral UK military response at this stage in the process would not just have been to do what Isis wants. It would also, in the context of the evolving strategy signalled last week by President Obama, have been recklessly premature. It would have reinforced the old imperial stereotype and in the wrong

way. The UK has the material ability to respond to a horrific international event of this kind, but it needs the moral and political ability too. Mr Cameron should only respond in ways that lend legitimacy to the action rather than put its legitimacy at risk."

15.09.2014

LA REPUBBLICA



ASSAD'S ROLE MUST BE CLARIFIED

Representatives of around 20 countries will meet in Paris today Monday to discuss what action to take against the IS. The participants must finally decide how to behave vis-à-vis Syrian ruler Bashar al-Assad, the left-liberal daily La Repubblica urges: "The death of David Haines, whose only sin was to try to help the Syrian population, the victims of the civil war, comes like a lash of the whip for the broad and confused anti-jihadist coalition that is meeting today in Paris. His decapitation should be an incentive to accelerate the intervention. [...] Many see the need and urgency to do this, but not just a few are hesitant about participating militarily with airstrikes or ground operations. Russia will no doubt try to prevent the conflict from spreading to Syria with a veto in the UN Security Council. [...] Because as an ally of the Syrian regime Moscow would like to see Assad recognised as a potential member of the large anti-jihadist coalition."

16.09.2014

EL PAÍS



Arab states are high-risk allies

The Arab states in the coalition against the Islamic State pose a threat in the medium term, Middle East expert Rami Khouri warns in the left-liberal daily El País: "The biggest weakness in Obama's coalition is its Arab members, all of whom are autocratic and paternalistic states that share several embarrassing traits: they are reluctant to use their formidable military arsenals in the fight

against ISIS, either from political fear or technical weaknesses; they face strong problems with their own public opinions at home that are very dubious about partnering with the American military; their own mistreatment of some of their prisoners in their jails incubated the birth of Al-Qaeda in the 1980s."

22.09.2014

THE INDEPENDENT



OFFER ASYLUM INSTEAD OF BOMBING IS

The terrorist IS militia is now being bombarded but no one has a plan for what to do with the refugees from Syria, Kate Allen, director of Amnesty International, criticises in the left-liberal daily The Independent: "Syria is facing the world's biggest humanitarian crisis, and its neighbouring countries can't manage on their own. Around the world, despite the politicians' promises, the response has been woeful. EU countries have taken

less than one percent of Syria's refugees, the UK has resettled a grand total of 51 people. As I left Lebanon a government adviser said to me 'Don't tell us to keep our borders open, while you close yours'. It's a remark that ought to be reverberating around Downing Street as the generals explain to David Cameron how they're going to 'destroy' Syria's Isis fighters."

22.09.2014

ACTUALNO.COM



DEFEAT IS THROUGH RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

The terrorist IS can't be beaten with bombs alone, the news portal Actualno.com warns: "The 'Islamic State' is mainly viewed as a military threat and a security problem, while its ideological aspects are largely ignored. [...] The core of the terrorist militia, however, is its ideology based on an extremist interpretation of Islam. [...] Bombs are not the right means for countering this ideology. Far more efficient would be to develop a consensus on religious freedom. As long as America's allies [in the Middle East] don't stop using religious exclusion as a means of cementing power and control in their own countries, and as long as they refuse to promote religious tolerance among their own citizens they will be part of the problem in the fight against the IS, rather than part of the solution."



© United States Navy

25.09.2014

LIBÉRATION



France must not let itself be blackmailed

France must not buckle after the beheading of French tourist Hervé Gourdel, the left-liberal daily Libération urges: "Hervé Gourdel, a lover of mountain summits, died because of a war in which he played no part whatsoever. In this he resembles the French, who are now suddenly aware of the risks that they are taking in opposing Islamic fanaticism. Some will say that the military interventions were overhasty, and that we took part without being directly affected. [...] But

doubting our course now would be to justify the barbarians' tactics. Giving up in the midst of this drama would mean to let weakness triumph over intelligence. The justified horror this crime provokes must not lead to irrational fears."

26.09.2014

AGOS



Moscow has no part in new alliances

Over the past three days the US military and its Arab allies have bombarded oil refineries, command headquarters and weapons stockpiles under the IS's control in Syria. But the alliance with Arab states does not just weaken the IS, the weekly paper of the Armenian minority, Agos, comments: "In August last year the US was preparing to attack the Syrian regime. Today this regime's opponent, the IS, is the US's target. But not for love of [Syrian president] Assad, but to create a vacuum by eliminating the IS. It's no secret who will fill this vacuum. The US has announced its intention of approaching the non-extremist opposition and arming it. [...] Iran has given the US the green light for Syria. [...] Russia will probably be the big loser here. Now that the Syrian regime has suddenly withdrawn its opposition to the US airstrikes on the grounds that it will come to terms with anyone in the fight against terrorism, and now that Iran too has distanced itself from its former position, Russia has been left all on its own."

02.10.2014

DER STANDARD



TURKISH SAFE ZONE IN SYRIA CONTROVERSIAL

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's proposal for setting up a "safe zone" in Northern Syria is controversial in the Arab World, the left-liberal daily Der Standard explains: "In Western media Turkey's plans are seen in the context of the expansion of the anti-IS alliance, in which Turkey can now take full part after the release of its hostages by the IS. However it's not possible to understand the significance - and potential repercussions - of a Turkish intervention in Syria without looking at the Arabic media. There the idea that Turkey

is cooperating with the IS to claim part of Syria for itself is practically mainstream. In this respect the media of the Gulf states - which take an antagonistic view of the Assad regime - suddenly sound exactly like the Syrian state media: neo-Ottoman plans for launching a colonialist attack on Arab land. The fact that the Turkish parliament's authorisation would also extend to Iraq incites fears regarding Mossul - which the Turks lost after World War I."



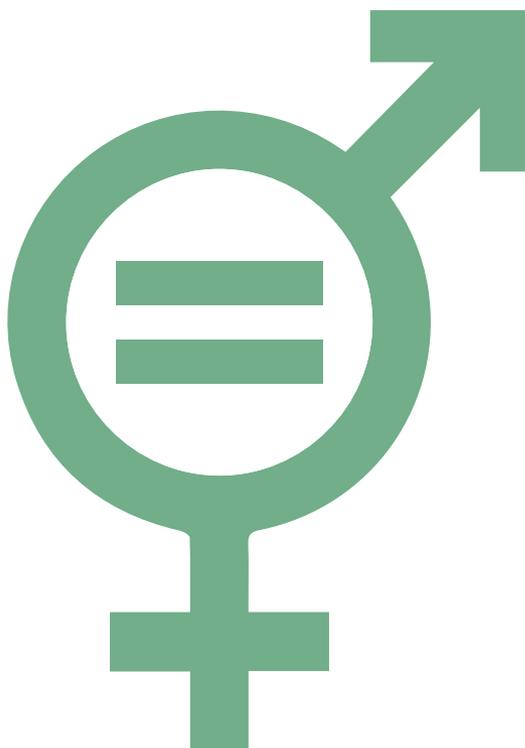
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AGAINST THE GENDER IMPACT OF AUSTERITY

Austerity policies have damaged Europe's gender equality aspirations and policies. FEPS and Progressive European experts are looking for a new macro-economic framework that could help overcome the crisis without harming women's participation in the labour market.



by Kim Rahir



W

hen Europe was hit by the financial crisis in 2008 it looked as though some-

thing unusual might be taking place: the effects of the crisis, including declining businesses, shrinking economies and - as a consequence - unemployment, seemed to hit men harder than women. Since the worst of the immediate fallout was in the financial sector and in male-dominated industries such as construction, many more men lost their jobs than women in the first shock-wave of the global crisis. For once, women seemed to have an advantage over their male counterparts. But it was not to last. The crisis caused a credit squeeze and a frenzy of reactive policies that were directed first at saving failing banks and then at saving failing state budgets. Austerity was back and it was to prove disastrous for women and gender equality. It looked as though years of efforts to promote equality, European guidelines and ambitions for gender mainstreaming were thrown overboard. "I think it was some kind of panic reaction", says Ursula Barry of Dublin University College. For an entire decade the keyword had been "activation": women were sought after as a supply source for the labour market. The crisis then generated a shift of priorities. Gender mainstreaming was no longer considered essential in policy decisions.

"HE-CESSION" AND "SHE-AUSTERITY"

But the analysis shouldn't stop there, says Hannah Bargawi of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). Bargawi is part of a project that wants to go "beyond this rather simplistic binary analysis" that is summed up in the words "he-cession" and "she-austerity". "Much of the research on the exact channels and dimensions of impact is only just able to inform our thinking because of the delay in the production of national level data", she cautions. The project is called 'Beyond Austerity, Towards Employment: A Gender-Aware Framework' and is a co-operation of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS), the Think-Tank for Action on Social Change (TASC), The Economic Council of the Labour Movement (ECLM), the Open University and SOAS. An eponymous seminar in Brussels brought together European experts for two days of analysis and discussion on February 11th and 12th, 2014. **Two objectives were set:**

1. Determine and discuss the channels and the extent of the impact of austerity policies on men and women in Europe, particularly in the labour market.

2. Define the characteristics of a progressive and gender equitable macroeconomic framework for Europe.

The participants demonstrated that the impact of austerity policies on men and women is manifold and complex. The setbacks for gender equality achievements, it is true, seem to be as much the consequence of policies or of a shift of priorities in those policies as

of the financial crisis and the following economic downturn. But the analysis went beyond that powerful first impression.

THE WORSENING OF MEN'S SITUATION DOES NOT EQUAL A CLOSING GENDER GAP

At first sight one could come to the conclusion that the crisis has levelled down gender gaps and shown changes in women's behaviour on the labour market. Massive job losses for men, and the spread of low-value, flexible workers that concerned not only women but also young male workers seem to have approximated the situations of men and women on the labour market. But this impression was not confirmed when the experts took a closer look. In Ireland, it has become evident "that gender gaps have narrowed, that there has been a levelling down of gender gaps in employment, unemployment, wages and poverty over the crisis", Barry explained during the seminar. "But what is also apparent if the data is closely examined is that this does not reflect progress towards greater gender equality."

This analysis is shared by Marcella Corsi from the University of Rome La Sapienza. "On the surface, the gap between men and women is being bridged, but under the surface, things are more complex and effects diversified among men and women. Gender gaps are closing not because women improved their situation but because men saw theirs getting comparatively worse", Corsi says. So what looks like men and women

“THE PROBLEM FOR WOMEN, MOREOVER, IS NOT ONLY THE RISK OF UNEMPLOYMENT WITH JOB CUTS, IT CAN ALSO CONSIST OF HAVING TO MOVE FROM A SECURE PERMANENT JOB INTO MORE PRECARIOUS FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT BECAUSE OF OUTSOURCING.”

becoming more equal, is actually nothing else but men being worse off than before. Another approximation is seen in the fact that the crisis has shown that employment is no longer considered “optional” for women and by women - the data reflect that with the shrinking of the labour market, women did not simply retreat into the role of homemakers but insisted on being registered as “unemployed”.

WOMEN TAKE ON MOST OF THE EXTRA UNPAID WORK

But women’s roles in the economy and in society are actually quite complex. This is one of the reasons that crisis and austerity policies both hit women definitely harder than men. One way to understand and analyse the role of women is to take into account and evaluate unpaid work, says Diane Elson of the University of Essex. In economic statistics, unpaid work is often not considered. But some European countries studied the significance of unpaid work and put a money value on it. The results showed that unpaid work can sometimes be equivalent to a third of GDP. Why is this important for the role of women during the crisis? Because “there is evidence (albeit not comprehensive) that unpaid work expands in recession and in

response to cuts in public expenditure”, Elson explains. “This helps people to survive, but the burden generally falls unequally, more on women than on men”. And the story doesn’t end there: Because if the economy starts to recover, “responsibilities for unpaid care work constrain the extent to which women are able to participate”. After what can be considered the “first hit” - the crisis with rising unemployment, the expansion of unpaid work with the burden falling mainly on women - the second blow followed: austerity policies. These consist - among other things - in public sector cuts. In Ireland, as Barry shows, the first wave was the slashing of budgets of key equality agencies that were focused on women, equality, poverty and racism. Important organisations were “closed down or denied their independence by being absorbed into government departments”. Those measures were followed by job losses and pay cuts across the public sector - a sector that had become “a key source of employment for women, combining job security with some flexibility”.

PUBLIC SECTOR CUTS HARM WOMEN IN SEVERAL WAYS

The vulnerability of women in public sector jobs turned out to be a European phenom-

enon according to Gloria Mills, who represented the European Federation of Public Service Union (EPSU). Austerity policies and cuts in Europe have been “particularly harmful to women who in most countries make up the majority of those employed in the public sector”. Paola Villa of the University of Trento and Mark Smith of Lancaster University, summed up why women were hit hard and manifold by the public sector cuts: “Firstly, the majority of public-sector workers are women and thus subject to pay freezes, job cuts and reduced pension entitlements. Secondly, women use public services more intensely than men to meet their own needs and to help manage care responsibilities. Thirdly, women are more likely than men to pick up the extra unpaid work resulting from cuts in public services. Finally, women have a higher dependency on benefits due to their higher participation in unpaid care work and their lower earnings.”

The problem for women, moreover, is not only the risk of unemployment with job cuts, it can also consist of having to move from a secure permanent job into more precarious forms of employment because of outsourcing. Bargawi points out one interesting, gender relevant finding with regards to jobs cuts. “Comparing the most recent EU data on full and part-time employment in the Eurozone periphery countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Ireland), demonstrates that the availability of full-time work in the public sector has declined for both men and women since the inception of austerity policies. A worrying gender dimension to this process is that men have been able to increase their part-time work in response to the fall in full-time jobs. For women, such part-time work has, however, also declined.”

And women did not only lose their jobs or

job security. With the slashing of budgets for services for disadvantaged or poor households, women were hit again since they make up a majority of single-parent and vulnerable families that get to benefit from those services.

**AFTER YEARS OF EQUALITY
CAMPAIGNING WOMEN WERE
CONSIDERED A RESERVE LABOUR
FORCE AGAIN**

European women's plight in the crisis and its aftermath seem even the more surprising as Europe does have a well formulated agenda on gender equality. Treaties, Directives, the Charter of Fundamental Rights, the Commission's Women's Charter and Strategy for Equality between Women and Men - the idea of achieving gender equality is omnipresent in Europe's written guidelines. The European Commission had been very active to promote gender mainstreaming for employment policies. Gender mainstreaming is the integration of the gender perspective into every stage of the policy process with the goal to promote equality between men and women. It means analysing the impact of policies on the lives of men and women. But this approach to gender equality, as Gloria Mills notes, "is yet to be mainstreamed in EU economic and financial policy." With the shift of priorities in the crisis, women came again to be considered as some kind of reserve labour force. The same is true for young people and migrants. They are drawn onto the labour market in times of growth and can be let go in a contraction of the economy.

To get back on track towards the goal of gender mainstreaming and equality, one important step, according to Mills, is "to formulate policy based on robust, reliable and transparent gender data". Mills re-

counts the example of a UK study in 2010 that concluded that 72 percent of government spending cuts of £ 8.1 billion would hit women compared to 28 per cent for men. Equality Impact Assessments of policy measures have since been largely abandoned, Mills laments, with the risk that the gendered impact of policy making will be understated.

**OFFERING CONCRETE
ALTERNATIVES TO AUSTERITY**

Having identified the ways in which men and women have been impacted by austerity policies, the project puts great emphasis on pointing out macro-economic alternatives to austerity. "Unless we can also offer concrete alternatives to the current austerity trajectory, such research has limited use, especially for European policy-makers", Bargawi argues. There is a lot of work in progress, but she particularly points to the study "A gendered investment plan" by Signe Hansen and Lars Andersen of the Economic Council of the Labour Movement (ECLM) that shows "how investments in childcare provisioning can create jobs, increase the female labour market participation rate, and ensure that Europe will have a quicker return to its historical growth path than under current policies."

The 'Beyond Austerity' project is aimed at European policy makers, Bargawi explains, but it is destined to reach much further. "In some instances policies will need to change, first and foremost, at the national level. However, given the strength of the rhetoric around the need for austerity, especially in Eurozone periphery countries, among centre-right European politicians and private sector stakeholders, there is an urgent need to demonstrate the soundness of economic alternatives, full stop."

"GENDER GAPS ARE
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**WOMAN
UP !**

For gender equality one cannot rely on a general economic recovery alone, Bargawi warns. Gender equality erosions are taking place under the current austerity policies and will be difficult to address without a "concerted targeted effort from policy makers".

Moreover, the project "hopes to also provide European lobbyists such as the European Women's Network and national campaigning organisations, with concrete material to build their campaigns for true gender equity within the context of economic recovery."

THINK TANKS' PUBLICATIONS

In each issue, Queries introduces the latest publications released by the foundations and think tanks that are members of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies.



VOTING FOR FRONT NATIONAL AT THE EUROPEANS ELECTIONS, A NEW ELECTORAL BASE?

Joël Gombin

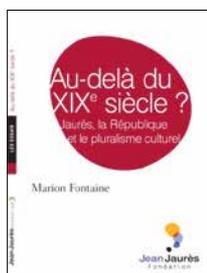


The results of the European elections on 25 May 2014 show clear geographic voting patterns in favour of the National Front, whose political strongholds remain in the Southeastern Mediterranean part and a large quarter Northeast part of France. Conversely, the FN gets its lowest scores in the Ile-de-France, in the Massif Central, and in the Western area. More specifically, the FN vote generally decreases with the distance from urban centres.

[+] www.jean-jaures.org/publications/notes/vote-fn-aux-europeennes-une-nouvelle-assise-electorale

BEYOND THE 19TH CENTURY? JAURÈS, THE REPUBLIC AND CULTURAL PLURALISM

Marion Fontaine



Jaurès tried to understand the changes, including cultural, that would determine the 20th century. He elaborates on issues relating to plurality and unity. These themes permeate his journey to Argentina at the request of the Argentine Socialist Party. He went there as a representative of international socialism and thus responds to the will of the Argentine activists to follow in the footsteps of European ideas while affirming their specificity.

[+] <http://www.jean-jaures.org/Publications/Essais/Au-dela-du-XIXe-siecle-Jaures-la-Republique-et-le-pluralisme-culturel>

DECISION AND POLITICAL PROCESS. THE LESSON OF THE CRAXI GOVERNMENT (1983-1987)

Gennaro Acquaviva & Luigi Covatta (curators)

Various authors



This is the 8th volume of the “Gli anni di Craxi” (The Years of Craxi) series, a historical and critical reconstruction of the governmental 80s, when Italian politics were strongly influenced by Bettino Craxi, leader of the Italian Socialist Party and Prime Minister of Italy (1983-1987). Decision making, democratic leadership, exercise of governmental powers were then and return today at the top of the political topics. The volume focuses on Craxi’s ability to make correct decisions at the right time and obtain a vast consensus.

[+] www.fondazione-socialismo.it/gli_anni_di_craxi.htm

SOCIAL REPORT 2013. UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND INEQUALITIES IN CATALONIA

Various authors



This book proposes a detailed diagnosis of the current situation of increasing inequality in Catalonia, it provides solutions and it claims a renewed Welfare State as the most powerful tool to guarantee citizenship rights and the promotion of equal opportunities. The Social Report 2013 is a joint working paper of Rafael Campalans Foundation and the Social Area of the Catalan Socialist Party. We are currently preparing the 2014 edition.

[+] www.fcampalans.cat/uploads/publicacions/pdf/informes07maquetafinal.pdf

THE GAINS FROM WORK

Economic Council of the Labour

Movement (ECLM)



Entering the highly tense debate on the size of the Danish social benefits, The Economic Council of the Labour Movement (ECLM) shows that the gains from work greatly exceed the ones from public transfers. The best way to reduce unemployment is not by lowering the social benefits. Rather, Denmark needs to create more jobs, enhance the qualifications of the unemployed and get the economy back on its growth-track.

[+] www.ae.dk/publikationer/danskerne-arbejder-naar-der-er-job-og-det-betaler-sig

MONDOPERAIO #9

Various authors



The magazine led a campaign for promoting the membership of the Democratic Party to the PES. The September 2014 issue will be accompanied by a special report in memory of Giacomo Matteotti, the Socialist MP killed by Mussolini’s thugs ninety years ago. A dossier about the Italian public debt appears in the September issue of the magazine.

[+] www.mondoperaio.net/

REFLECTIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

Mario Dogliani, Alessandro Pace, Gaetano Azzariti, Massimo Luciani, Luigi Ferrajoli, Nadia Urbinati, Michele Prospero, etc.



The debate on constitutional changes to the 1948 Constitution has been going on in Italy for several decades. Parliamentary committees were created (the last one headed by FEPS President Massimo D'Alema), but only minor reforms were enacted. In 2013 president Napolitano appointed a presidential committee of experts and based on their results the government of Enrico Letta attempted a new course for reforms. But the

change in governments (now headed by Matteo Renzi) put a stop to a general reform of the Constitution preferring deep changes in selected areas: the powers and composition of the Senate, the system of local government (with the signal abolition of the provinces), the abolition of some ineffectual constitutional bodies such as the National Economic and Labour Council, and a new electoral law. The present volume, authored by a

number of the Italy's most important constitutional experts – all closely associated with the Centro per la Riforma dello Stato – appraises the proposed changes, sets them against their historical precedents and attempts to draw possible alternatives, concentrating on the reform of the Senate and the framework of local autonomies in order to make the political system more efficient, accountable and democratic.

[+] <http://www.centroriformastato.org/crs2/spip.php?article664>



ITALIANIEUROPEI 6/2014

Various authors

The issue 6/2014 of Italianieuropei will offer: a reflection on the crisis of political parties and trade unions; an analysis of the reform of the public administration, currently being discussed by Italy's Parliament; a focus on the

developments in the Middle East, from the democratic turn in Tunisia to the wars in Iraq and Syria; an evaluation of the impact that the fall of the Berlin Wall had on the Italian, European and international order after twenty-five years.

[+] www.italianieuropei.it



EUROPEAN STRATEGIC GUIDE FOR FOSTERING PARTICIPATION AND RAISING AWARENESS ON VALIDATION OF LEARNING OUTCOMES OF NON-FORMAL AND INFORMAL LEARNING

Various authors

SOLIDAR presents the publication that will serve as a useful reading for all the actors who wish to contribute to the process of calling on Member States to develop validation arrangements for non-formal and informal learning by 2018, following the Council Recommendation (2012/C/398/01). The publication presents the European and eight national frameworks for validation and the benefits of validation. Moreover this publication is a practical tool book guiding how to organise a campaign for the promotion of validation and is accompanied with ready-to-use campaigning materials.

[+] www.solidar.org/IMG/pdf/pvnfil_book_final.pdf


**FABIAN
SOCIETY**

This year, the Fabian Society celebrates its 130th anniversary. Founded in 1884, it takes its name from Quintus Fabius Maximus, the Roman Republican general whose attritional warfare against the invading Carthaginians earned him the sobriquet 'the delayer' – well-chosen for the gradualist approach espoused by the early Fabians.



The Fabian Society was one of the founders of the British Labour party in 1900 and remains an affiliated member. It is unique in British politics in being a membership-based think tank with 6,500 members including over 200 parliamentarians. Every Labour Prime Minister has been a member.

Today, the Fabians retain their significance in British and European policy making, providing vital insights to progressive politicians through five key programmes:

NEXT STATE

The Next State programme aims to bring coherence to debates on the future of the state. It seeks to bridge the tensions between a centralising tradition within social democrat politics and emerging interest in creating local and personal power. Key recent publications include '2030 Vision' and 'The Shape of Things to Come'.

NEXT ECONOMY

Our Next Economy programmes examines how the economy can

deliver not only growth but also fulfil social democratic aims and ensure a fairer society where opportunity and prosperity is distributed more widely. Key recent publications include 'Measure for Measure' and 'The Great Rebalancing'.

LABOUR'S NEXT MAJORITY

Our groundbreaking Labour's Next Majority programme has brought together innovative electoral analysis and recommendations on campaign techniques to prepare the ground for Labour's 2015 general election campaign and beyond. Key recent publications include 'Revolt on the Left' and 'Forward'.

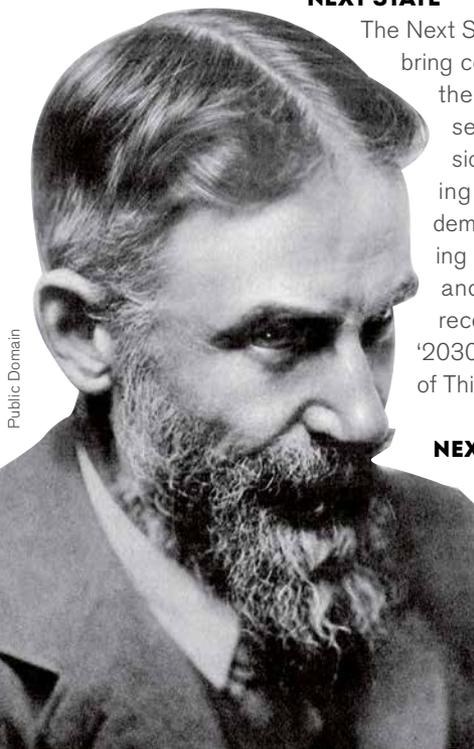
ENVIRONMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

This programme looks at environmental policy challenges and the role of citizenship: both democratic consent and personal behavioural change. It considers the interaction between environmental issues, fairness and social justice. Key recent publications include 'A Convenient Truth' and 'Pride of Place'.

EUROPE AND THE WORLD

Our final programme considers foreign policy at a time of heightened anxiety about Britain's place in the European Union and in the world. It seeks to define how a Labour government would live out its progressive principles on an international stage. Key publications include 'Europe was the Future Once...and how it could be once again' and 'One Nation in the World'.

www.fabians.org.uk



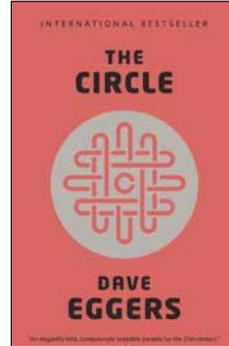
*George Bernard Shaw,
Irish playwright
and prominent Fabian*

THE CIRCLE

Review by Ernst Stetter



Dave Eggers's *The Circle* was published in 2013 and has become a bestseller since then. It has also been translated and published in Germany. This captivating novel, or science-fiction parable, reminds us how far we have already gone in digital living and the datafication of our daily lives. Dave Eggers delivers a brilliant novel of ideas about social construction and deconstruction of privacy. He shows us the increasing corporate ownership of privacy and consequently the impact that such an ownership may have on the nature of our Western democracies. In this sense the book is also a real political analysis. The story is about a young woman, called Mae, working in a gigantic techno social media company called the Circle – a company that encompasses Google, Facebook, Twitter, Amazon, and all the other big new digital corporations we so far trust or mistrust. The company is chaired by “three wise men”, it recruits “hundreds of gifted young minds” and one of the most substantial interventions of the Circle is the “TruYou”, a user interface that streamlines every Internet action and purchase. The day arriving for her job, Mae marvels at the beautiful campus and the first line of the book is “My God, Mae thought. It’s heaven.” Thus the reader immediately knows that the book is not about heaven, it is about hell! The book is set in the near future: one slogan of the company is “Secrets are lies and Privacy is theft”, anonymity is banished and nothing recorded will ever be erased. The goal of *The Circle* is to have all aspects of human existence flow through its portal. The final scenery is more than frightening! It reminds the reader of all the developments we face currently in the real world with data protection, surveillance and data collection by state agencies like the NSA or all the European investigation offices but especially by the big real existing social media corporations. *The Circle* is a marvellous book telling us incredibly much about the impact of our digital age on human beings. It fascinates the reader. Dave Eggers shows us that thoughts behind the problems of our current time are captivating and sincerely contemporary. After reading the book and checking your daily emails you will realise that we are already living in Dave Eggers’ fiction!



© Penguin / Random House

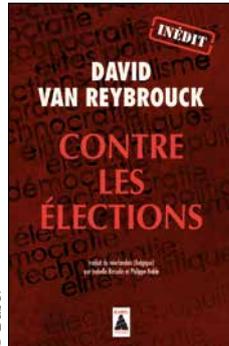
The Circle // Dave Eggers (Penguin, 2013 – also available in German from Kiepenheuer & Witsch)

AGAINST ELECTIONS

Review by Christophe Sente



While the title of the book is disquieting, its sole purpose is to provoke thought on the topic of democratic reform, in the same vein as French political scientist Bernard Manin. ‘Against Elections’ does not espouse an authoritarian solution to the problem of declining voter turnout. Rather, the author delivers a critique of the central place held by elections in the political process, based on an interpretation of the history of ideas which holds that representation is by nature aristocratic—it creates a divide between the governors and the governed more characteristic of a republic than a radical democratic ideal. Van Reybrouck does not mythologise direct democracy, nor its historical Athenian version or its contemporary incarnations of a local or activist variety. He asserts that if our deliberative procedures are not overhauled, we will “destroy our democracy by limiting it to elections, which in fact were never designed to be an instrument of democracy”. He nonetheless avoids presenting a blithely romantic depiction of the superiority of the people’s conscience over the abilities of the elite. The political goal of the work is to set in motion a procedural correction of our democratic institutions that incorporates random selection to the greatest possible extent, in order to guarantee the participation of all citizens. Historical examples are used to demonstrate the effectiveness of random selection as a means to legitimisation. Van Reybrouck also reminds us that if democracy is a struggle, then citizenship is a responsibility.



© Babel

Against Elections [Tegen Verkiezingen] //

David Van Reybrouck (De Bezige Bij, 2014)

THIS CHANGES EVERYTHING

Review by Christophe Sente



Investigative journalist and war correspondent Naomi Klein has just published a new work on climate change that draws on the pessimistic conclusions of the Copenhagen Summit held by the UN in 2009. Klein is far from alone in defending the climate cause, but her take on this pervasive issue is quite original. While there are no outright references to Marxism, the underlying viewpoint is clear: global society has been reshaped by a series of upheavals caused by a capitalist minority who have profited greatly as a result.



© Allen Lane / Penguin

Tackling climate change from this perspective enables Klein to avoid the pitfall of environmentalist rhetoric, namely an overly irenic (and thus unsuccessful) approach to raising awareness of the consequences of global warming for humanity. She politicises environmental issues by placing them within larger efforts to re-establish various forms of regulation for the market economy.

The Canadian journalist believes that a “green” market economy is a realistic possibility. However, it will not come about as the result of a natural convergence between the needs of our ecosystem and the further expansion of free trade or the economic model established in Europe and the US. Such a change will depend on political decisions, encouraging signs of which she sees in the reintroduction of public energy management in cities like Hamburg and in the emergence of new generations of activists.

This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate //

Naomi Klein (Allen Lane, 2014)

ECONOMICS OF THE 1%

Review by Christophe Sente



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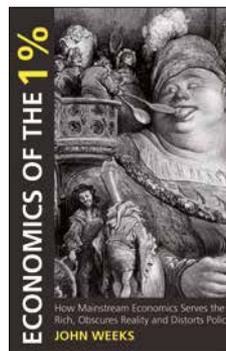
ery few works seamlessly incorporate references to both the economist Thorstein Veblen and singer-songwriter Woody Guthrie. Yet John Weeks does just that in his latest book, which stands somewhere between scientific analysis and satire.

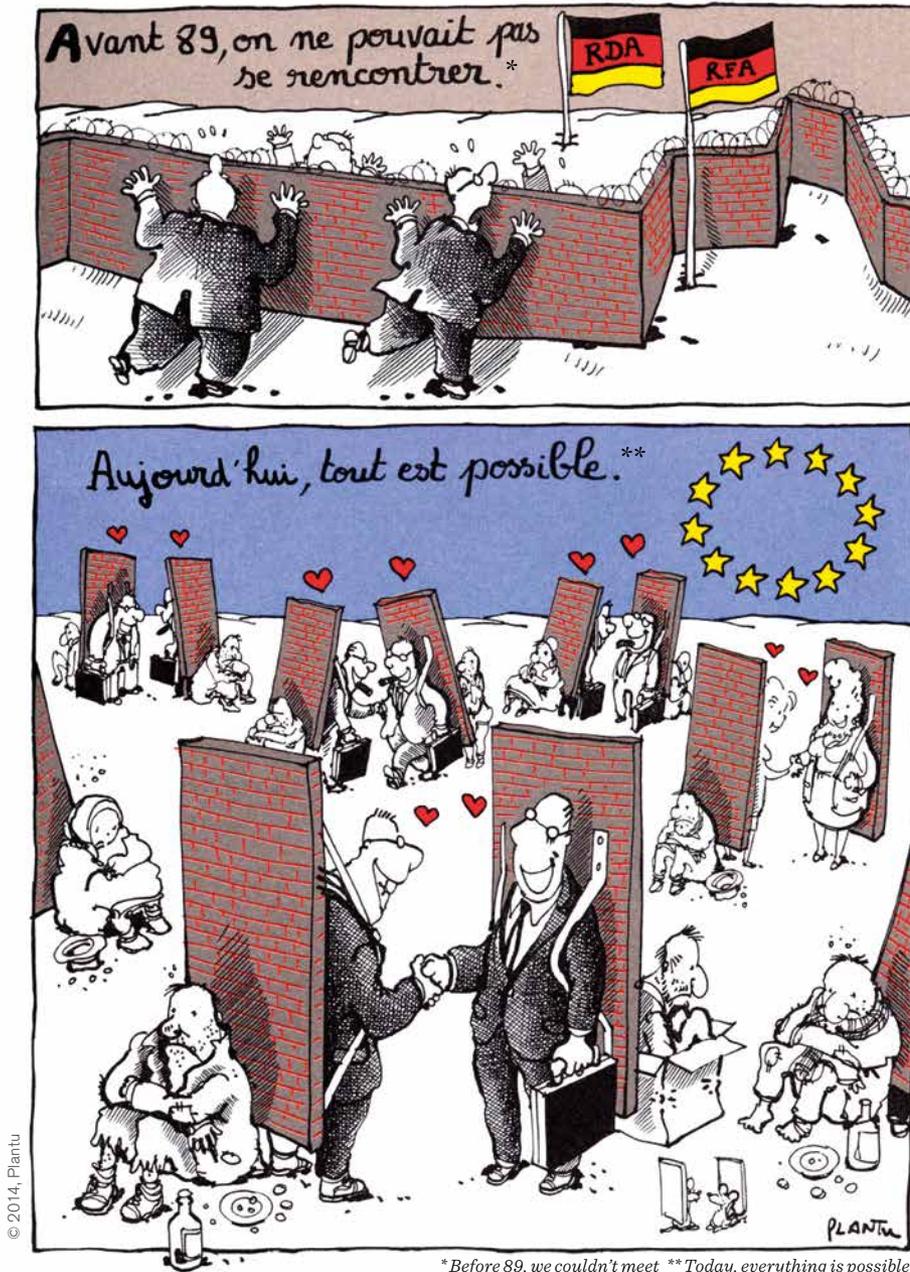
Unlike the most recent work by Vivien A. Schmidt and Mark Thatcher, Weeks' book does not seek to uncover the social and political reasons underpinning the remarkable resilience of neo-liberalism. Instead, he confronts its hegemony head-on by disputing the neutrality of depicting the economy as a historical state dominated by the conflicting forces of supply and demand, which can only be subdued by market mechanisms. In the British economist's view, economic practices are rooted in political choices, embodied today by two alternatives: Milton Friedman and Franklin D. Roosevelt. According to this line of thought, deregulation does not guarantee collective efficiency; instead, in the current economic environment, it rewards a small segment of the population, estimated at 1%.

Weeks' elegant argument, while hardly new, is sufficiently compelling to have attracted the attention of former EU commissioner László Andor, who recently dedicated an article to the work.

The book contains at least one idea that deserves to be expanded upon: Weeks establishes a link between the primacy of consumer satisfaction and the public's diminishing sense of community.

Economics of the 1% // John F. Weeks (Anthem Press, 2014)





*Before 89, we couldn't meet **Today, everything is possible

Jean Plantureux, also known as *Plantu*, is one of France's most famous cartoonists. He is known for his political satires, which have been published in French daily newspaper *Le Monde* since 1972. He started the initiative 'Cartooning for Peace' with Kofi Annan and the UN in 2006, in order to promote a better understanding and mutual respect between populations of different cultures and beliefs.



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