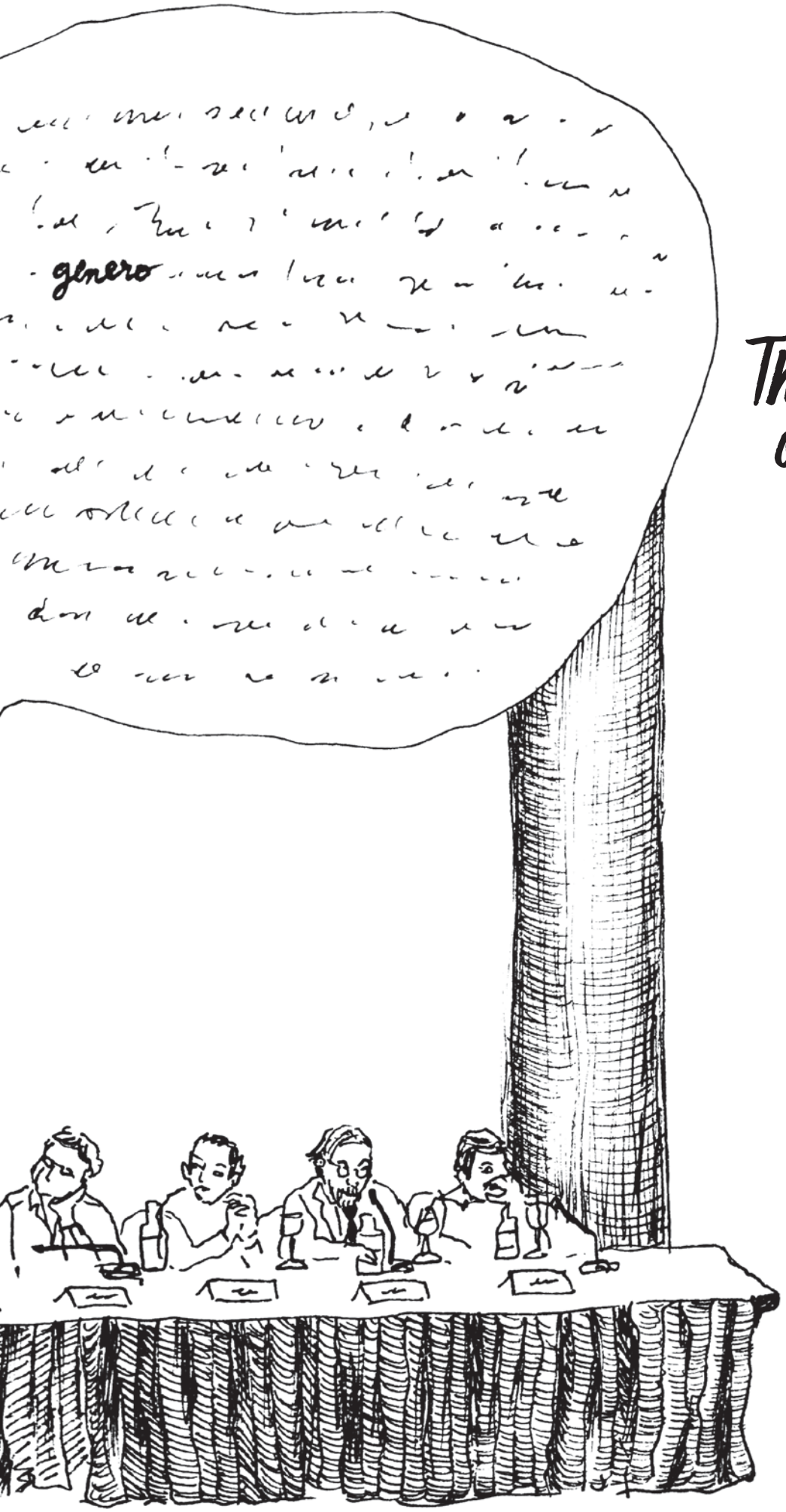


CAF

REPORT ANNUAL FORUM 2016

The rise of global fear:

Why is the world becoming less tolerant and more radical?

common action forum

Presentation

The Common Action Forum (CAF) is an international non-profit based in Madrid, Spain, that collaborates in order to bring together prominent and emerging experts from a range of backgrounds, including academia, politics, media, civil society, and culture, in order to create a global network.

With this global network, the Forum works to establish independent platforms of cooperation, research, innovation and advisory in order provide alternative solutions and empower global citizens to confront today's most salient issues, including economic inequalities and socio-political themes. This network is uniquely situated to exchange international experience and design global strategies through dialogue, mediation, research and projects, all of which are committed to justice and alternative frameworks that can achieve active solutions.

CAF was officially launched in Madrid on December 5th and 6th 2015, with a roundtable conference entitled 'Steps of Progress in Times of Crisis,' convening a diverse group of academics, activists, politicians, journalists and artists to discuss and debate changing the contemporary international order. The meeting addressed unforeseen inequalities and conflicts that have developed as society has progressed, focusing on the realities of transnationalism, international exchange, mobility and mobilization. The conference acknowledged that while information, technology and communication are now embedded in society and everyday life in a manner allowing for new dynamics and possibilities, this expansion can lead to exclusion that results in crisis and social repercussions.

One year later, CAF Annual Forum 2016 highlighted in Madrid's Hotel Wellington on November 5th and 6th, a combination of such repercussions, united in a common theme entitled 'The Rise of Global Fear: Why is the World Becoming Less Tolerant and More Radical?' This report will present the contents of the two-day conference, as well as offer some insights and conclusions based on the discussion, debate and analysis that both presenters and participants engaged in throughout the weekend.

Session topics included "Implications of the Refugee Crisis beyond the 1951 UN-RC," "Media coverage: narrating terrorism and migration," "EXITs and selective integration: last sighs of nationalism?" and "Rethinking citizenship for a mobile world." The event ultimately hoped to provide alternative solutions and narratives in the face of the rising tide of nationalism and persistent dialogue of fear, and to address the humanitarian crises that have resulted from increased mobility and migration patterns.

Most importantly, it challenged the participants to further alternative perspectives in their diverse fields and work, in the spirit of solidarity and unity as humans pursuing global progress and mutual benefit and improvement.

Wadah Khanfar

Wadah Khanfar is the Co-founder and Chairman of Common Action Forum. He previously served as the Director General of Al Jazeera, transforming it from a single channel to a media network.

The rise of global fear:
Why is the world becoming less tolerant and more radical?

Introduction

The 2016 Common Action Forum sought to address emerging trends that threaten a cosmopolitan, international society united in solidarity. Events over the course of the year pointed to increased visibility of nationalisms, and a rhetoric of fear, on a global scale. The Forum focused on the challenge of humanitarian crises and the policy and debate surrounding current migration flows. Speakers and participants highlighted these issues primarily, but not exclusively, with examples from the North American, South American, European and African continents.

The gathering consisted of 50 academics, journalists, activists, civil society leaders and public officials meeting to engage in roundtable and panel discussions in order to facilitate an exchange that would not only serve as informative, but would also critically analyse and propose alternatives to, and solutions for, the topics at hand. Thoughtful and creative reform was considered as a meaningful way to reinvent the current narrative surrounding nationalism, fear and migration.

Four sessions were held over the period of two days with each thematic session consisting of a first half of speeches, and a second half of debates that allowed for question and answer. This format facilitated an open dialogue as well as offered networking opportunities intended to foster long term cooperation and collaborative projects. Breakout sessions supplemented the formal panels.

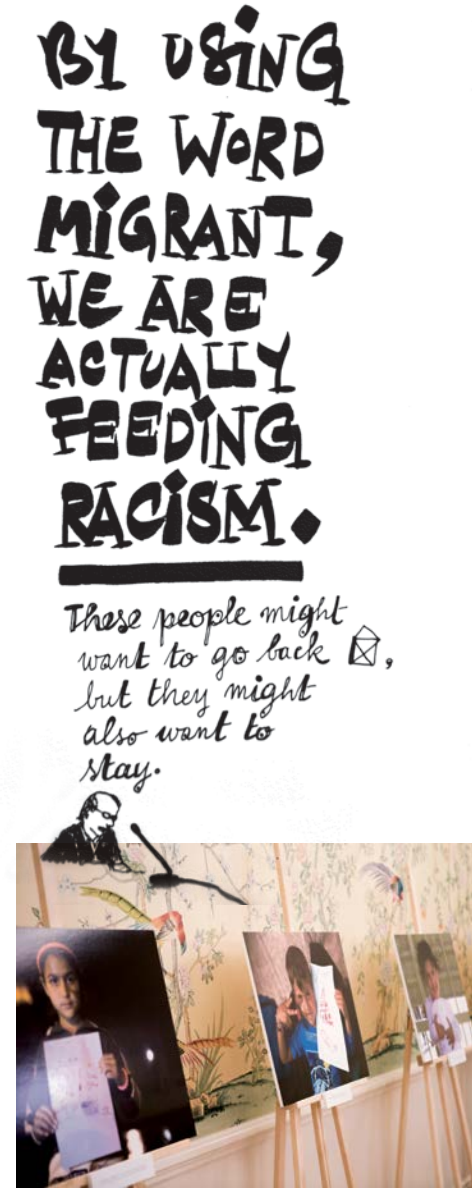
The Forum's Chairman and former Director General of Al Jazeera, Wadah Khanfar, inaugurated the event by emphasizing the global change that motivated the gathering of the group, and how a common drive for international solidarity should encourage the conference participants to take action and formulate concrete steps and programs.

This year's Forum was enriched by a series of creative installations and participation entitled ARTWORKS. Six artists engaged in five presentations that revolved around migration. Rosalba Felba and Gabriella Guido presented "Our Liquid Border," a short film that documented a human journey based on photographs taken by Massimo Sestini during Operation Mare Nostrum in June 2014. "Where Are You?" by Livia Cobó similarly focused on Sestini's work, in particular the photograph "The Migrant Boat," by providing portraits of the boat's passengers post-voyage.

Meanwhile, throughout the conference, international renowned illustrator and human rights activist Jana Traboulsi created a series of illustrations in real time, based on the discussion and participation in the Forum. Some of these illustrations are now part of the present report.

Under the title Migrant Dream, the artist Sonia Guggisberg showed a series of pictures and a short documentary movie focusing on the Mediterranean and the refugees trying their cross to the European side. By applying an artistic and humanistic perspective to diversify the predominant journalist language, she aimed to show ways of seeing and give the opportunity to hear the refugee's voices and the refugee's dreams.

Drawfugees by journalist André Naddeo closed the art exhibition. Naddeo spent 45 days volunteering with 2,000 refugees in the Greece's port of Piraeus. After a month and a half of working with refugee children and exploring their feelings, anxieties, hopes and visions for the past and future, the initiative achieved more than 60 drawings, as supervised by parents, and provided these youth with a voice during this crisis.



"Let Me Tell You Who I Am," by photojournalist Sara Furlanetto, documented refugee movement in Europe over the course of a year with a series of portraits in combination with artwork and written expression from the protagonists themselves. Sonia Guggisberg presented "Migrant Dream", a documentary film centred on the Mediterranean and refugees trying to reach the European border. Finally, "Drawfugees" by journalist André Naddeo, consisted of a collection of over 60 drawings by refugee children in the port of Piraeus, Greece.

first session

Implications of the refugee crisis beyond the 1951 UN-REC

Refugees, displaced persons and the myths surrounding current human mobility: international responsibility and reshaping the dialogue

This session focused on the plight of the refugee and displaced person, with particular emphasis on the current situation in Syria and its implications for international responsibility for individuals forced to move. However, in addition to addressing those migrants defined as refugees by the 1951 UN Convention, those fleeing their origin countries based on well-founded fear of persecution, it also sought dignified and humane solutions to forced migration due to other reasons, including poverty and general conflict or violence. Moreover, internal displacement is also a significant phenomenon that demands solutions. Within this debate, the role of the EU was brought into focus, as it negotiates cross-border movement from both the Middle East and Africa. Undoubtedly, alternative policy instruments and global cooperation is imperative in order to improve the situation not only for the individuals seeking refuge, but also in order to reshape the current economic and security dialogue that creates an atmosphere of fear and insecurity at the international level.

> *"…a recommendation I would make to the EU to guard against the danger of creating policy that relegates or diminishes or shifts the EU's policy and responsibility away from addressing the problem. And to understand the multifaceted reasons beyond why we have a migration/refugee flow today. And these are linked to repression and war, they are linked to poverty, they are linked to demographics, they are linked to governance, but ultimately today in the last five years they are linked to conflict."*
>
> **Comfort Ero**

Panel Observations

Amin Awad
Speaker

Amin Awad is Director for the Middle East and North Africa Bureau at UNHCR headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland and Regional Refugee Coordinator for the Syria and the Irak situations, United Nations High Commissioner.

Sami Zeidan
Moderator

Sami Zeidan is a Senior Presenter with Al Jazeera English. He has covered conflict zones and several seats of power including the United Nations, the White House and the European Commission.

Comfort Ero
Speaker

Comfort Ero has been Crisis Group's Nairobi-based Africa Program Director since January 2011. She also sits on the editorial board of various journals, including International Peacekeeping.

Félix Vacas
Speaker

Félix Vacas is a Professor of International Public Law and International Relations at the University Carlos III of Madrid. He is expert on Human Rights and International Migration Law, and has published extensively on these issues.

Countries neighbouring Syria, including Lebanon, Egypt or Turkey, have worked to accommodate the 5 to 6 million people who fled to these surrounding countries and found themselves sharing meagre resources. At the same time, there are continuous social, economic and security challenges. From the beginning, there was fear that this massive influx of refugees into surrounding countries would create political upheaval or a security crisis in host countries, events that failed to materialize. Appeals for aid have increased to requests for billions since the start of this Syrian crisis. Actors must seek a solution to the conflict with utmost priority, and to embrace a mindset that views the influx of refugees as, rather than detrimental to host countries, a beneficial process where these countries stand to gain. The refugee situation is not solely the problem of a single country, and the international community has unfortunately not responded to the extent they should.

The European Union maintains a responsibility to manage structural problems, and could do so by implementing a European migratory policy that would serve as more beneficial to all. Steps that have been taken by the European Union clearly indicate choices that prioritize certain interests over others. Some of these choices have been made at the expense of sacrificing the most basic principles and values on which the EU has built its society, and the law that governs it.

Europe's policy has had consequences, albeit perhaps unintended, for the African continent. There is failure to address the root causes of the problem. In recent years, while new policy instruments have been emerging, but that the policies themselves are hardly new. From the perspective of the African Continent, the policies seem to be recycled, old, failed policies. The European Union is externalizing and outsourcing its border management and its own responsibilities. Finally, any credible response to the migration crisis must address its principal drivers, those of conflict and war. Each country and continent should attempt to change its perspective and to understand the migration crisis from viewpoint of other continents.

Panel Conclusions

Displacement: an international responsibility

According to a 2016 UNHCR report, there are about 65 million people displaced, internally and externally. Forced displacement has been rising since the mid-1990s, but has increased in particular in the last five years. Out of the five to six million refugees from Syria, 90% have been forced to take refuge in host communities, and sufficient resources have not yet been provided to care for them all. There are many appeals for relief, and Syria is not the only community that seeks help. For example, efforts in South Sudan and the Central African Republic also appeal for aid but receive even less than the Syrian campaigns. Displacement throughout the African continent is prevalent, including displaced in South Africa from Zimbabwe and Somali, and refugees from Burundi have moved to Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Senegal hosts refugees from Mali and Niger.

In this displacement it is important to keep in mind the lost generations of children that result from a life on the move without resources. For example, as Turkish Ambassador to Spain Öhmer Öhnon pointed out, Turkey currently hosts 835,000 Syrian children at school age, but only 400,000 are currently receiving education. The same can be said for other displaced children throughout the world. Not only have they perhaps been roughly deprived of childhood by conflict, they are also contending with the trauma of leaving home, negotiating their identity in a new host society, and being at a disadvantage both economically and socially. Their parents also find themselves in a precarious situation as they have oftentimes used all of their savings and are reliant on the benevolence of the host country for insertion into society and the job market.

The European Union's activity and passivity

European migratory policy has gained heightened attention in the past few years, perhaps owing to some media coverage of migrants both losing their lives en route to Europe, and due to political debate arguing that security has become a concern for the European Union. While distress has been voiced about economic migrants, an academic and political consensus in liberal democratic states confirms the benefits of labour migration, both from a population replacement standpoint and human capital perspective. Moreover, European Union principles and commitments reaffirm the human rights necessity of accepting refugees, and humanistic values confirm the added culture and diversity migrants bring to society.

As migration has been a consistent phenomenon, albeit visibility regarding the issue has increased in light of the case of Syrian refugees, among other examples, the institutions of the European Union have addressed migration to the EU, or attempts to cross EU borders, to some extent. For example, the European Council has recognized the tragedy of the situation in the Mediterranean on various occasions. At the same time, border surveillance and control has seemed to remain the priority, rather than humanitarian aid. Relief and its policy and implementation are crucial to upholding the legal and social principles of Europe.

Ayo Obe
Speaker

Ayo Obe is a legal practitioner who is Co-Vice Chair of the International Crisis Group. She was President of the Civil Liberties Organisation and Chair of the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy.

Ömer Önhon
Speaker

Ömer Önhon is the Ambassador of Turkey in Spain. He has held several official posts such as Turkish General Consul in New York, Deputy Director General for the Middle East and Africa, and Ambassador of Turkey in Damasco, amongst others.

Rhetoric of security

At the national and international level, emergency law or law of exception is permanently entrenched as legal frameworks are ignored in favour of self-interest or supposed security interests. Border control and securitization remain at the policy forefront, in place of real solutions. Migrant flows are viewed through the lens of counterterrorism measures. Some argue that humanitarian efforts and search and rescue operations will only encourage increased cross-border flow. As a result, currently, the European asylum policy remains inhumane and inefficient, led by the rhetoric of security that often becomes politicized in the national politics of EU Member States.

The root causes of migration flows, including repressive or deficit governments or structural inefficiencies, in addition to higher profile conflicts like that of Syria or those in Iraq and Libya, remain unaddressed. The EU supports governments whose human rights' records and systems of government are incompatible with liberal democracy values, in the name of border control. Repatriation agreements between origin and receiving counties are often questionable, as it is perhaps forced rather than voluntary. Criminalizing border crossings creates a smuggler economy and human trafficking communities have built their own economies.

> *"Refugees can benefit host countries tremendously and contribute to their culture and contribute to their economic mechanisms and bring diversified sources of experience, casual labourers, skilled labourers, professionals and so on. If you look around the world there are, we have heroes, who at one time were refuges. One of our modern heroes today is Steve Jobs, a Syrian, who changed the world in his own way."*
>
> **Amin Awad**

Burden-sharing

As we have seen with the flow of people from the Middle East and Africa into Europe, migration and refugees are not the sole responsibility of border countries, but rather the international community as a whole has an obligation. Given today's globalization and the scale and permanency of mobility, responsibilities become inherently shared. In the case of Syria, Turkey has received promises of aid for sheltering the majority of refugees, and Jordan has similarly provided shelter, but given the limitations of infrastructures and services, other states must recognize their own obligations to provide refuge and support.

Italy launched its own humanitarian Mare Nostrum operation in 2013 in response to the loss of migrant lives in the Mediterranean. A search and rescue mission, the operation was extremely costly for the Italian state and largely unsustainable. The European Union then conducted its own efforts in the following years that focused largely on border control. Again, countries that are geographically exposed to higher migrant traffic should not be the only ones obligated to offer humanitarian relief. Migration flows can benefit societies if properly provided for; some examples of this opportunity include the Spanish intelligentsia's university-building in Mexico at the end of the Spanish Civil War. Wealthier and stable states should grasp these opportunities in addition to recognizing their inherent humanitarian responsibilities.

Possibilities for the future

In light of the panel's observations, future action is a clear priority. At the European Union level, reorientation towards humanitarian efforts, rather than a focus on securitization and border control, would not only comply with EU principles but would also refrain from involuntarily encouraging smuggler economies and human trafficking. The international and national media and political establishments focusing on the human capital and cultural diversity that migrants and refugees offer, rather than on supposed economic burden or societal discord, would go a long way towards changing the conversation. Moreover, a re-evaluation of what defines a refugee, and the need for global compassion for the displaced in general, is crucial to providing a more stable and peaceful world.

second session

Media coverage: Narrating terrorism and migration

Media driven discourses of terrorism and migration, and how to utilize new media and the grassroots to change the narrative

This session focused on how the media has been indisputably influential in driving the discourse on both terrorism and migration to date. Regarding possibilities for the present and future, it would be helpful to explore how the media could heighten the visibility of migrant rights and highlight the challenges they face by tapping into audience empathy, and how media can facilitate a dialogue that does not provide fodder for populist movements, but rather offers a nuanced perspective and debate on how our increasingly globalized society can be more inclusive of vulnerable populations. In practical terms, ways to achieve this include encouraging journalists to employ terminology and conduct reporting that avoids misleading discourse and empowers the marginalized, as well as examining how the media can work towards providing depth and context at the grassroots level in order to combat the mainstream rhetoric.

Mayte Pascual
Moderator

Mayte Pascual is a journalist at TVE specialized in international news and society. Currently at "Informe Semanal", the milestone news program in Europe, she was awarded several times and has covered major events along the last decades.

Gonzalo Fanjul
Speaker

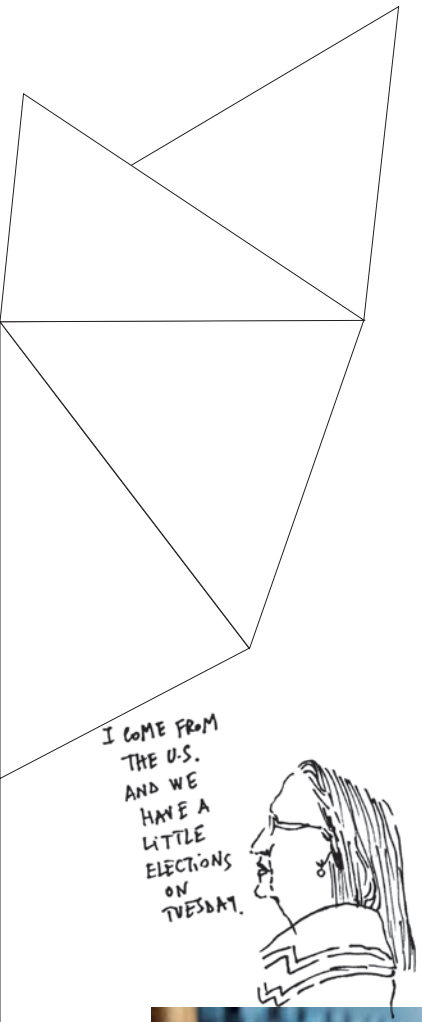
Gonzalo Fanjul is a researcher and an activist on poverty and development. Policy Director at the Institute of Global Health of Barcelona and Co-founder of porCausa. Co-editor of El País award-winning blog 3500 Millones.

Panel Observations

In media coverage and public discourse, Orientalist terminology has only increased in recent years, proceeding from an "us" versus "them" approach to one revolving around "Islamic terrorism." Cultural intellectual and media forces behind the reproduction of these stereotypes. Cultural and intellectual initiatives would provide autonomous forums for informing society, and could circumvent any competing interests, including financial, that drive the current public discourse.

From the gender perspective, there is a lack of insight, perspective and representative coverage. Sixty percent of refugees that arrived to Europe in the first two months of 2016 were female; moreover, women totalled an estimated 80% of all climate refugees. Women and girls' stories are not often reported, and refugee experiences of assault, exploitation and harassment on their journey to Europe are constantly cast in a vulnerable light, while stories of resilience are neglected. There needs to be a change in how these phenomena are coped with and covered, given the prospect of a changing world in the form of climate change, among other issues.

Moreover, the conversation could be narrated in terms of the right to migrate. Public debate on the subject is very narrow and that the discussion in the EU about how to respond to migration is practically uniform on both sides of the ideological spectrum. There is a new global challenge of human mobility, and a struggle between cosmopolitans and nationalists: between the rights of individuals versus the rights of territory. In this struggle, there is a risk of increased nationalism and isolationism. To proceed, it is important to maintain rights that have already been accepted, and to make sure that communities abide by these legal rights. Moreover, there is a need to consider survival migrants, or those who are trying to escape death by starvation, for example, if not political persecution. Reactivity is not sufficient, but rather creating a new system based on positive examples of migration schemes is necessary.



Katja Iversen
Speaker

Katjia Iversen is the CEO of Women Deliver, a leading global advocate for investment in the health, rights and wellbeing of girls and women. She has more than 20 years of experience working in NGOs and United Nation agencies.

> *"So to deconstruct the fear that has developed so rapidly, and even in the absence of this so-called evil and the menacing "other" we have to go back to and go down to the bottom line of reasoning, knowledge-building, and finding of course the correct platforms, networks and initiatives that can help this to happen."*
>
> **Arlene Clemesha**

Panel Conclusions

A fearful approach

An important theme that emerges and frames this debate is that of the "other." For example, Europe in particular has experienced significant immigration, and a boundary often remains between minority immigrant groups and native European society. There is increasing controversy regarding this immigration and a claim that there is lack of integration. Moreover, given the perceived Christian tradition and secular paradigm of Western Europe, some are wary of the recent increase in Muslim immigration specifically, believing the Muslim faith to be incompatible with European society; this suspicion is compounded with reservations that society may have about immigration in general. One of the more prevalent forms of essentialism has been the tendency to align Islam in general and all of its adherents with extremists, or terrorism.

Whether aimed at the Muslim, the Arab, or the immigrant in general, an "us versus them" dichotomy takes place. This dangerous essentialism is not limited to Europe. Europe surfaces as a salient example in the wake of the anti-immigrant bent of the Brexit campaign, as well as in the case of the growing success of populist movements and parties in several countries, including France's National Front, Switzerland's Swiss People's Party and Austria's Freedom Party. South America is not exempt, as in popular culture terrorism is associated solely with "the Arab" in countries like Brazil, and reactions to colonialism harden divisions; nations in Africa, including South Africa and Kenya, experience similar disassociation as they first look to neighbouring states or terrorist groups as the authors of conflict; and North America's US has recently elected a president that employed anti-immigrant rhetoric to rally support in his presidential campaign. Nationalism, to the point of exclusion rather than inclusion, has emerged in several movements, promoting a fearful approach to politics and society, rather than an approach seeking solutions.

Arlene Clemesha
Speaker

Arlene Clemesha is a Professor of Arab History and Director of the Arab Center for Studies at São Paulo University. She is also a commentator at the Brazilian television channel TV Cultura and author of several books.

The media's role

The media itself has been an accessory to essentialism and an environment of fear. Immigrants and refugees are often depicted as an endless tide and a burden to their receiving societies. Their social, cultural and economic contributions to their host countries are not mentioned, but rather their difference and their threat to the status quo are highlighted. Incoming refugees are said to be undercover terrorists, and asylum-seekers are rendered as largely young men coming to take jobs, with a disregard for the reality of large numbers of women and children fleeing conflict zones.

Sensationalism and politicization of the issues prevails in the mainstream outlets, and content is created for pure political consumption rather than for objective analysis. Female refugees are consistently painted as victims devoid of possibility for empowerment, and are not permitted to tell their story in a way that highlights their resilience. Terminology misconstrues the truth, with words like "terrorism" and "terrorist" applied without any clear definition; terms like "illegal" are used to refer, ironically, without any legal precision, to individuals; and dramatic invocations like "crisis," are employed to create a reaction rather than to provide an informed account.

Mariana Santos
Speaker

Mariana Santos is the Co-founder and CEO of Unicorn Interactive and Chicas Poderosas, a digital training community to bring more women journalists to technology in media. Formerly she was a member of the interactive team at The Guardian.

> *"I think that this combination of nationalism and isolationism is taking us to an actual regression in some of the fundamentals that have sustained international communities in the last decades."*
>
> **Gonzalo Fanjul**

Changing the conversation

Moving forward, the media has the opportunity to reform its role, avoiding this harmful and misleading narrative. This reorientation can focus on contextual and in-depth reporting, providing true investigative journalism that offers the audience objective information rather than manipulative rhetoric. This alternative journalism could be conducted at the grassroots level, through smaller outlets, as well as could be encouraged by NGOs and civil society organizations committed to providing objective truth in the pursuit of solidarity and humanistic values. Standards of practice can be espoused and upheld, and monitoring mechanisms can be put in place.

Admittedly, financial constraints exist, and reporting of this integrity demands significant resources and time of journalists. For this reason, collaboration is crucial. Civil society organizations need to collaborate in a spirit of solidarity and pool their resources in order to provide individual contributions in the most effective way possible. This type of cooperation will allow for organizations to effect change in their area of expertise in the best way possible, as they rely on resources from other organizations to enhance their individual project.

New media as a tool

Furthermore, new media has arisen as an innovative way to effect change. Especially in the pursuit of objective reporting, the amount of information available via new media is an invaluable resource. The task of aggregating this information is daunting, but the free flow of information also provides an unprecedented opportunity. As audiences may lose their empathy for stories of refugees' plights, new media can enable journalists to promote stories not immediately engrossing via digital journalism interdisciplinary work to tell the story in a new and engaging light. These platforms can give a face to the information communicated.

Moreover, new media also facilitates that stories be told by the actors themselves. This would allow female refugees to recount their stories of fighting for survival and a better life in a way that evokes their resilience. A richer context and more direct storytelling can take place as networks are created and knowledge is shared.

Looking ahead

The first step lies in acknowledging the narrative as it stands, one buoyed by commercial and political interests and susceptible to fear-mongering, politicization and polarization. The discourse colours the perceptions of transnational movement in our globalized world, and lacks the humanistic perspective that recognizes the solidarity we share with fellow humans whom, for whatever reason, are driven to cross borders. At the same time, this very cross-border movement, both physical and virtual in the form of information flows, can enable us to re-examine and redirect the discourse in a way that provides a truthful conversation aimed at an improved and thoughtful understanding of the human experience.

third session

Exits and selective integration: Last sights of nationalism?

The causes of discontent, exits nationalism and selective integration, and how to revaluate and seek renewed solidarity

Celso Amorim
Speaker

Celso Amorim is a Brazilian diplomat who served as Minister of Foreign Relations under both President Itamar Franco and President Lula da Silva. He was also Minister of Defence (2011-2014) under President Dilma Rousseff.

Thembisa Fakude
Moderator

Thembisa Fakude is the Head of Research Relations at Al Jazeera Centre for Studies and Deputy Chairperson of the Common Action Forum. He has written extensively on geopolitics and is a regular contributor in several newspapers.

Given the rise of nationalist parties in Europe and the rejection of a pan-European system by some populations, including the examples of the rise of Le Pen in France and the Brexit phenomenon in Britain, there appears to be a movement away from solidarity and towards individual nationalism and populism rampant in Europe. However, this disintegration is not exclusive to the EU, as one of the panellists offered that South America can demonstrate a similar disintegration. Nor is the manifestation of populism or moves towards nationalism exclusively European, as recent elections in the United States have shown. This session not only identified such movements away from solidarity, but also sought to analyse the root causes of this popular discontent and disintegration. The discussion pointed to growing inequalities, as well as a failure of democratic systems, with rigid political elites and powerful financial and economic interests overpowering the voice of the people.

"The social ladder in Europe is broken. It's not anymore Beethoven's Ode to Joy, it's Stockholm Syndrome. The EU has to reengineer itself from the bottom up. It has to support jobs and people. It has to be a union of people not markets. It has to regain its moral core in wealth distribution, politically, I think it has to reinvent the whole concept of public service, public servants, and public duty."

David Hearst

Panel Observations

In terms of integration, when looking at the integrating or disintegrating forces in South America, there are commonalities in relation to what happens in Europe, albeit they are not entirely comparable. South American governments seem to strive towards integration with the world economy rather than working towards a strictly South American integration. And while it is something the elite and the media emphasize, trade integration should not be considered as more important than peace integration—pursuing peace and democracy. A good example of important steps towards peace integration included when Brazil and Argentina agreed to have mutual inspections of their nuclear enrichment programs. In the news context, the idea of solidarity is missing, and it continues to be lacking. This has led to divisions rather than integration.

One way to pursue this integration would include efforts to prevent and sanction capital flight. The rights championed by the United Nations include economic, social and cultural rights, which consequently signify a nation's right to economic autonomy as well as the people's rights to their country's natural resources. However, protection of these rights ar lacking at the national level, and for this reason the people and their natural resources are exploited, and tax havens deprive these populations of what is rightfully theirs. While money laundering, drug trafficking, and terrorism financing are all internationally condemned, there are few measures in place or little action taken to avoid them.

Furthermore, relations between democratic retrenchments, transnationalism and exits are prevalent. Elastic democracy demands regulated political and social conflict mediated by compromises and producing real change. However, the systems in Europe are not as successfully working and constitutional order is threatened. Democracy is undergoing a process of degeneration and retrenchment, with a sense that the distribution of wealth is increasingly skewed and that democratic participation is impotent. As a result, the people are responding via these exit calls, including from the European Union, as an attempt to reclaim democratic sovereignty.

How Europe is changing as a physical and political space also bears consideration. There seems to be a clash between direct democracy and representative democracy a failure of the political centre, and finally, a reality wherein neoliberalism, including globalization, deregulation and privatization, have challenged national identity to the point where the state is re-shaping itself and people are desperate and threatened. We see evidence crumbling parties, high voter volatility, a great deal of unfocused popular anger, and a broken social ladder. The EU faces the challenge of reengineering itself from the bottom up, creating a union of people rather than markets, and reinventing the concept of public service, public servants and public domain.

"The crisis was started in 2008, it is not a contingent crisis, it is a systemic crisis of a certain economic model that has ruled uncontested in this part of the world for the last 30 years. The pacification of the political field that this consensus has created has presided over one of the largest transfers of wealth towards the top 10% of the population. It has created a foreign policy that has inflamed the Middle East. It has allowed the financial sector to grow out of size and blackmail the real economy. The middle class, the solid base of Western, democratic capitalism, is squeezed and declining. Inequalities haven't been this pronounced, as you know, since the Belle Epoch…"

Lorenzo Marsili

Panel Conclusions

Integration and disintegration

Post-war Europe has continuously pursued a path of increasing integration, resulting in the European Union integration and development of the past few decades. This integration was not only based on a mutual economic benefit, but on common liberal democracy values and social welfare principles shared among these countries. However, constituencies in some Member States have begun to question the EU's legitimacy and efficacy, and some national parties have called for exit from the European Union entirely. Indeed, due to self-interested and static elites, including political, financial and economic, there has been a weakening of democratic processes at the European Union level and thus the distrust of the whole institution.

Similarly, there are those who argue that elites from Brazil to Argentina to Colombia would rather negotiate with Washington or London, defending neoliberal policies, rather than concentrate on the local community dependent on them. And this resembles a form of disintegration because rather than an integrated South America dedicated to achieving common goals, protecting its resources on behalf of the people, and providing a local community, there is a nationalist push of self-interest at the international economic and financial level, excluding local communities and South American solidarity.

International solidarity and human rights

As integration is compromised, the panel discussed why it merited pursuit in the first instance. A general consensus was reached regarding how international human rights serve as the fundamental basis by which the world can achieve an inarguably desirable peace and prosperity. Such human rights, as outlined in the discussion, are not only limited to civil and political rights, but also encompass economic, social and cultural rights. For this reason, the rights of self-determination and economic independence were highlighted as key in the discussion of integration and disintegration.

While integration via a platform of solidarity and common values is necessary, the risk and often consequence of international powers colluding includes a distancing between the elite and the people and a growing inequality. This can take the form of a hegemonic economic and financial global power that deprives nations of the economic independence and the benefits of such that their citizens are owed as a human right. The problem of capital flight, recently made more visible in the press via the disclosure of the Panama Papers, is one such example. As resources are no longer at the disposal of the general population and flee to global tax havens, individuals find their human rights profoundly compromised.

Lorenzo Marsili
Speaker

Lorenzo Marsili is the Co-founder and Director of European Alternatives. He is the initiator and the spokesperson of the European Initiative for Media Pluralism and DiEM25's Coordinating Collective member.

Exits and popular discontent

Given the growing inequality, which can perhaps be attributed to some neoliberal policies over the past few decades, but also simply to uncompromising and self-interested elites taking advantage of globalization and transnationalism for their own ends, a popular discontent has arisen that has threatened solidarity at not just an international but at a very individual, human level. The distribution of wealth has crippled the current democratic systems. The voting populations do not feel that they are being heard and indeed, there seems to be a stagnation among political and social leadership and measures that leave more and more people marginalized. A need for structural change is felt.

In order to initiate change, citizens have begun to voice their discontent with the current social order. This can sometimes take the form of populism and an exclusionary nationalism that threatens values of diversity, inclusion and solidarity. Examples that were cited and are included in this category include the recent elections in the United States, the Brexit in the United Kingdom, the current electoral campaigning in France, and the growing numbers and size of populist parties in countries throughout Europe.

Nationalism as a limited alternative

Given the perceived deaf elite, structural rigidity and inequality, some have turned to nationalism as an alternative to the current political and social order. With compromise and real change having been perceived as impossible or a failure, citizens are attempting to reclaim democracy, identity and rights via sometimes exclusionary nationalisms. In order to combat the growing inequality, they confront, they turn to inward-looking, exclusionary nationalist policy as a form of protection, and reject the foreigner or migrant as yet another threat to their already diminished resources. As such, populist anger can be translated into xenophobia, racism, and exclusion that ultimately can prevent change or prosperity in its exclusionary and rigid approach to solidarity, cooperation and progress. However, as the session determined, given the few alternatives the citizen has it their disposal to effect change in ineffective systems, they feel this alternative is their only choice.

Looking ahead

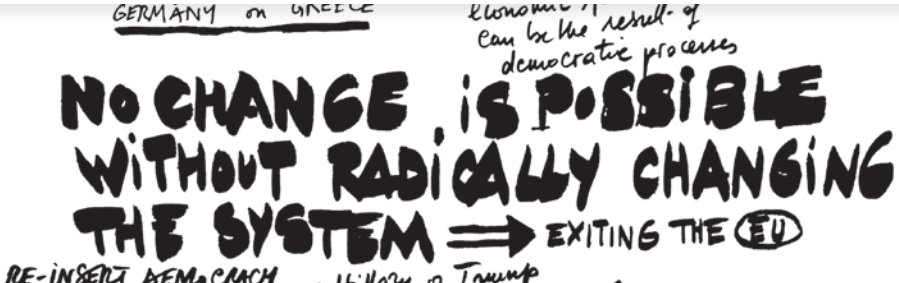
The panel and participants in session three observed these regressive and unfortunate phenomena and trends and found commonalities in examples throughout the world. At the same time, the challenge to rectify these movements and currents remains. To do so, several recommendations were put forth. To begin, democracy has to return to an elastic process that allows for adaptation, and this can be accomplished through structural change that allows for political and social conflict and compromise that can lead to true change and development. Furthermore, a renewed and active commitment to human rights, the bases of international solidarity and the instrument of peace and prosperity in today's rapidly developing and globalized world, is certainly merited. Finally, there should be a reassessment and innovative approach as to how to combat inequalities so as to safeguard the progress and rights of all peoples, not simply an elite minority.

Eduardo Barcesat
Speaker

Eduardo Barcesat is an Argentinian jurist, UNESCO expert on Human rights, Professor at the University of Buenos Aires. He is also a founding member of the American Association of Jurists.

David Hearst
Speaker

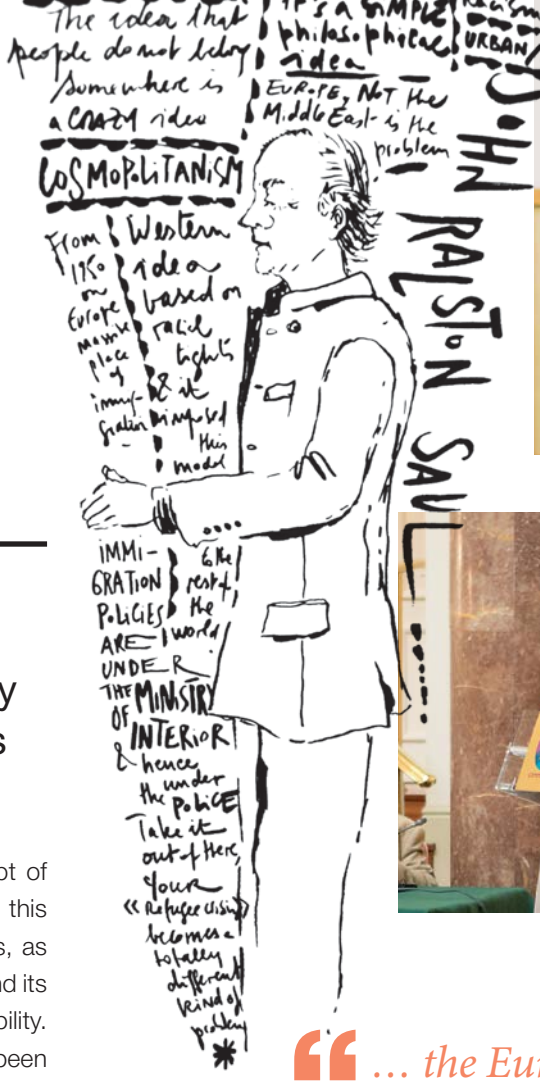
David Hearst is editor-in-chief of Middle East Eye. He was chief foreign leader writer of The Guardian, former Associate Foreign Editor, European Editor, Moscow Bureau Chief, European Correspondent, and Ireland Correspondent.



fourth session

Rethinking citizenship for a mobile world

A changing understanding of citizenship in a mobile world and the responsibility and adaptation this implies



Session four dealt with the concept of a mobile world, questioning who this mobile world truly accommodates, as well as explored the notion of citizenship and its evolving meaning in the context of this mobility. It addressed how the politics of fear has been successful in winning elections, as it feeds off insecurity and suspicion and remains a determining factor in migration and citizenship. The citizenship question should be discussed with basic respect for human life, as citizenship, ethics and coexistence are inextricably linked in the mobile world debate. Those without a legal identity, or subject to forced displacement, are entitled to an identity and sense of belonging. As an international community, we bear the responsibility to provide a legal framework so that refugees have options in their movement throughout the world. Negative tensions are expressed in terms of binary relationships, including individual rights versus territorial rights, or cosmopolitanism versus nationalism. In seeking solutions, we can begin by transforming negative tensions into positive ones.

> *"… the European mind is trying to define itself in terms of geography. We are no longer defining Europe in other terms, in terms of values, but Europe is defining itself now in terms of geography."*
>
> **Khalid Hajji**

Rafael Heiber
Moderator

Rafael Heiber is the Co-founder and Executive Director of Common Action Forum. He is a geographer and social scientist with academic expertise in organizational space and political implications of sociotechnical systems.

Khalid Hajji
Speaker

Khalid Hajji is an academic researcher, author and Professor in the Department of Anglo-American Studies at Mohamed Premier University in Morocco. He is also a founding member of Al Jazeera Centre for Studies.

John Ralston Saul
Speaker

John Ralston Saul is a Canadian award-winning philosopher, novelist and essayist. Author of 'The Collapse of Globalism', which predicted the 2008 economic crisis. He is co-chair of the Institute for Canadian Citizenship and President Emeritus of PEN International.

Panel Observations

Barriers are a constant when it comes to the mobile world and poor citizens travel less freely and less securely than rich citizens. Supranational corporations are subject to less obstacles and scrutiny than ordinary citizens, or worse, the most vulnerable. The changes in European migration policy (and recently, in the United States) show that there are in reality many obstacles to a truly mobile world. In the same way, the market directs migration policy trends, as border control often relies on the demands of the labour market in receiving countries. Migrants are constantly confronted with the message that they can stay in the country as long as the government wants them to, creating a sensation of insecurity and instability. Citizens who have been excluded from the system may see immigrants or potential immigrants not only as a threat, but also as a scapegoat for their marginalization.

Further, rather than embracing universal values, the current dialogue can sometimes be restricted to European values. Globalization is a permanent reality and that our definition of citizenship needed to adapt to this. Citizenship should be predicated upon what a citizen does, and not upon where a citizen is from. He explained that politics has recently been constituted in moral terms without the context of historical elements and political and social mobilizations of the past. As the citizenship model has historically implied the involvement of the state, in defining the meaning of citizenship it is important to seek an understanding of the mediating character of the state with respect to social conflicts.

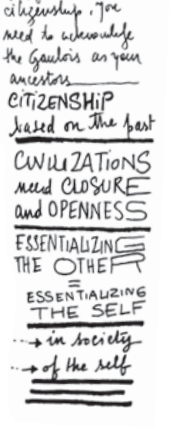
> *"At Six Degrees we asked a large number of people what did they think the primary, the leading characteristic of citizenship today and they said "safety and stability." That, I think, is a great reality."*
>
> **John Ralston Saul**

In addition, not everyone is born with a legal identity. Sixty-five million people throughout the world are currently displaced, there are 10 million stateless people globally, and a stateless child is born every 10 minutes. During displacement, legal documentation can be lost, destroyed or confiscated, and sometimes it is impossible to replace. Advocacy for change in nationality laws to promote the rights of women and children specifically is essential, and it is also necessary to further promote international standards relating to the 1950 Refugee Convention.

The conversation could be changed from negative to positive nationalism so that instead of being on the defensive about belonging and focusing on citizenship in an exclusionary sense, people rather embrace the public good and empathy. This could be aided by citizenship and immigration ministries that are autonomous, rather than falling under ministries of the interior or security policy. As to what steps to take in order to reimagine the current order and reinvent the present narrative particular responsibility falls on the elite. In order to strike a societal balance in today's complex reality, a harmony has to be found between belonging and mobility and integration and diversity.

> *"Legal identity is a human right. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights establishes that everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law."*
>
> **Paula Barrachina**

Panel Conclusions



The fragility of citizenship and the politics of fear

The politics of fear has been successful in winning elections, and as it feeds off insecurity and suspicion, it is a key factor in migration and citizenship. The Brexit and Donald Trump's campaign are recent examples of an emphasis on the supposed danger of immigration as well as on the security of borders. One especially problematic trend is the fear and discrimination discourse prevailing among the most oppressed classes of developed countries. Discriminatory elements are undermining the stability of what we understand as citizenship, and in some places like France and the United States they are talking about revoking citizenship of those who can be perceived as a threat.

In the populist, intolerant and exclusive discourse, humans are described as disposable goods. This type of speech makes a single point: if you do not meet expectations, if you do not integrate or assimilate completely, you are disposable. Moreover, in certain mindsets, citizenship remains linked to origins and the past. Citizenship should be attributed to what humans do, and not what they supposedly are.

Legal identity, statelessness, and the right of belonging

There are more than 65 million displaced in the world due to various conflicts. These displacements produce tensions in the construction and acquirement of citizenship, and this citizenship requires legal identity. The exercise of fundamental rights is inextricably linked with our legal identity, and yet many remain stateless. As a result of the war in Syria, 300,000 children have been born stateless.

The crucial importance of the right to belong is often overlooked. Not having a state to which one feels belonging causes people to feel marginalized and excluded as if they had inferior societal value. As individuals, we are much more one-dimensional entities. We are many things, we are many personalities, depending on how we feel or the context in which we find ourselves. In this way, our identities are constructed in a way that is not only based on a country, but also based on ideas.

> *"…the fact is that we can see that rich people, rich citizens or rich human beings, they travel freely, they travel legally, and they generally travel safely. Poor ones, they travel less freely, less legally, and less safely, but they do travel."*
>
> **Ayo Obe**

A mobile world for who?

A mobile world can mean the ability to consume products and information from other places and cultures while remaining in place, or it can refer to the possibility of free movement and obtaining citizenship as one prefers. The latter seems to remain largely inaccessible to most of the world's population. The question remains, who is this mobile world for? It is certainly for the world's wealthiest, whose passports are accepted worldwide, and who can easily pay to move where they like. Moreover, this population not only has freedom of movement, but security when they move. There is no threat to their lives.

However, for most the world, especially in the Global South, there are mobility and rights restrictions everywhere, as even goods seem to have more rights and mobility than persons. The mobility of refugees is not equivalent to that of those who move freely and due to their personal choice. The refugee's decision to migrate is a forced decision. Their priority is not to travel and see places or people. Rather, they have much seek stability and security, or to protect their lives.

Mario Domínguez
Speaker

Marío Domínguez is a Professor of Sociology at Complutense University of Madrid. His academic works focus on a cultural critique of modernity, the challenges of globalization and the political violence.

Paula Barrachina
Speaker

Paula Barrachina is a lawyer specialized in international human rights. Awarded in Academic Excellence by the US Government, she works as Policy Officer and Executive Assistant at the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Responsibility for right to belonging and mobility

The uncertainty of these times is profoundly rooted in a question about our identity, now that globalization is reshaping the way we view ourselves and others. We must change and reconfigure our mentality regarding identity and protect people's individual rights, including the right to belonging and the right to mobility.

Discrepancies in accessibility demonstrate the inequalities in mobility, as for some to move from one place from the other is a question of getting on the plane, while for others it is a voyage much harder and more difficult. As an international community, we bear the responsibility to provide a legal framework so that refugees have options in their movement throughout the world.

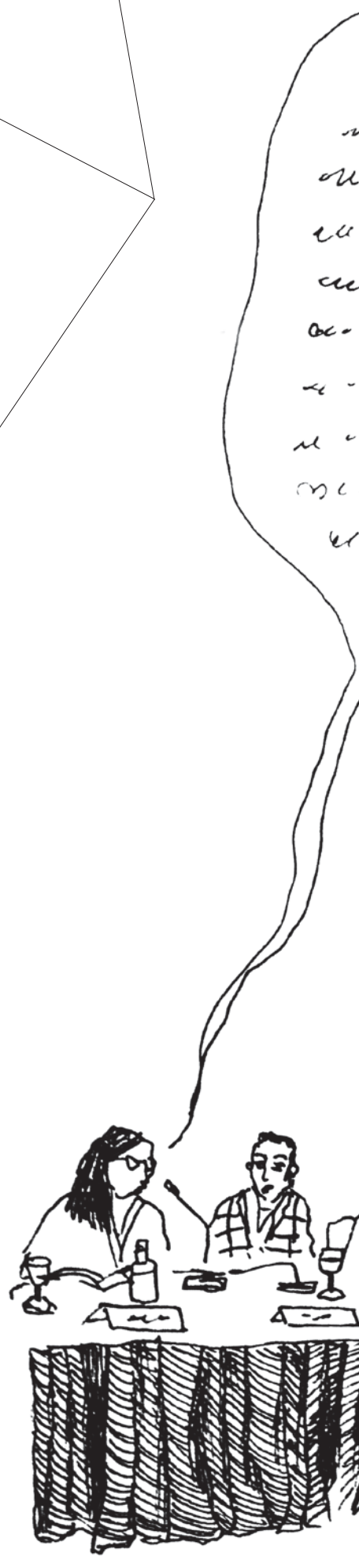
A change of perspective

We are confronting a catastrophic absence of the ideas of complexity and inclusion. Populist leaders do not create anti-intellectual thought, but is rather the intellectuals who fail to observe realities and concrete problems with our society. People find themselves without options and adhere to populist discourses that define the problem in negative terms. Confronting the problem requires an integrated an inclusive perspective, that considers the actors involved.

The intellectual elites, the elites in power, should work with the people creating spaces for dialogue so that these people can truly feel they are included in their society. This means balancing a feeling of belonging and mobility, and acknowledging diversity.

"…no matter how rich that country is, there's always a group of people who, even if they are citizens, they are marginalized, they are dissatisfied with their lot. And there's a way in which you have this migrant or guest-worker phenomenon, you are able to say well your life may not be perfect but at least you've got someone you can look down on, someone you can tell go home, you don't belong here, and so on and so forth"

Ayo Obe



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