


Next Europe: Convergence after Divergence?



Ferenc Miszlivetz
Institute of Advanced Studies
Kőszeg

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MTA
1st December 2017



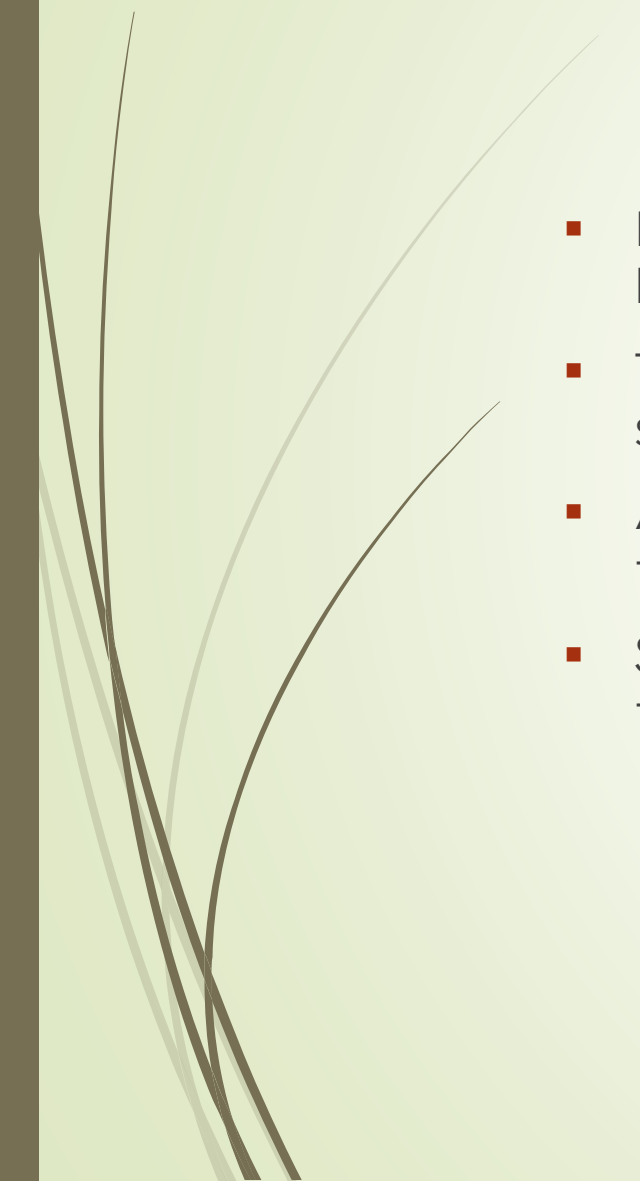
A new age of uncertainty: irreversible conceptual ambiguities → vacant concepts → incoherence → the need for new frames of interpretation


- ▶ Concepts are not straightforward, they incorporate their opposite
 - democracy = democracy + non-democracy
 - security = security + insecurity (existential); state security vs human security
 - Europe = Europe + something, non-Europe' → ,the 'Other'
 - Universitas = universal + particular ...and/or multiversal
 - civil society = civil society + non-civil society

When the range between + and - reaches a critical mass, the concept becomes hollow and useless.



Social sciences - inadequate

- Developments show that mainstream social scientific disciplines have not been able to explain the increased complexity of our world today.
 - They cannot convincingly show the deep causes of crises, nor can they sketch alternatives, or sustainable images of the future.
 - All they could do was extend the lifespan of bubble-like realities and halt the formation of new interpretative frames.
 - Simultaneously, the relevance and value of complex, inter- and transdisciplinary approaches have increased.
- 



Megatrends defining Europe's current direction

- Population and demographic changes (immigration, aging societies)
 - Increased digitalisation
 - Industry 4.0
 - Increased challenges of sustainability
- 

PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT (FOREIGN-BORN) POPULATION

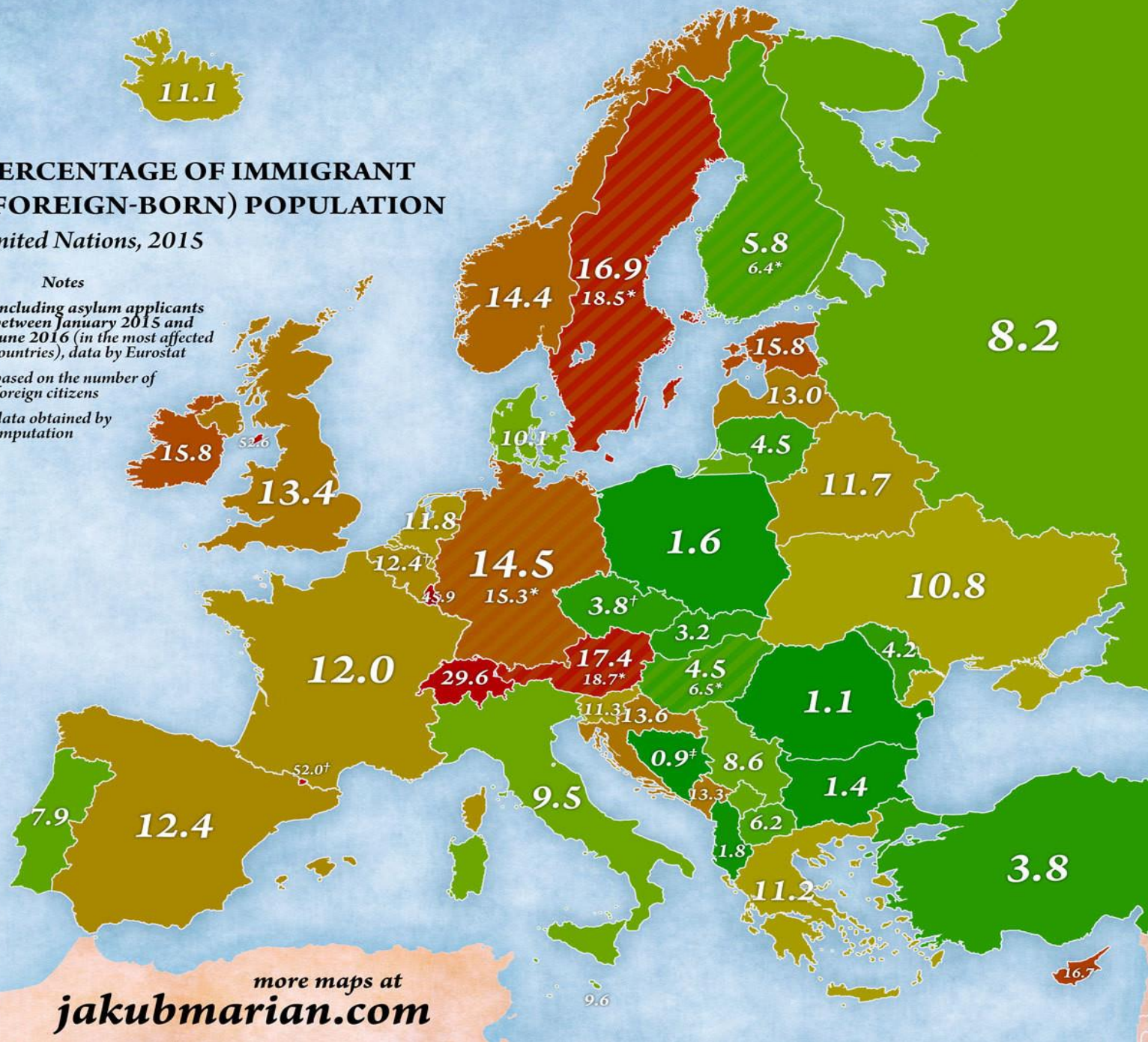
United Nations, 2015

Notes

* including asylum applicants between January 2015 and June 2016 (in the most affected countries), data by Eurostat

† based on the number of foreign citizens

‡ data obtained by imputation



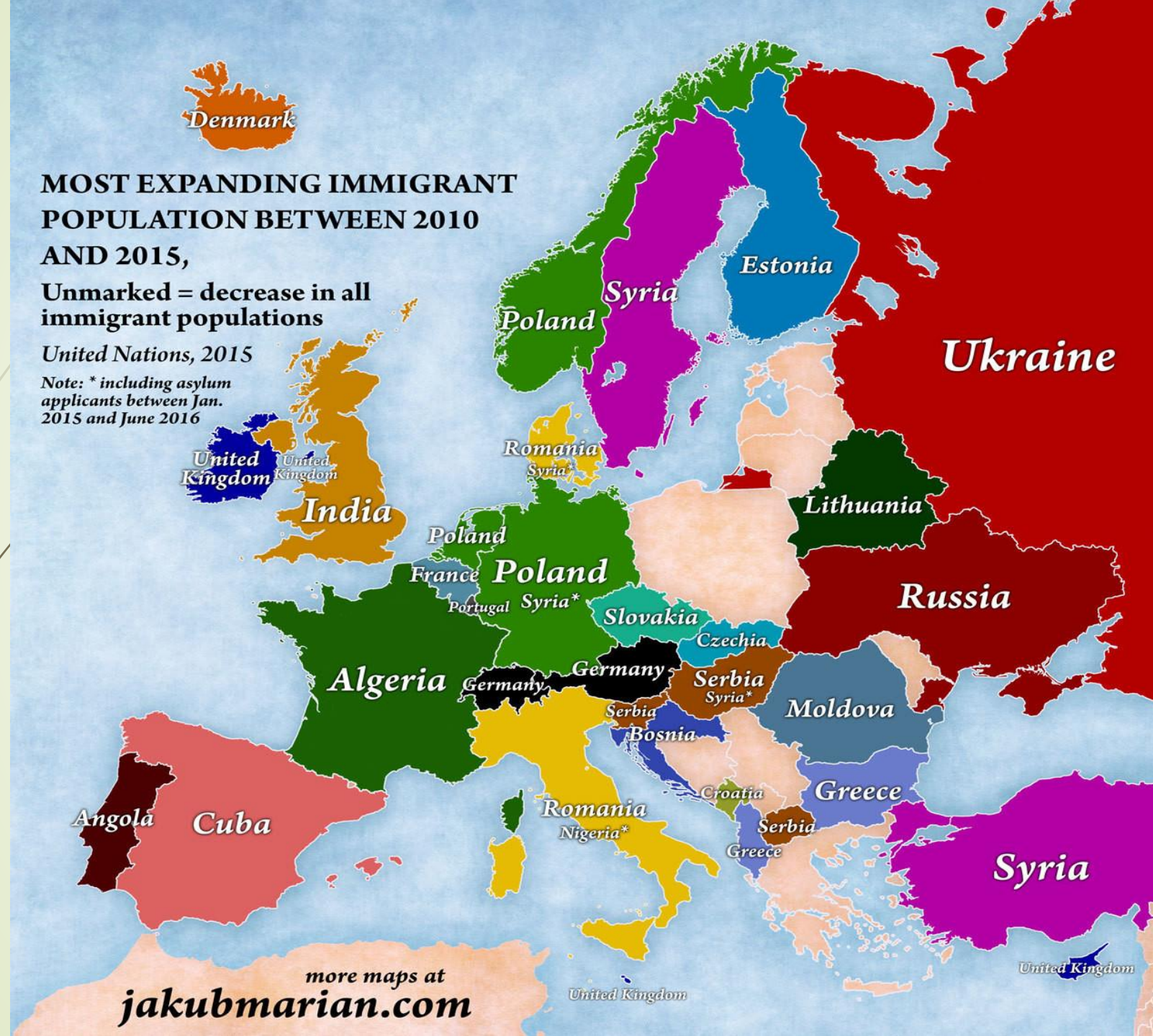
Denmark

MOST EXPANDING IMMIGRANT POPULATION BETWEEN 2010 AND 2015,

AND 2015,
Unmarked = decrease in all immigrant populations

United Nations, 2015

Note: * including asylum applicants between Jan. 2015 and June 2016



United Kingdom

India

Romania

Syria

Poland

France

Poland

Portugal

Syria*

Algeria

Germany

Germany

Serbia

Syria*

Bosnia

Moldova

Russia

Angola

Cuba

Romania

Nigeria*

Croatia

Greece

Serbia

Greece

Syria

United Kingdom

United Kingdom

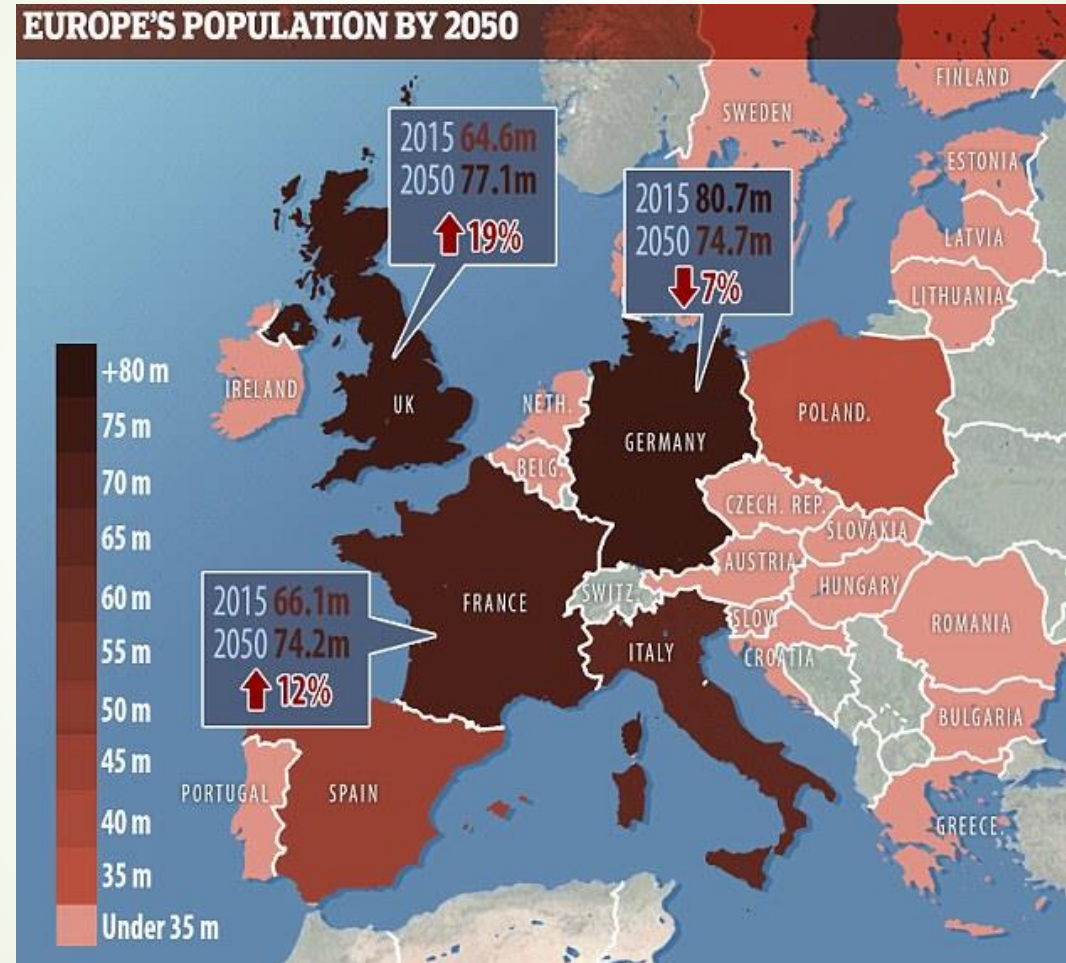


Immigration and demography

- **Eurostat predicts that the UK population in 2030 will be 70,4m - and 77.1m by 2050** (Britain's population is set to overtake France in 13 years because of the high impact of immigration)
 - **UK already has the highest population density in Europe, ahead of Holland**
- **The German population will continue to fall despite high immigration levels** (Germany will have an ageing and falling population for the foreseeable future)
- **Predictions do not take into account the political impact of Brexit**

BUT: The scale of the increase in future numbers that the great bulk of the rising population in Britain is a result of migration that underlines the extent of the concerns that fueled the Brexit referendum vote last year.

Demographic Changes in Europe*



*EUROSTAT, published in Daily Mail, 3 January 2017



The European Dream: a Bubble?

The Decline of the West?

Downward spiral → 1989-2017 or 1914 – 2017?

- Starting point: unexpected, unprocessed political changes of 1989/91
- 2001/3: European Convention – the process of constitutionalization
- 2004: Eastward expansion without consent / Big Bang Eastern enlargement (with harsh criteria)
- 2005: The onset of European political crisis (French and Dutch Referendum: double "no")
- 2008: Global economic crisis → Eurozone crisis → crisis of trust → political crisis → Brexit – Catalonia...
- 2011/14: Greece and Syria: restrictions – GREXIT
- 2015: A new wave of migration from the South and the East towards Europe begins
- 2016: BREXIT Scotland vs Great Britain
- 2017 Catalonia vs Spain, Padania, Scotland, etc: aspirations for secession and fragmentation of the nationstates continues...



The Paradox of European identity

- Epistemological crisis
- Tension between economic integration and political fragmentation
- Democracy - Double deficit: in member/nation states (democracies): politics without policy; "no choice" democracies (Philippe Schmitter); in the EU (a non-democracy): policies without politics

Fragmentation and Downward Spiral?

- **Erosion of the great achievements of European integration** (European social model, solidarity, Schengen questioned, etc.) – end of the European dream?
- **Symptoms of the crisis:** old division lines, demographic decline, increasing regional disparities, political radicalisation, erosion of old democracies, resistance *vis a vis* new forms and contents of democracies
- Migration crisis? Or a symptom of the structural crisis of the world system?
- Terrorism (short-sighted reactions from nation states), war rhetoric
- Outdated concept of security – remnant of Cold War
 - > **human vs. (rich)state security**

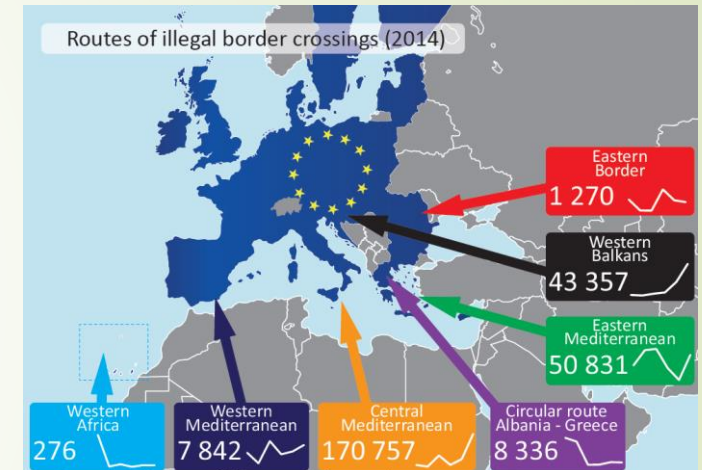
Leadership question: Europe in a Post-Merkel Era – the end of German Europe?

- "Political uncertainty has crossed the Rhine" (Jean Pisan-Ferry)
- "Unprecedented" fragmentation in German party politics
- Who is going to dominate German politics?
- Consequences for Europe – after Brexit and Merkel ...?
- Franco-German engine in question
- Fragmentation and regionalization



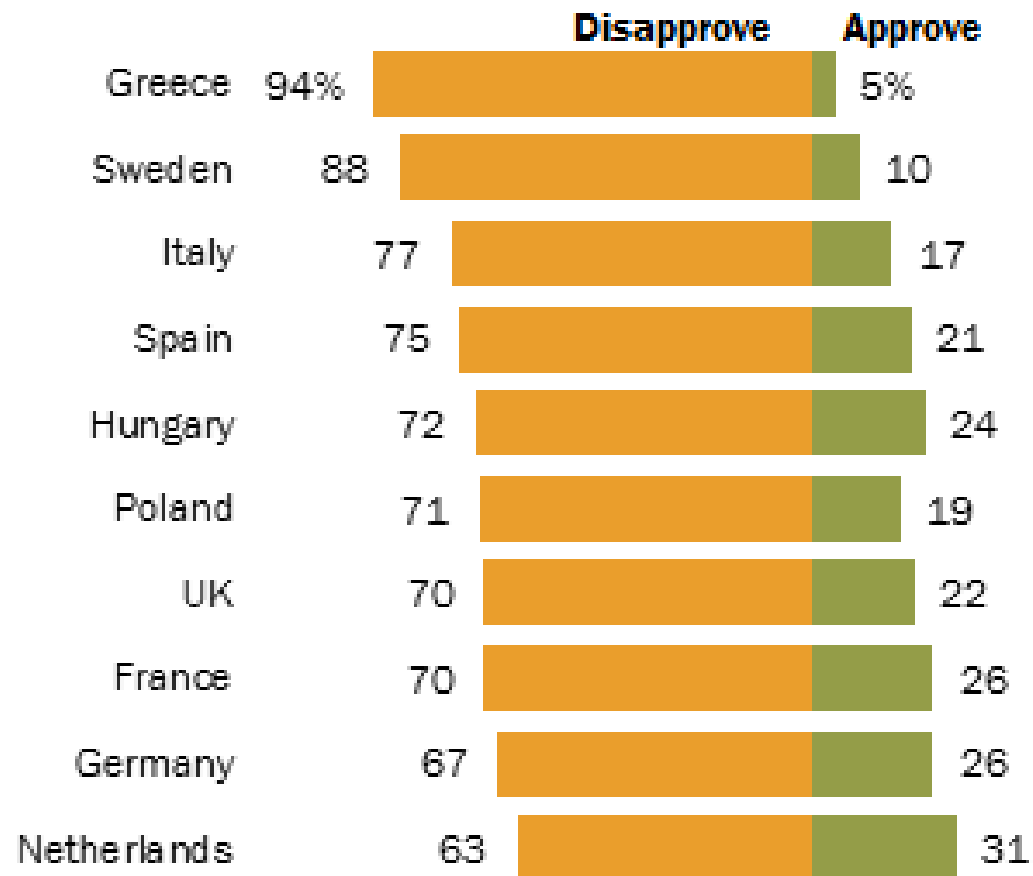
From Illegality to legality?

- 2015 and 2016: more than **2.3 million illegal crossings** were detected
- 2015: **2.2 million** people were found to be **illegally present** in the EU.
- 2016: the number of illegal immigrants dropped to **984,000**.
- 2015: 533,000 people were ordered to return home - **43% left**.
- 2016: 494,000 ordered to return home – **50% left**.
- Juncker: open up legal pathways for migration as "*legal migration is an absolute necessity*". (Juncker, State of the Union Address, 13 Sept 2017)



Overwhelming majorities unhappy with EU's handling of refugees

Do you ___ of the way the European Union is dealing with the refugee issue?



Pew Research Center: „Euroskepticism Beyond Brexit“. Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey

Measures to Manage the Crisis

Europe...is not a fortress and must never become one. Europe must remain the continent of solidarity where those fleeing persecution can find refuge. (Jean-Claude Juncker, State of the Union Address, 13 Sept 2017)

73% of Europeans still **want the EU to do more to manage** the situation. (Eurobarometer 2017)

- **EU budget to manage the crisis:**
- 2017: **€728 million** for migration-related funds
- 2014-2020: **€3.9 billion** in additional support
- **€44 billion** in private investment in Africa (to tackle the root causes of migration)

Powerless **agents**, dissolving **structures**, increasing chaos – old **methods** ineffective

- Nation states are unable to provide effective long-term solutions for global processes
- The institutions of global governance are weak and are dominated by big power politics: UN, UNESCO, EU, World Bank, et
- Democracy deficit → "No choice" democracies: a downward spiral
- New forms of social and political dissent → cross-border participative democracy?
 - turning inward and exclusion → strengthening of extreme right across Europe ← 'Europe to become more inclusive'
- National rivalry, divided societies, secessionist movements
- Scapegoating – weak nation states finger pointing
- Historical prejudices resurface: East – West, North – South
- Signs of increased disintegration - Ukraine, Belgium, Great Britain/Scotland, Spain Italy...?

Explaining European Bubbles: the post-war story of EAST and WEST

Despite setbacks and wars, the post-WWII history of European integration, until the 1970s prevailed over segregation. There were more advantages than disadvantages for trust in strangers, the ability to cooperate. The belief in progress started to unite the continent economically as well as politically. (Pax Americana) → **nested integration vis a vis arrested (forced) integration**

During the '80s this trend slowed and after 1989-91 it reversed. Social trust declined in Europe's more and more divided societies. In parallel, the social-institutional cost of balancing out the decline of trust increased.

The much-celebrated East-Central European transitions became **uncertain, political crises and dividedness** (the failure of transitology): → transition from collapsing Communism to the crisis of capitalism

Following Eastern enlargement, European identity, solidarity and cohesion weakened. The geo-cultural map of Europe became more fragmented.

East-West, North-South-: Modern-Day Slavery Within Europe

- 27 million slaves worldwide
- Highly gendered – trafficking of young girls from Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania) to Western Europe
- **Netherlands** as "super pimp" (by legalising prostitution in 2000)
- **Italy** – female Romanian farm workers suffering abuse – approx. **7500 women** live in slavery on these farms!





Re-establishing dialogue, co-operation and Solidarity within Europe and beyond

- No effective cooperation since the Euro crisis
- Is BREXIT irreversible?
- Are there remedies for the refugee crisis? - Lack of long term thinking
- Does a comprehensive and coherent asylum policy have a chance?
- Germany's Responsibility: Reconsidering German Europeanism (understanding differences between societies, cultures, aspirations) – European Germany or German Europe?
- Hungary's (and other V4+ countries') responsibility: Harmonization of European and national interests, **proactive participation in a new European debate (movement?)**
- **Common responsibility: Halting the downward spiral and disintegration**
- We are in the most uncertain and therefore dangerous moment since the end of the Cold War
- We need to jump out of the box – this is a real chance to find the way for a better construction



What About the Youth?

- ▶ With the largest youth population in history, there is an unprecedented opportunity for young people to play an active role in shaping our global and European future.
- ▶ The #ShaperSurvey highlights youth perceptions on the state of the world and action-oriented recommendations in five areas: Global Outlook, Governance, Values, Technology, and the Workplace.
- ▶ 2017 survey: 31,495 respondents, 186 countries and territories, 14 languages, ages 14-35, approx. 50% female, 48% male

Young people...

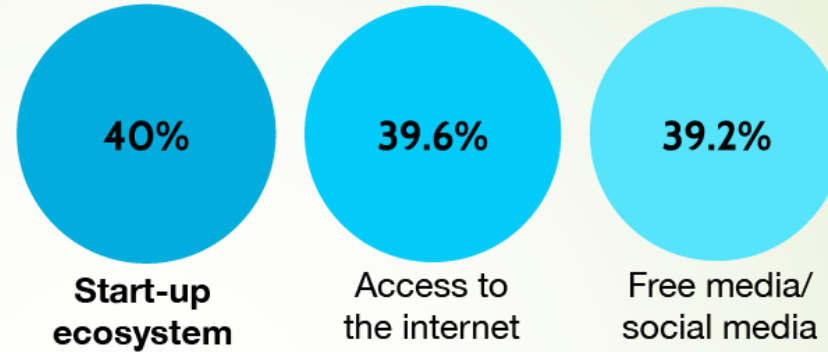
Think Governments need to favour a start-up ecosystem and entrepreneurship to empower their youth.



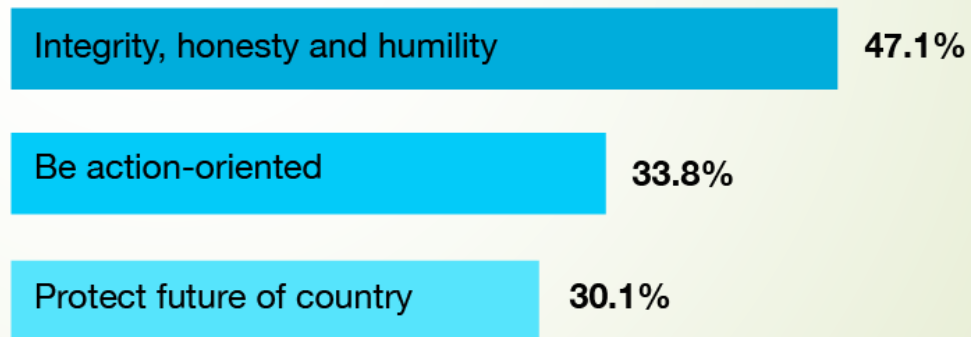
Young people are looking for integrity, honesty and humility in their country leaders.

*22'493 and ** 22'489 respondents

3 most important factors for youth empowerment. *



Most important characteristics of country leaders. **



Young people...

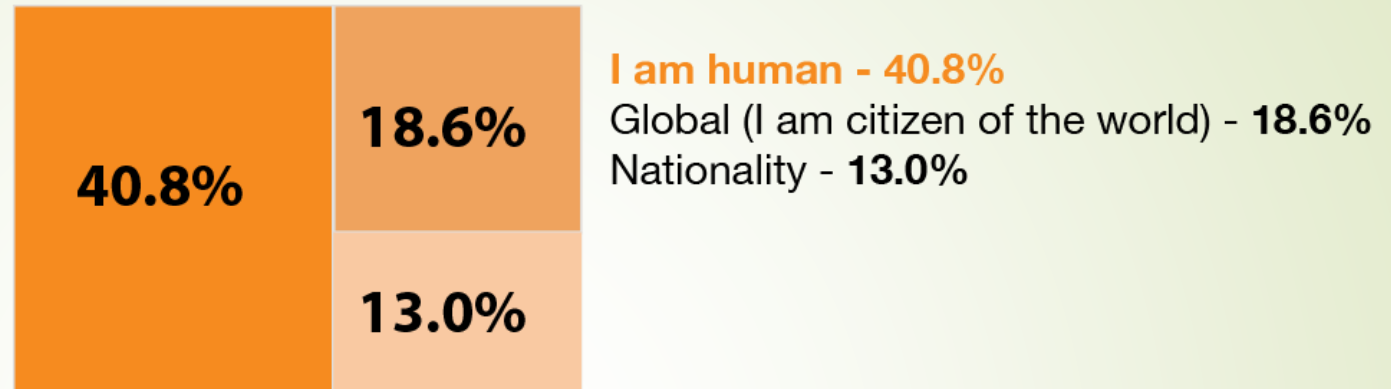
Identify first as **humans**

Want **equality** for all citizens

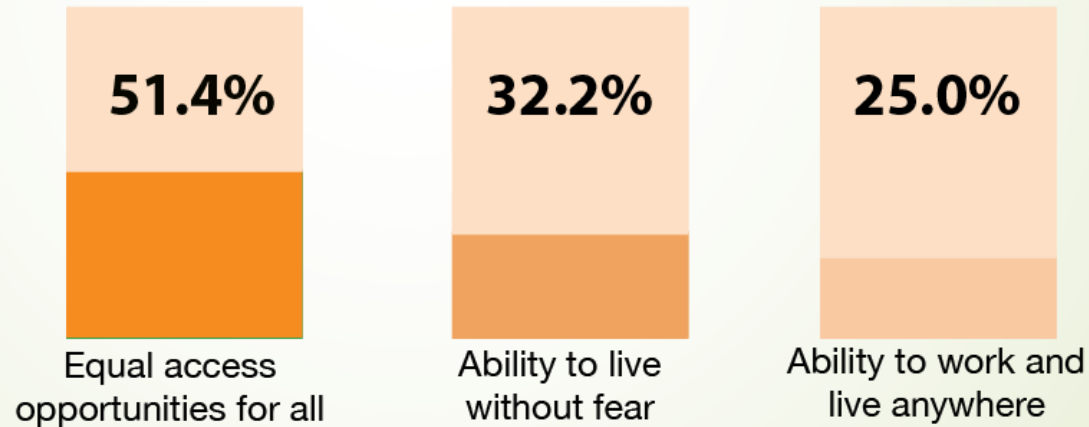


Equality between all citizens is the grass root of a free society.

What defines my identity. *



The ways to make a society more free. **



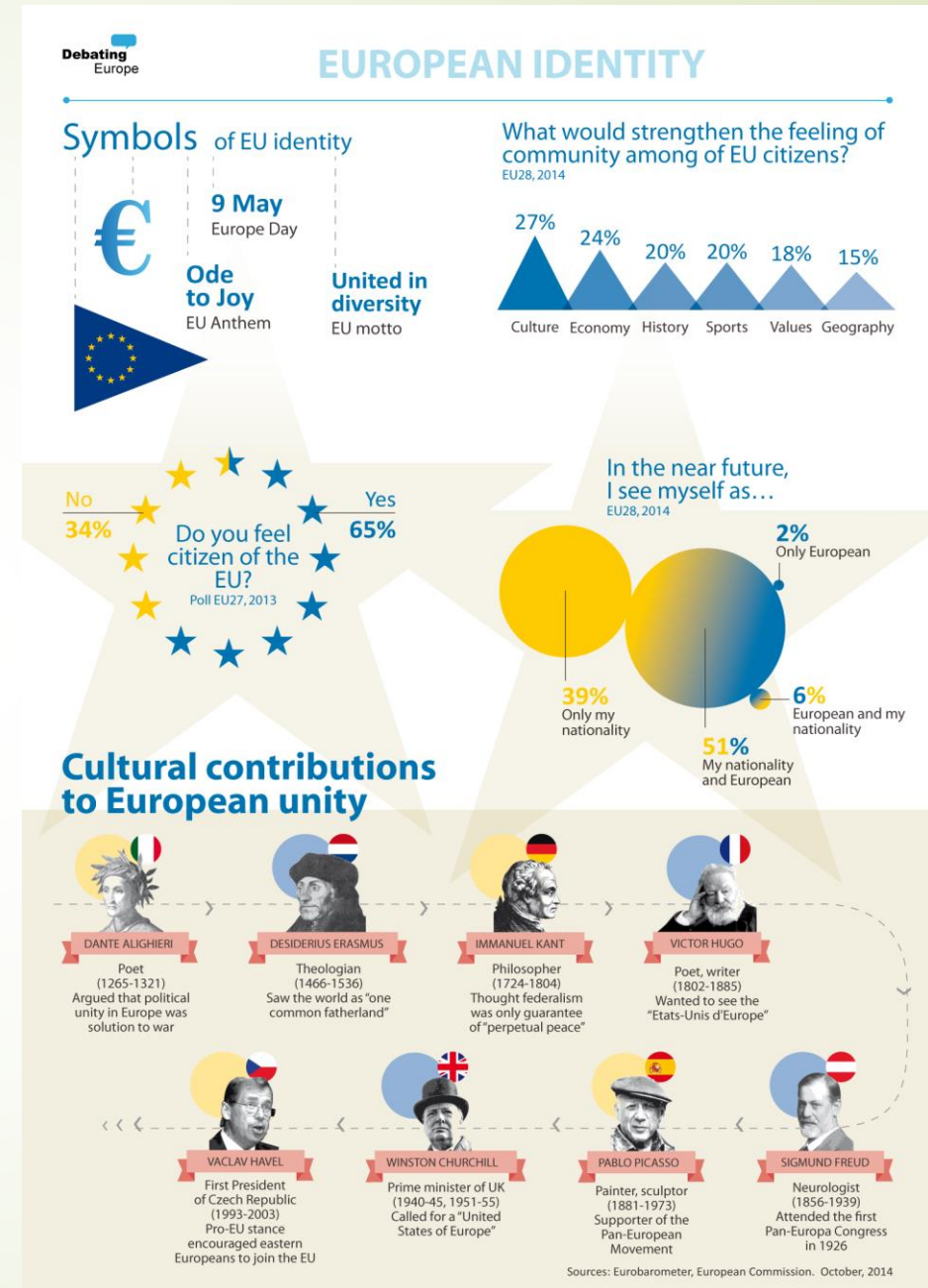
*20'589 and ** 20'545 respondents

European Identity

- Do you feel like a citizen of the EU?
65% Yes - 34% no
- European identity is mainly based on a shared culture and heritage

"For Europe to be sustainable and prosper, its people need to feel they belong to something greater than their own nation state. Beyond the economic and political reasons for the existence of a European Union, we need to be ready for the challenges that globalization poses to the sustainability of our cultural diversity."

Source: "Europe, People, Shared Culture." *Sublime, The First International Sustainable Lifestyle Magazine*, 15 January 2016



The Future of the European Union

- A **majority of Europeans (56%) are optimistic about the future of the EU** – an increase of 6% compared to autumn 2016. The most significant increases can be observed in France (55%, +14 points since last Autumn), Denmark (70%, +13 points) and Portugal (64%, +10 points).
- **Trust in the EU** continues to be on the rise and stands at 42% - highest in France (41%), Denmark (56%) and in Estonia (55%).
- 40% of Europeans have a **positive image of the EU**.
- 68% of Europeans **feel they are citizens of the EU**, which is the highest level ever recorded by *Eurobarometer*.

Standard Eurobarometer 87, 2017

The Economy: More Positive Feelings and Strong Support for the Euro

- ▶ Close to half of Europeans think that the **current situation of their national economy** is 'good' (46%, +5 percentage points since autumn 2016). This proportion has increased significantly in recent years (+20 points since spring 2013; +26 points since spring 2009)
- ▶ Positive assessments of the situation of national economies are gaining ground in 22 Member States, in particular in Finland (59%, +19 points), Portugal (33%, +18 points), Belgium (60%, +11 points) and Hungary (41%, +11 points)
- ▶ **In the euro area, close to three-quarters of respondents support the euro (73%)** – highest in Slovakia, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Slovenia and Luxembourg

Standard Eurobarometer 87, 2017



Do we have a purpose?

The Search for Meaning

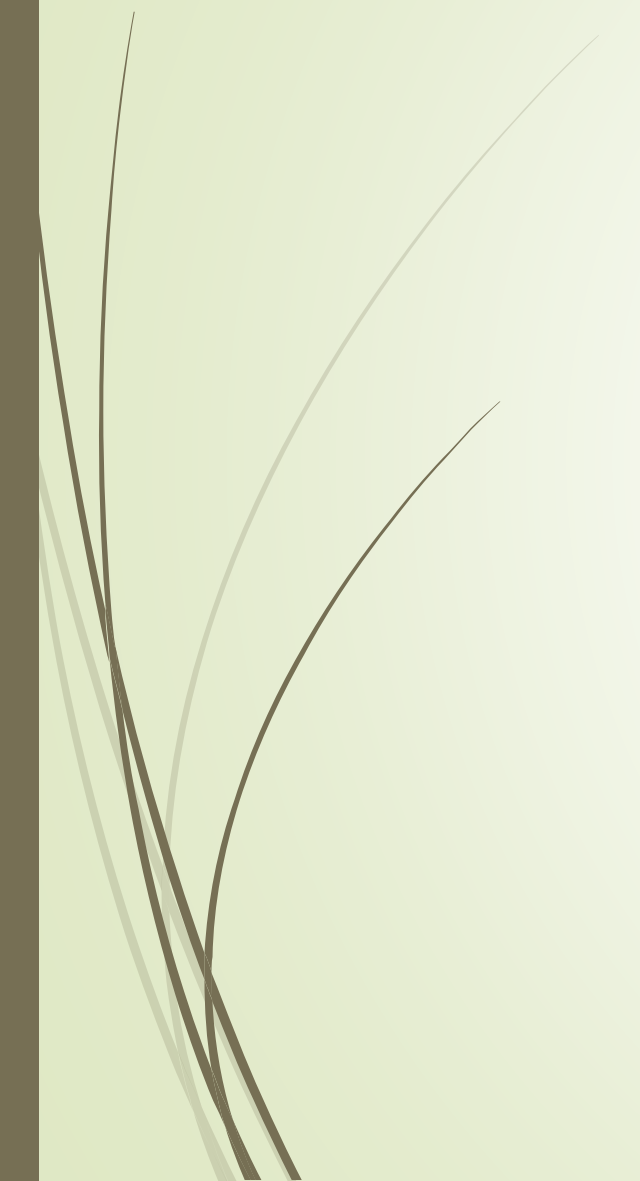

It is not only sufficient food, safe shelter, clear water with which the global system cannot supply several billions of people around the world. Significant roles, which would fill people's lives with purpose and meaning are also in dramatic shortage.

E. Hankiss, *Quantum Mechanics and the Meaning of Life*, unpublished, p.14

Turning Point for Europe?



- **New structure:** End of integration period lead by the elit
- **Agency:** Old/new players on stage?
- **New methods require a new logic** and new ways of thinking
- **Purpose:** The supranational interpretation of the public good is now also on the agenda: a **globally sustainable social model?**
- **Europe's mission needs reinterpretation!**



The situation seems to be critical... to explore the possibilities of how to construct a new framework within which human beings will again find safety and feel that their lives have significance and meaning will and should be one of the great challenges of the social, human and natural sciences in the coming decades.

E. Hankiss, *Quantum Mechanics and the Meaning of Life*, unpublished, p. 2.



The way forward - a well-grounded optimism...?

We started to fix the European roof. But today and tomorrow we must patiently, floor by floor, moment by moment, inspiration by inspiration, continue to add more floors to the European House.

We must complete the European House now that the sun is shining and whilst it still is... And catch the winds in our sails.

Jean-Claude Juncker, The State of the Union Address", 13 September 2017



Jean Monnet's message

► „The words – federation or confederation - about which people debate, are inadequate and imprecise. What we are preparing with the work of the Community is most likely unprecedented. The Community itself is based upon institutions which need reinforcement. But the very political power, which Europe's democracies will create one day, yet needs to be invented and constructed.” (Jean Monnet, Memoirs)

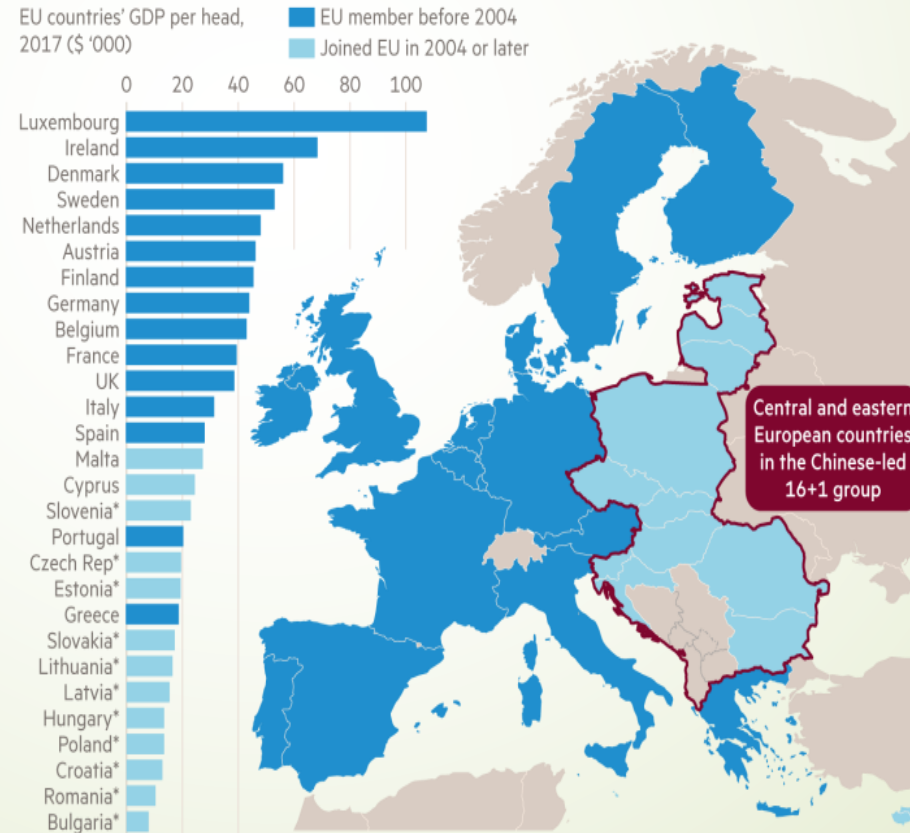
► **Can you/we reinvent Europe?**

Towards a New Europe of Regions?

An emerging powerful perspective

→ how to avoid further division?

China's 16+1 grouping built around EU's newer, poorer members



* EU member also part of the 16+1 group Sources: IMF; FT research