



THEME 2: Intercultural Dialogue

Collection of Materials

Political, socio-economic and legal frameworks

The Troubled Nation-State – The Strains of Integration, Transformation and Immigration

by: *Edmund Ohlendorf*

Tp 202/1 Suggestions for dealing with the theme in class

Collaboration among teaching staff

Owing to the wide scope of lesson content, collaboration is recommended from staff teaching the subjects:

- Economics
- Politics / Social Studies
- Ethics / Religious Studies

Input from members of modern language departments will be required when lesson content is intended to be used in bilingual teaching contexts.

Collaborative group work in class

In the case of pupils too, it is advisable to share out the workload by dividing the class into groups to each deal with a particular aspect of the topic.

The following catalogue of questions and assignments makes no claim to be exhaustive. In some instances, it may also prove necessary for teachers to provide supplementary material to assist pupils towards greater confidence in formulating their responses. Moreover, it is intended that pupils learn to consult the web selectively when trying to obtain further relevant information.

The COMCULT Collection of Materials for Theme 3 also provides additional information on the topics of Globalisation, Neo-Liberalism, the Welfare State, Democracy and the EU.

Group 1 Economics

- 1.1 Why does economic growth in highly industrialised countries fail to produce an automatic and noticeable reduction in unemployment?
- 1.2 Does the necessity of economic growth also apply in high-wage countries? If so, why?
- 1.3 What accounts for the fact that industrial enterprises and the service industries make substantial profits but nevertheless constantly trim their workforces by thousands?
- 1.4 What realistic opportunities exist for employees to participate in the profits their companies make?
- 1.5 Can the equity market provide a secure alternative to the national insurance system? If yes, for whom? If not, for whom not?
- 1.6 Do more free market and an increase in competition throughout lead to greater satisfaction for all concerned?
- 1.7 What differentiates capitalism of the 19th century from the capitalism of modern-day globalisation?

Group 2 Politics (Nation-State)

- 2.1 Can the primacy of politics over economics be justified? In what instances, yes? When not?
- 2.2 In what respect do the assumptions and expectations of inhabitants of Anglo-Saxon countries regarding their national economic and social policies differ from those made by nationals in the majority of European countries?
- 2.3 Why do more or less all European nation-states struggle to meet their citizens' assumptions and expectations?
- 2.4 In what fields of governance is the nation-state at present virtually indispensable? What are the reasons for this?
- 2.5 Are there areas in which performance and delivery on the part of the nation-state are so poor or inefficient that other institutions should be requested to undertake them? If so – what prevents this from happening?
- 2.6 How might such institutions receive democratic authorisation?
- 2.7 Are 25 or 27 national governments in a position to develop sufficient and adequate ideas and procedures to set up a pan-European welfare zone, or is the European Parliament better suited to generating solidarity and a shared European identity?

Group 3 Politics (European Union)

- 3.1 Does the EU possess values esteemed by the majority of its citizens? If so, what are they?
- 3.2 What would be the result if all restrictions on employment and business dealings within the EU services sector were to be lifted immediately?
- 3.3 Are the European Regional Development and Cohesion Funds effective means of redressing regional disparities to thus lessen migratory flow within the EU?
- 3.4 What consequences would the immediate termination of all farming subsidies in the EU have?
- 3.5 Would heightened competition between EU member states and regions lead to greater satisfaction than the subsidisation of particular economic sectors and geographical areas?
- 3.6 Does open global competition work better than development aid? What consequences would have to be faced in certain EU countries if support for this view gained ground?
- 3.7 What political and economic affairs require urgent resolution at EU level, with subsequent mandatory application in all member states?

Group 4 Politics (Immigration)

- 4.1 What socio-economic factors trigger migration?
- 4.2 In what ways are the various immigrant groups affected by structural crises?
- 4.3 What behavioural patterns are conducive to migrant/immigrant integration and which have an adverse effect?
- 4.4 What perceptions have hitherto moulded public opinion in relation to immigrants? Have there been signs of a change recently? If yes, in what respects?
- 4.5 What part do value and norm systems play in issues involving immigrant integration?
- 4.6 What defines the line between integration and assimilation?
What demands can or should majority society make, what can or should it be prepared to condone/tolerate?
- 4.7 Would a common/joint EU policy help towards solving problems of migration and immigration?

Group 5 Ethics / Religious Studies

- 5.1 What must the primary goals of politics be?
- 5.2 Who is in a better position to achieve these goals, independent groups and organisations or democratically mandated institutions?
- 5.3 Which ranks higher, the protection of personal property or solidarity with the disadvantaged? Where does each have its limits?
- 5.4 Can a determination of what constitutes fairness be reached using democratic means?

- 5.5 What is it permissible for a state to regulate – for what reason – and to what extent, when restrictions on freedom are involved?
- 5.6 Where has ‘shareholder value’ – the expected future cash flow of a company – its limits as the benchmark of business decisions? Is this merely an economic concern or are there also ethical dimensions to the issue?
- 5.7 Open competition (a free market) within Europe and the wider world does more to combat disparity and poverty than allocations of funds on the grounds of solidarity, whether in the form of assisted regional development or development aid. Where, and for whom, are the benefits and drawbacks of such a standpoint?

Source material

Tp 202/2 Social self-righteousness

SPD government forfeits viability without redefinition of welfare state

from: “Die Zeit”, 8.05.2003 (Author: Peter GLOTZ)

... “For one thing – and this applies equally to the majority of our European neighbours – we are a society of the aging. For the first time in human history the proportion of the elderly is greater than that of the young. In 40 years’ time, for every eight people aged over 60 there will be only three who have yet to reach their twentieth birthday. This course of events can be reversed neither by moral suasion nor family policy. Denial that this trend calls for anything less than a radical restructuring of pensions and health provisions betrays a traditionalist outlook that constitutes just as grave a danger as it does contrariness. And secondly, the notion of “full employment” as an objective in the so-called knowledge society – or to use a different epithet: in digital capitalism – has now degenerated into a meaningless mandarin motto. Ralf Dahrendorf the sociologist has hit the nail on the head: “The knowledge society turns out to be one of intentional exclusion of the many from modern-day employment.” The burst of economic growth between 1950 and 1975 was, as Burkart Lutz the sociologist already established in the 1980s, a “short-lived dream of eternal prosperity”... In the long term a new underclass will arise made up of individuals who fail to find knowledge-intensive jobs or who, because of the compressed nature of the work, evade them. The panacea of ‘More growth = Less unemployment’ fails to deliver in a knowledge- and capital-intensive society.”

Tp 202/3 The impotence of politics

from: “Badische Zeitung”, 03.09.1992 (Author: Leopold GLASER)

... “Of more significance than any other factor is the shift of power from the political to the economic arena. Not only have policymakers been stripped of ever more power by the economic elite and are being made to meet their targets; the economic yardstick of market promoting self-interest has become so pervasive in minds and deeds that it becomes an uphill struggle even to ensure that justice and peace prevail in the reconciliation of conflicting interests – the duty of all governance – let alone to ever develop via discourse a cogent theory of justice. From an ethical perspective, justice is the key problem in all spheres of politics; yet, as might be noted about virtually every political domain, no matter the corner of the globe, we face the difficulty almost totally bereft of power, politics being trapped within the logic of the rapacious ideology of a European mould intent on gaining universal domination. Fresh analysis from the bottom up is what is needed. However, politics chooses to go down the apparently easier path of least resistance whilst hardly troubling to veil its alliance with the interests of economic might – and it consequently disregards the collective interests of society as a whole. If democracy is to be preserved from self-annihilation, politics needs to reclaim its prerogative. Yet this can be accomplished only in concert with the electorate – through mounting a drive towards probity by the sole means of which its individuals may no longer be taken for granted. In a democracy, more than in other forms of statehood, politics are subject to consent and engaged interest, in today’s terminology: subject to the participation of its citizens in a responsibly conducted co-decisive process. Such should be the tenet behind what politicians say and do, and not – with the backing of PR machinery – the gulling of the country through populist playacting.”

Tp 202/4 from: **Karl HOMANN: Ethik und Marktwirtschaft – tatsächliche Gegensätze? (Ethics and the Market Economy – Truly Poles Apart?)**
 in: Schönhauser Gespräche, Die Zukunft der Sozialen Marktwirtschaft – Politik, Wirtschaft und Bürger in der Verantwortung
 (Schönhausen Forums, The Future of the Social Market Economy – Politics, Economy and the Citizen in Terms of Accountability)
 (Berlin, 29/30 Nov. 2005), p. 24f

... “Given an appropriate regulatory framework, competition serves the common weal through ensuring low prices and superior quality, innovation and its rapid diffusion, and the erosion of power supremacies. The competitive market economy is thus the best-known means to date of attaining collective solidarity within the constraints of modern-day societies. In terms of system its credentials are ethical.

The fact that an outcome may indeed be morally undesirable should not permit the conclusion to be drawn that the market economy needs abolishing or reining in but rather that efforts should be made to allow it to work better. Tangibly this means: The bulwarks preserving vast areas from the onslaught of market forces and competition require dismantling, as do subsidies and protectionism. It is also a mistake to expect companies and shareholders to be content with what is ‘adequate’ rather than look for maximum rates of return. In competitive dealings that is to demand the impossible; we only end up in the mistaken paradigm of ‘fair prices’ and ‘fair profits’. A market economy is concerned with market prices and profits in line with the market. Sustained rates of return ‘in line with the market’ serve consumer interests, that is to say the general public, better than altruistic restraint, which is hostile to innovation, shields the status quo, and has no place in the sphere of international competition.

In a nutshell: If a market economy derives its ethical legitimacy from serving to bolster solidarity for all in the circumstances pertaining in present-day societies, then there is an obligation for us to refine this market economy and extend it to areas, both in terms of geography and human endeavour, that are not yet subject to organisation along market economy lines: for the benefit of all and in particular the poorest of the poor. This is not to put the case for categorical ‘deregulation’, since competition in any form requires, as already noted, apposite rules of play, an expertly tailored regulatory framework.

...When competition is perceived to be a disorderly bellum omnium contra omnes, the end result is one in which ‘the life of man [is] solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short’ (Thomas Hobbes). Such a scenario is totally unsatisfactory for all concerned, including the companies. Not until competition is made to follow rules of play can it unfurl its capacity to promote the prosperity of all.”

Tp 202/5 from: **M. Rainer LEPSIUS: Bildet sich eine kulturelle Identität in der Europäischen Union? (Is there an emergent cultural identity in the European Union?)**
 in: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik
 (Journal of German and International Politics)
 (No. 8, 1997), p. 951

... “Decision making on matters of distribution and redistribution is one of the most delicate of political domains, particularly in times of economic stagnation, let alone negative growth. For it requires complex systems for the formulation of intent, the working out of compromises ... Such systems have hitherto worked only at the level of the nation-state, through utilisation of specific organisational techniques that make allowances for solidarity, anticipated political parity and guaranteed security of national supply. The socio-political mediation processes between the divergent interests and their lobbyists and the agreements reached on the legitimacy of the results obtained through such mediation are pivotal in defining the prestige and socio-political identity of the nation-state. The more substantially interventionist the European Union becomes in respect of these basic processes of societal structuring and self-legitimisation, or the more formally restrictive it becomes of the nation-states’ sovereign rights, the more deeply drawn into the distributional conflict situations the European Union finds itself. As a result, it not only veers towards

increased status as a political entity, the threat of forfeited authorisation also gains in potency. It is therefore a matter of necessity for it to develop ideas for the setting in order of a ‘European Welfare Region’, normative concepts for pan-European social solidarity, that is to say for a system of values facilitating the formation of a shared identity despite considerable indigenous disparity...

As the European Community morphs into the European Union, 'Europe' assumes political dimensions. This implies not only a greater demand for legitimacy but also offers scope for new definitions of what the European welfare state should comprise. During their implementation socio-political and socio-ethical role models may emerge. To date however, these have been neither determined as ideas nor rendered practicable through administrative procedures."

Tp 202/6 Not All Censure for Tony Blair

from: "Badische Zeitung", 21.06.05 (Author: Peter-Paul WEILER)

"Berlin. Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair is blamed for European rift. By demanding cuts in EU farming subsidies, he holes EU finance negotiations. Yet leading German economic research institutes greet Britain's 'No'.

'The Community squanders most money on sectors that are known to be a waste of time', slams Alfred Steinherr, Head of Macroanalysis and Forecasting at the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW). And his colleague Hubert Gabrisch, Research Director at the Halle Institute for Economic Research (IWH) cautions: 'Without modification to agricultural policy the matter is on its last legs.' By "matter" he means the EU and its subsidy budget. His colleague Klaus-Jürgen Gern at the Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW) also gainsays the anti-Blair criticism: 'What is economically conducive to the EU need not be prejudicial to political agreement.' It 'serves no purpose to pursue an economically misguided policy merely for the sake of uniting Europe.' Gern also feels that it would be 'beneficial to the EU and its growth for the EU states to reach a settlement in line with the British position'. For the thousands of millions pumped into agriculture deliver only little value added and have hardly any positive knock-on effect as far as the job market is concerned. They increase the costs of sources on which more productive sectors depend."

Tp 202/7 Bust-Up Over 0.03 Per Cent

from: "Die Zeit", 08.12.05 (Author: Joachim FRITZ-VANNAHME)

... "According to Blair, the EU budget in future needs to comprise 1.03 per cent of EU economic output, a volume of 847 thousand million euros over the entire period. In June he brusquely swept aside a compromise from Luxembourg proposing 1.06 per cent, which concretely represented 871 thousand million euros. Ever since, the tone of Blair's sermon has been: Not a jot off the rebate without reform of farming expenditure. But now the drone has petered out.

Tony Blair omits to mention that the British rebate was pushed through by his predecessor Maggie Thatcher in 1984 on the grounds that per capita income in Britain lay substantially below the average for the rest of Europe. So, the poor were then to be given their due – and received it they did. In the current budget for this year alone the rebate amounts to 5.4 thousand million euros. However, Britain must now be considered one of the well-off members – and has consequently chosen to change its mind. Nowadays, according to Blair, it is not a matter of the poor receiving their due, but rather one of the poor being badgered to part with the beans.

The Brussels Commission has warned that under present budget provisions the British rebate to 2013 will rise by 31 per cent, the EU budget as a whole however only by 11 per cent. Moreover, in Blair's scheme of things, the wealthy members will be allowing their lower contributions to be financed by the cash-strapped new member states."

Tp 202/8 from: Kirsten ENDRIKAT et al.:

Soziale Desintegration

**Die riskanten Folgen negativer Anerkennungsbilanzen
(Social Disintegration – Lack of Recognition and its Risks)**

in: Deutsche Zustände (Conditions in Germany), Vol. 1

Edited by: Wilhelm Heitmeyer

(Frankfurt am Main 2002), p. 38

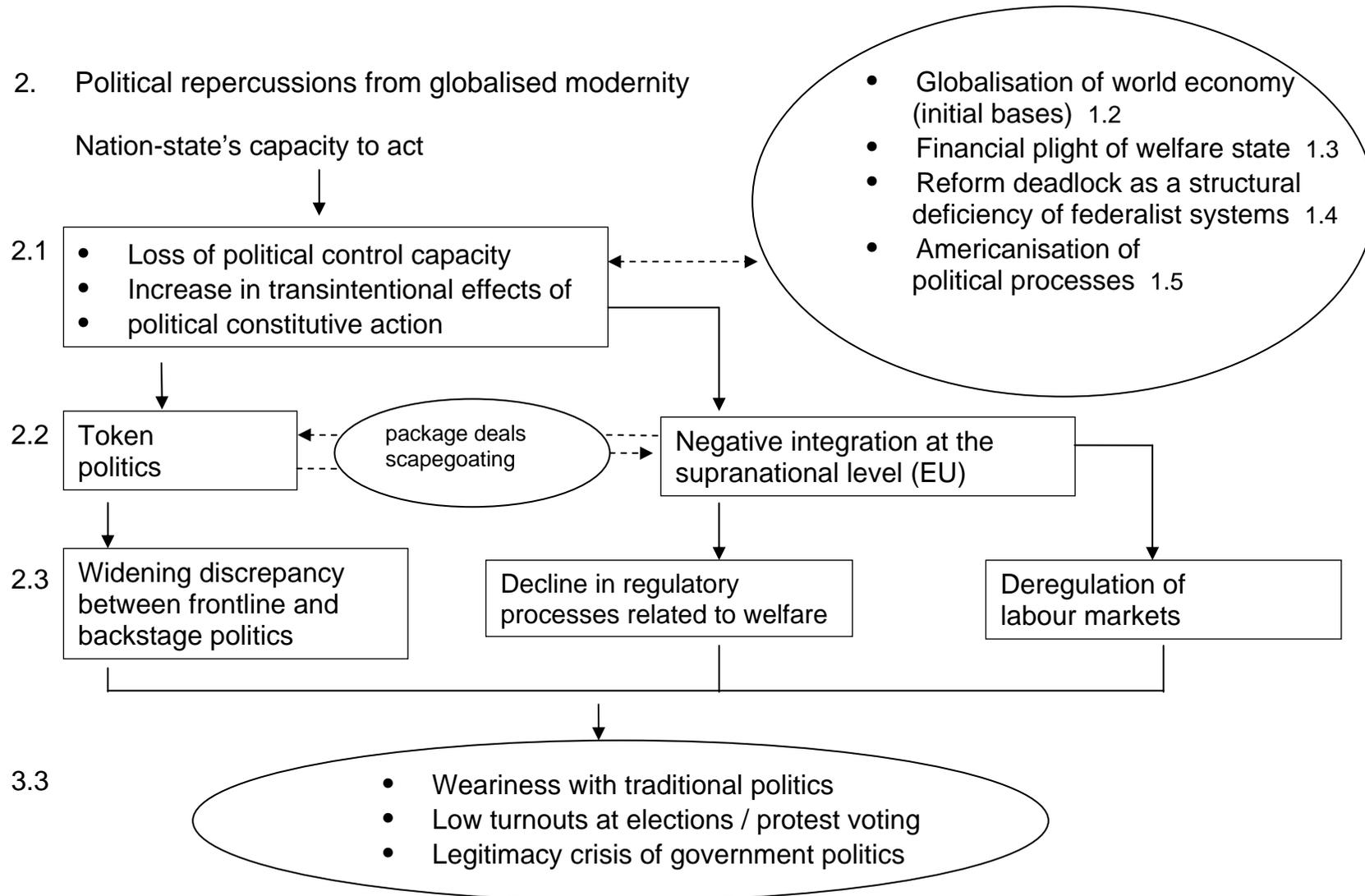
... "Individual functional systems of integration (socio-structural determinants) are directed at participation in the material goods and cultural requisites of a society. A system of integration is secured through access to socially relevant subsystems such as the educational system and the labour market. Such access is of particular significance in that the benefits thus acquired are also fundamental to participation in commodity

markets and cultural resources. Subjective assessment of ability to engage in these fields is furthermore determined both by evaluations of the state of the economy and subjective perceptions of personal economic standing in relation to other individuals and/or social subgroups in respect of disadvantage. Subjective confidence levels in respect of access opportunities are thus dependent upon risk perception, e.g. unemployment or insecure job situations, actually achieved advancement or demotion, as well as social security provision, e.g. in the event of illness or in old age. In the context of individual functional systems of integration, material considerations are however not of sole importance. Social aspects are also of relevance, primarily the recognition acquired at work, and also in the private sphere, as a result of positions held, roles and fields of activity engaged in, as well as subjective levels of satisfaction derived for the individual from current pursuits. Problems of failing integration occur when these means of appraisal undergo structural threat and are subjectively understood to constitute a drop in levels of recognition.”

Tp 202/9 from: **Wilhelm HEITMEYER:**
Gesellschaftliche Integration, Anomie und ethisch-kulturelle Konflikte
(Social Integration, Anomie and Ethico-Cultural Conflicts)
in: Was treibt die Gesellschaft auseinander?
(What Makes Society Crumble?)
Edited by: Wilhelm Heitmeyer
(Frankfurt am Main 1997), p. 633f

“What makes this structural crisis particularly striking may be illustrated by noting that a decoupling has taken place in the capital/work dichotomy, evidenced by the token expression ‘jobless growth’. The economic view previously held that ‘growth creates jobs’ is now finally and manifestly transmogrifying into a doctrine of growth. Growth thus no longer razes the bastions of inequality but in fact provides it with additional buttresses, aided and abetted by policy-makers bent on boosting prosperity. The particular tragedy is that this inequality, with its myriad attendant forms of economic, social and cultural disintegration, is becoming rampant in zones of burgeoning economic activity. This is progressing at the close of the 20th century with enormous rapidity, prompting Etzioni to supply for political systems the glum prognosis: ‘There is no way that democratic societies can keep pace with the speed at which markets are at present opening up.’ ”

Gp 202/1 Diagnoses and Analyses of a Nation-State's Capacity to Act



Gp 202/2 Economic, Cultural, Political and Social Aspects of Societal Disintegration

Crisis Phenomenon	Repercussions for social and political processes	Personal and collective perceptions	Effects and responses among immigrant communities
Structural crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Disintegration - Economic exclusion - Heightened socio-economic disparities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Powerlessness - Anxiety about drop in standard of living - Indifference - Unleashing of violence potential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Owing to poor command of language and - lack of skills frequently more strongly affected than majority society - Rising competitive pressure
Regulatory crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Erosion of sense of value and purpose hitherto linked to stable employment. - Indifference - Enormous gap between illusory world as portrayed by mass media and what can in fact become reality for many. - Breach-of-taboo way of thinking in the economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aimlessness - Lowering of violence threshold - Increasing loss of socialisation of children within family structures - Aggressive individualism - Sense of being at the mercy of malevolent powers and exploitation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Virtually uninhibited influence of political and religious organisations in the parallel society - Perpetuation of patriarchal structures that have in part ceased to be the norm in country of origin. - Contempt for moral relativism of the majority society
Crisis of allegiance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mistrust of reliability of welfare state provision - Weariness with politics - Decline in lawful authority of political decision-making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rise in attempts to evade taxation and statutory levies - Increase in number of people refraining from voting in elections - Switches to pure protest parties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Growth of discrepancy between statutory rights of equality and inequality of occupational opportunity - Greater allegiance to countries of origin than to country of residence
Crisis of cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Greatness of distances between place of work and home puts a strain on family relationships (rise in divorce rates) - Decrease in cultivation of friendly relationships in neighbourhood, clubs, societies and other social networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Isolation - Pressure to be constantly flexible and highly mobile - Everyday stress and strain - Less readiness to help others out 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Renewal of connectedness with native country - Self-ethnicisation and cultural disengagement from the majority society - Retreat into own family or circle of relatives (arranged marriages)

Table Gp 202/2 is based on Scheme 1 (HEITMEYER, 1997, p. 633), with modifications and additions from Aspects from MANSEL, 2006, p. 45, and as provided in illustrations by Stefan LANGE at the COMCULT Conference in Hildesheim on 18.09.2004.