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MIGRATIONS

ASYLUM AND MIGRATION. COMPLEX AND DYNAMIC ASPECTS OF GLOBALIZATION

Florian Răpan

ABSTRACT

The waves of migrants who have been displaced by conflicts in the Middle East, North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa pose a particularly difficult challenge for the European Union – where political bonds have been frayed by the ongoing economic crisis.

The number of people coming from outside Europe to claim asylum has risen significantly since 2011. A debate is currently raging about whether we should refer to the people arriving in Europe as «migrants» or «refugees».

The world «refugee» has a precise legal meaning, set out in various bits of in the international law. The world «migrant» is on even broader term. Some people claim to find it pejorative – although agencies like the IOM use the world.

KEY WORDS

migrants, refugees, asylum seeker, illegal migration, inhabitants

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The definition of the concepts of migration, immigration and asylum

The human migration is a phenomenon known from the ancient times and is been the main topic of discussion official and unofficial, of studies, articles and vivid debates led on the political stage of developed states. Many times these Debates where politically used and had an electoral purpose or even a propagandistic one.

The migration phenomenon cannot be understood in its fundamental essence unless this concept in itself is logically defined using facts, realities that also need to be explained and refined. Certainly it is obvious that we must ask the following question: is migration a continuous, sequential, frequent phenomenon and how does it manifest itself?

Obviously the migration has been and still is a phenomenon that will influence human societies and social mobility.

Even from the beginning of humanity, the migration was manifesting itself, unconsciously and chaotic in the beginning gathering just a few people. In time the phenomenon had different forms. The aspects regarding different forms of migration have been analyzed in the beginning only by a few states but then they were analyzed by regional organization and finally by international organizations.

In 2015 the world is at an important crossroad. Recent events affecting everyday life are raising serious concerns since we are living a prolonged migration crisis that spread like a shock wave affecting first the United States

and then Europe and other states ruined by internal conflicts and poverty. The grave anomalies form the Islamic world the place of social revolts (*aici am zis că e locul unor revolte, nu generatoare de revolte, că ei nu știu dacă ar fi generat prea multe dacă nu s-ar fi bătut marile puteri pentru petrol acolo*) taking place as we speak and having a huge potential of transforming in internal wars pro or against the political regimes and inter-religious wars. It is the case of Egypt, Syria but especially Libya. Those conflicts are determinin large movements of populations from one region to another. There is a great threat of compromising on the long run the wish of Islamic people from this part of the world to live in free, developed, secure countries. The risk of suppressing the most fundamental desires of young generations living in those countries but in a more and more globalized world can through the Arab world placed closely to the European borders back in time and this is the perfect ground for the development of more and more radical states.

The migration is a phenomenon that is indissociably related to the very existence of human species. The wars, the natural and human created catastrophes determined and will determine large movements of populations in the same state or even on different countries or continents. I also consider that there is a close relationship between the reasons of migration and the geopolitical position of the states that produce that phenomenon.

Using a forecast correlated with other data we can achieve a perspective even if it is an imaginary one on the local and regional tendencies for the possible territories that could become source of legal or illegal migration. Through those forecasts solidly based on facts and correlated with other data we can take important steps in preventing those trends and better regulate the asylum and the migration in all its forms.

For many the terms of migration, immigration and asylum are abstract notions, poorly understood and often confused.

Etymologically the migration is referring to the movement of people and their geographic relocation, having a permanent or a temporary character. There are numerous reasons generating those movements. One can be generated by victorious imperial armies that established themselves in new territories.

As concepts with specific meanings they are defined by dictionaries or state institutions, international organizations that offer more complex or simple definitions that try to provide a general image capable of capturing the essence of these terms. Some of the definitions have emotional connotations other are more rational and some are technical and neutral.

According to the glossary that contains the relevant terminology in the field of migration and asylum published by ICNUR (UNHCR), the asylum consists in "the granting by a state of protection on its territory to the persons from another state that fled the persecution and a great danger". The asylum consists in a variety of rights including the non- refoulement, the permission of staying in the country that is offering the asylum and human conditions of living.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has state thorough is 14th article that the right of asylum is a fundamental right and for its fulfilment and regulation and efficient usage have been adopted many agreements and international conventions. Those agreements and conventions are is guaranteed by each state through its internal legislation as a result of its adherence to those conventions.

In this context we can mention the Convention regarding the refugees (O.N.U. - 1951); The Declaration regarding the territorial asylum adopted by the UN General Assembly (O.N.U. - 1965), The Resolution of the U.E. Council on the minimal guarantees for asylum procedures from 20.06.1995, the Protocol regarding the status of the refugees (O.N.U. - 1967).

ICNUR (UNHCR) stated the meaning of the notion of refugee so that any person that has serious and justified fears of being persecuted on grounds of race, religion, nationality or political opinions, is placed outside the country of origin and that cannot as a result of this fear to ask for that country's protection.

The asylum is the main form of protection granted to a person as a result of being a refugee and its expression is the right to live in that country.

The multiple definitions of migrations, immigration and emigration prove the complexity and the variety of the phenomenon, but especially its importance and implications on the human society in general. It is necessary to analyze this situation from two points of view: geographic and human.

From a geographic point of view, the migration can be defined as well as the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographic area to another by crossing a border as a result of the desire of living temporary or permanently in one place or another different from its origin country.

For a better understanding of the migration phenomenon we shall offer the exact picture of its manifestation trying to make a distinction between the place of birth, the place leaved, and the destination place and finally the arriving place or the place where he/she stays. We can speak of internal migration (inside a political and administrative region, province or deparment), or international migration (outside the national borders).

The first observation regarding internal migration leads us to the conclusion that this is a form of migration that is more easily tolerated because the person moves inside the same space where there are no linguistic barriers, the integration period being shorter, a space that cultural habits are familiar (although there are situations that can contradict the theory, especially in large countries.)

The international migration covers and defines new terms known as the refugee's movement, as movement of persons dislocated and forced to leave their country of origin.

The International Organization for Migration defines the migrant as a mobile person that settles its residence for a longer period of time in a foreign country.

For a more general perspective the United Nation stated that the migrant should be defined as a person that enters a country other than its own for at least 12 month after being absent at least a year or more. The criterion of the time can be though flexible.

The migrants are the persons that leave their countries, including refugees, but, unlike the migrants, the refugees do not choose to leave, their reasons being more serious.

The migrants like the ones that travel for economic or family reasons are not defined as refugees and they are not entitled to be granted international protection.

For a better understanding of the phenomenon it is necessary to present the two main aspects of the migration, that is, the emigration and the immigration, taking into account the place of origin and the place where the person settles.

From a human point of view any person that leaves the country with the intention of settling in another country is an emigrant.

Although it is not the most important aspect of migration, as a result of the direct and immediate effect that has on the society, the vast majority of analysis regarding the migration is focused on the movements of the work force, although this aspect is only one of the many reasons of people massively moving from one place to another. Theoretically there are many types of migration and migrants but there are a few important factors generating migration.

When we talk about emigration it is necessary to clarify two important aspects:

- What are the reasons that determine the emigrants to decide to leave their countries?

- What are the reasons they are attracted to certain countries and not others?

More precisely, the main factors that influence and determine the emigration are:

- The precarious living standards and minimal chances of getting a job in the origin country as a result of high unemployment rates;

- Living in areas affected by natural catastrophes and ecological disasters or the threats coming from this area, for example living in desert areas, in areas affected by important climatic phenomenon: hurricanes, earthquakes, floods;

- Local and regional conflicts generated by the lack of resources or by religious reasons as a result of the desire of exercising greater power in the area.

- Political and religious discrimination especially in the form of terrorist attacks;

- Prolonged economic crisis;

- Huge discrepancies between the democratic political systems and the political regimes in the countries of origin;

- The rapid growth of population as a result of high birth rates: the Malthusian theory, although criticized, still lives.

From the time Malthus's work was published the world population grew at an enormous rate: we are now six times more than we were at that time. To reach one billion people we needed thousands of years. For reaching the next billion we needed only 130 years, and for the next 30 years, than 15, than 12, than 11. In 1999 the world population was more than 6 billion people. According to the specialized commission in the UN the world population will reach 10 billion, 11.5 billion in 2150 and will become stable around 2200 when the world population will be around 11 billion persons. The growth of population is going hand in hand with the emigration:

- The overpopulation of urban centers as a result of internal migration;

- The promotion of policies that encourage the formal controls in the country of origin;

- The lack of mandatory visa requirements for emigrants in different countries or the fact that visas are very easily offered to emigrants;

- The great communication progress that allow emigrants to contact people in their community that already left and can thus influence those who want to leave;

- The polarization of states in rich and poor states;

- The existence of fast means of transportation that allow people to travel on long distances;

- The lack of interest of the origin states regarding the migration of their own citizens.

Unlike the immigrants that leave the countries for economic reasons, the refugees are a complex category of persons forced to sever their links to the country of origin as a result of their fear for their lives, or fear of being politically, racially, ethnically, religiously or socially discriminated against.

The impact of asylum and migration on Romania

Although the last 15-20 years in some areas of the world like Europe, the migration was a serious problem, this phenomenon of international migration is for many states a contingent concern, a reactive problem being mainly a form of response to certain evolutions and not a problem of managing and estimating movements of people.

In Romania, from 1990 until now, in the context of social and economic transformation that affected our country, a large number of citizens crossed legally or illegally the border in order to reach Western European Countries in order to find better paid jobs or, in the case of persons with a criminal record, in order to find a better context for their illegal activities.

The factor that allow for this to happen was related to the fact that many times Romanian citizens found themselves in an illegal situation (until Romania entered the E.U. in 2007). After this important event took place many of them are legal immigrants. There are also cases where they are still in an illegal situation due to their actions in certain states.

These conditions presented above and also the fact that Romania is still considered by some E.U. states as a country with a migratory potential (with regard to the work force) only amplified the phenomenon that was manifesting itself even before 2007. That is in the period preceding the Romania's entering the E.U. a lot of networks dealing with the illegal human trafficking were set and they are still operating having important logistic and financial resources and working under the disguise of international tourism agencies.

From this point of view, as a result of economic offer of our country, Romania is not a target for the migrants, but a transit state.

As stated above, the foreign citizens that intent to reach the economically developed countries from the Western part of the Europe use Romania's territory as a *waiting room* until the moment of leaving for a better place presents itself.

The immigration in Romania after 1989 is influenced by the excessive restrictions imposed by the countries in the Western part of Europe on emigrants and this is determining certain migrants to focus on countries like Romania. Another causes, like entering the E.U. and entering the Schengen space transforms the Western border of Romania in community border and maintains even in a latent form of a tense situation in close states (Bosnia, Kosovo, Transnistria).

These factors are fueling the immigration including immigration targeting Romania. The placement of Romania in the category of transit countries is also the result of its geographic position being situated on the road to countries with migratory potential and developed countries.

One thing is certain: the subjects of migration will always be people or states or international organizations on a macro level. The migration, the way it presented itself right from the beginning of history represents a major social challenge.

In this context Romania will be bound to build a complex system of managing the

immigration providing shelter to the immigrants that temporarily stay in our country or for the persons seeking asylum until they make the asylum request. This whole process can mean important financial resources.

Romania itself one places far away from the European Union borders, a state in a transition period, whose economy dropped year after year became a source of migrants looking for jobs. Today it is inside the EU having an economy that tries to re-define its directions, with a solid democracy that tends to transform itself in a target for illegal immigrants while remaining also a transitory state. Romania will take the role of a buffer in terms of migration fluxes that want to enter the E.U. territory. It is important the Romania, through the policies that it adopts on the line of migration management to coordinate its efforts with the European states as a “*responsible state*” according to the 1990 Dublin Convention also in addition with the Council Regulation 343/2003 (the determination of responsible state with regard to the analysis of the asylum requests made by citizens of different states.)

There are three ways that could count as viable scenarios regarding the immigrant fluxes with consequences on Romania:

- The first one has to do with the inequalities in terms of economic development between Romania and other member states that will continue to exist even after many years our country became a member of the E.U. In this case the desire of the immigrants to settle down in our country is very small – 1% this is why we can consider it is a minimal chance.

- The second is based on the demographic criterion, supposing that the new comers are spread evenly in the member states, according to the proportion of each state in the total population of the E.U. According to this rather simplistic view Romania will be compelled to foster approximately 4.4% of the E.U. immigrants.

- The last version grants a larger importance to the illegal immigration and to the position that Romania holds in the European Union, that is, the position of external border. We can take into account the fact that the territorial frontier is easier to cross by comparison to states situated in the Eastern extremity (the Baltic countries)

Conclusions

Europe and Romania are facing nowadays an unprecedented flux of immigrants. This is raising serious concerns for everybody, although the whole movement can represent the rare occasion of radically changing the old systems of restrictive laws virtually suffocating the freedom of traveling and of expression.

In this context, as a result of its geopolitical position and its important geostrategic place, Romania cannot abide the global or regional migration fluxes. It is part of a phenomenon specific to the states with low economic development whose main characteristic is the migration in search of a job and secondly the tendency to transform the country in a transitory state.

All this global movement organized or not, individual or collective is the result of despair and poverty and it is providing important amounts of money for human trafficking networks. The role of international organization is becoming increasingly important in the just management of the situation and in the difficult process of finding solutions for peace resolutions between the origin states and the target states.

The present trends but also the future ones are contradictory since the phenom-

enon can be unpredictable. According to some specialists the migration phenomenon will stagnate, according to others it will grow since the economic, political and social situation in certain parts of the world close to Romania.

The analysis of the major aspects regarding terrorism, the major source of insecurity for the individual and for the states, at the beginning of the XXIth century, and also the migration and the asylum is a bold initiative that is now taking place. The controversies related to those aspects are part of the daily debates some considering that there are connections between terrorism, migration and asylum. There are also other voices that treat them separately their possible connections being ignored.

This phenomenon must be rationally analyzed by finding its sources because if those sources are ignored and neglected this can lead to emotional decisions that will only amplify the crisis and the loses will be innumerable.

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THE IMAGE OF THE SYRIAN REFUGEES IN THE ROMANIAN ONLINE MEDIA – SOME CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Maria Cernat

ABSTRACT

Many of our perceptions if not all of them are formed as a result of being exposed to certain type of media messages. The digital media became the most important source of information. It is vital to analyze the types of messages that are being shared and read in the digital media and especially on the social networks. The current refugee crisis showed us how powerful those messages are and how important it is for us, the social scientist, to take a closer look on the digital image of the refugees.

KEY WORDS

refugees, migration crisis, digital media, refugee's image

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In terms of Romanian's perspectives on the current migration crisis things are unfortunately clear. When we type on google a phrase like “the Muslim danger” we discover 493.000 results. When we type “the opportunity of having Muslims in Romania” we end up with 5 results. There is no surprise that a recent INSCOP (The National Index of Services and Consumer Practices of the Population) shows that 75% among Romanians consider that our country should not offer shelter to the Refugees. In this article we try to answer some important questions: which types of publications are expressing opinions regarding the refugees? What are the main characteristics of the refugees presented in the Romanian digital media? What are the main types of intellectual elites that share this information?

The theoretical assumptions that we shall focus on are those of the critical discourse analysis. From this perspective it is impossible to have a perfectly objective point of view with regard to social reality. The social facts are constructed through discourse and a clearer image on those fact can be achieved only by exposing ourselves to different types of information and by analyzing the ideological presuppositions that guide the public discourse in the direction of preserving the present power relations. The critical discourse analysis is not necessarily different from other textual methods of analysis in terms of the methodology. What differentiates the critical discourse analysis is its main objective. From this perspective we shall

not focus on the methodological orthodoxy – critical discourse analysis embraces different forms of text analysis from semiotics to visual rhetorics – but on identifying on the level of public speech the various forms of social inequity such as racism, sexism, xenophobia, neo-colonialism, etc. The critical discourse analysis has to do with the strategies of legitimizing some opinions of naturalizing some subjective points of view and of manufacturing the consensus on public interests subjects. The critical discourse analysis is based on the assumption that a careful analysis of public discourse can help us identify the power relations between representatives of different social groups and to unveil the discursive representation of the interests of the elites. This theoretical perspective is also based on the idea specific to the critical tradition that it is possible to build a counter-ideology that can be opposed to the dominant position, a counter-ideology that would question the accepted presuppositions and thus defining itself as a form of resistance to the dominant ideology.

After presenting our theoretical perspective we shall dedicate this section of our article. The public discourse regarding the refugees in the Romanian online media is characterized by some important aspects:

- The discourse is highly polarized – the people expressing their opinions on social networks are firmly *pro* or *against* refugees.
- Secondly the discourse is emotional – the refugees are presented in threatening ways or in soap opera colors
- The discourses that exploit the fear of refugees are better represented than the ones that focus on mercy and empathy.
- The refugees are presents in both situations as a compact block of people that are coordinated and with shared aspirations and desires.

There are some main reasons that could explain this situation. First of all it is the lack of information and the dominance of opinions. The second reason is related to the deregulation of the digital space and the third is related to the dissolution of the journalistic profession as a result of the general access to the mass-media means of communication. We shall focus on each of these reasons. First of all the business model of the media means, among other things, to the situation where we have fewer and fewer journalistic investigations, since they are dangerous in terms of legal implications and very expensive. Besides some independent initiatives like *The House of the Journalist* (*Casa Jurnalistului*) the interviews and journalistic investigations are absent. What is highly represented in the Romanian online media is the opinion articles. The financial constraints are obvious: sending journalists to the conflict areas is extremely dangerous and expensive. War correspondents are almost non-existent. Some of the military elites believed that the Vietnam War was lost also as a result of journalists sending information about the absurdity of war so this type of journalist finds very little support among media elites. The trend of reaching large audiences while investing little time and money in journalistic products is a well-known trend. This is why in Romania according to one of the heads of Active Watch (a media monitoring NGO) a new type of television appeared: "talking heads televisions" – that is televisions that rely on permanent guests that debate all night long certain topics. There are few interviews with refugees, few reporting from the conflict areas, and the dominant information consists in theories, speculations and generalizing perspectives on those complex phenomena. The deregulation of the online media and the way the social networks function

are part of the problem. There almost no control on the information disseminated on Facebook and this is the reason the craziest perspectives on refugees and their role are shared on this online platform. The third factor that contributes to this type of representing the refugees is the fact that we all have access to the mass-media – almost each and every one of us can share information through the mass-media. The professional journalists lose their voice in the general noise generated by all the other unprofessional information sources. In the past the privileged access of certain type of professionals – the journalists – to the mass-media had certainly a lot of negative aspects. But, unfortunately, those negative aspects have not been erased by simply giving access to everybody to the technical resources of mass-communication. Noelle Newmann – one of the most important analysts of the public opinion says that rather being a place of rational debate and of social progress, the public opinion represents a conservative force guaranteeing the social cohesion. Newmann believes that people have a “sense” of understanding what is the public opinion – that is, the publicly accepted opinion. They need to know this in order to be able to integrate in the society. The public opinion is not always a battle ground where opposing views are expressed and debated. The public opinion is the published opinions of the elites that have enough resources to impose their point of view. The published opinion tends to be assimilated by the public to the legitimate opinion. This type of perspective was certainly very plausible while discussing about traditional media. A legitimacy crisis begun when the Internet changed the rules of the game and virtually everybody could become a source of information. For a while the techno determinists believed that this type of technological progress could guarantee the democratization of the public debate. In reality what happened was quite the opposite. The type of control and pressure focused on the journalists in the classical era of the media is now exercised through different means: the quantity of the posted messages is now controlled through a new type of labor: there are people hired to post online certain messages and comments and to share different types of information. What seems to be “the voice of the public” is often the result of a systematic attempt to shape the public opinion. It is a well-known fact the vast majority of governments is hiring through their intelligence agencies this type of “professional posters” to push their agenda. This way the apparent freedom of the online media is in fact a more useful tool of social control. The users of the social networks are sharing publicly a great deal of information about themselves and there is no provision against the practice of passing away this information to big corporations for commercial purposes. A vast industry of manufacturing consent through software algorithms is developing with very little opposition. The nation states are catching up and develop highly sophisticated tools of gathering and storing information. They are also involved in developing very dangerous viruses aimed at different countries. This is why it is fair to say that there are major players in the digital space ranging from big corporations to intelligence agencies that shape our published opinion and it is exactly the lack of regulation that paves their way to a more efficient way of manufacturing consent.

This is the online media setting that we have to take into account when analyzing the refugee’s image in the Romanian online media.

What are the main sources of information shaping the refugee’s image. First of all there are the orthodox related sites – sites that are not necessarily the official voice of the Romanian Orthodox Church – but are using orthodox symbols in their texts.

Secondly there is an important part of the Romanian conservative intellectual elites (poets, philosophers, journalists) and last but not least a part of the elites working in the intelligence and military sector. They all cultivate mythological fears about an imagined Islamist invasion, of Romanian politicians who sell themselves to the morally decaying Western countries, of terrorist attacks, etc.

What are the most vivid fears cultivated in the Romanian online press? First of all there is indisputably the Islamization. In front of an essentially Christian Europe only recently converted by “irresponsible” elites to atheism and laicity the wave of Islamist immigrants has a winning hand. They have faith, they all have an ideal that justify their existence and their actions. In this case, the enemies are among us. The moral depravity of cultural Marxists has led us to the situation where, against the teachings of the Holy Saints of our Church, women are allowed to make abortions. The feminism is also perceived as a demonic result of the same poisoned tree, the cultural Marxism, and it is labeled as the true root of evil since the Europe is facing serious demographic problems and a serious decrease in births.

A very interesting perspective is supported by retired military generals. For instance, the former head of the Romanian Army, general Chelaru is claiming that some sort of “psychotronic” weapons are used against the German population that is welcoming the refugees. In a recent interview for the Romanian television Digi24, another former head of the Romanian Army, general Degeratu, is achieving the unbelievable “performance” of combining to sets of fears lingering in Romanian media imagery: the fear of Russians and the fear of Islamists. He clearly stated in his interview that this a coordinated attack led by no other than Vladimir Putin. All the six millions refugees fled from Syria under the direct coordination of the Russian president in order to destroy the European civilization. This type of delirious discourses is being shared online shaping the public opinion and using the fear of strangers to build a very negative image of the refugees.

What is very interesting in terms of information sources regarding the refugees the Church – not through its official voice but through sites that seem to be close to orthodox beliefs and the Army – again not through its official voice but through the voices of several retired generals – are cultivating fears and a certain type of imagery regarding the refugees.

Another important source of discourses against the refugees are delivered by important public intellectuals. Gabriel Liiceanu and Ana Blandiana are ones of the most important public intellectuals in Romania. They both expressed fears against what they perceive as an Islamist invasion and they claimed that an authoritarian leader is needed to end the irresponsible multiculturalism. In a famous interview offered to Radio France International, Gabriel Liiceanu stated that:

„When the multiculturalism becomes virtually and really criminal, you have to set limits to it. Democracy does not mean impotence when it comes to protect the fundamental values. There is an enormous drought when it comes to powerful political leaders. At this moment, the Western Powers, and by this I understand the Western countries including USA, are in a grave crisis of important political leaders that have the force, the ambition and the determination to save the boat when it's leaking. I do not need to see Mrs. Mogherini delicately crying at a press conference, I do not need the Romanian President, that calls people to Cotroceni Palace to send its regrets to

the victims. That are simple gestures being made, but they do not have to be the only gestures, they have to be complemented by firm measures!”

The cultural Marxism, the multiculturalism and especially the political correctness are the enemies from within that virtually castrate the political leaders making us certain victims of the Muslim invasion. The solutions proposed by the Romanian religious, military and intellectual elites consist in radical measures: fences, army personnel stationed at external borders. They do not seem to be impressed by the fact that this type of measures treating only the effect and not the cause of the migration will increase the illegal methods of crossing the countries. In Hungary, for instance, a vast business of illegally crossing the country is nowadays flourishing – from taxi drivers to illegal human trafficking networks.

LE PHÉNOMÈNE DE LA MIGRATION ET LA RADICALISATION DU DISCOURS POLITIQUE DANS L'UNION EUROPÉENNE

Gheorghe Ciascai

TITLE

The phenomenon of migration and the radicalization of political discourse in the European Union

ABSTRACT

The main objective of article is to highlight the trend of radicalization of the public and political speech in the Member States of the European Union, in the context of huge growth of the number of immigrants in the European Union in the second half of 2015. The premise of the article is that radicalization of the public speech exceeded a critical threshold and was transformed into a racist, xenophobic and extremist speech, which has contaminated almost all Member States of the European Union.

KEY WORDS

migrants, public speech, European Union, political communication, radicalization

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Introduction

Dans le contexte de l'augmentation massive de la vague des migrants dans la deuxième partie de l'année 2015 et des troubles sociaux et politiques provoqués par ce phénomène au niveau européen, j'ai choisi faire une investigation sur la modalité dont le flux des réfugiés génère par la guerre de Syrie et par d'autres conflits a affecté l'espace public européen. J'ai examiné les effets du phénomène sur la communication politique dans cet espace, tant au niveau supranational européen que au niveau des Etats membres de l'Union européenne. Les deux hypothèses que j'ai essayé les soutenir dans mon article sont la radicalisation brutale jusqu'à la limite du racisme et de la xénophobie du discours politique dans certains Etats membres de l'Union et la tendance de diffusion du radicalisme dans toutes les régions de l'Union européenne, dans les circonstances exceptionnelles de la migration de la deuxième partie de l'année 2015. Ainsi, dans la première partie de l'article je vais essayer à mettre en évidence quelques notes spécifiques du thème du migrant dans l'Union européenne et les conséquences du thème dans le discours politique européen. Dans la deuxième partie de la recherche je vais examiner les particularités de la migration de l'année 2015. Enfin, dans la troisième partie de l'article je vais évaluer les poussés de discours raciste qui ont suivi à la vague des migrants de 2015 dans toute l'Europe.

Europe, entre la libre circulation des personnes et le migrant bouc-émissaire

Le phénomène de la migration n'est pas une nouvelle dans l'Union européenne. La migration interne a le même âge que le Traité de Rome de 1957 concernant la création de la Communauté économique européenne et fonctionne conformément aux acquis relatif à la libre circulation des personnes. La migration externe est un processus constant, générée par la stabilité sociale et politique de l'Union ainsi que par la prospérité économique de l'Europe.

Ni le thème du migrant n'est pas certainement une nouvelle dans le discours politique des partis politiques des pays membres de l'Union européenne et au niveau du Parlement européen. Ainsi, certaines partis politiques, représentées au Parlement européen mais avec un agenda anti-européenne claire et déclarée ont réussi transformer les thèmes comme „le plombier polonais”, „le mendiant roumain” ou „le musulman non-intégré des banlieues des grandes métropoles européennes” dans des vrais plateformes d'accès dans le jeu politique national et européen.

Dans cette perspective, tour à tour, Parti de l'Indépendance de Royaume Uni (UKIP), Front National en France, Vlams Block en Belgique, Parti de Liberté (PVV) dirigé par G. De Wilde aux Pays Bas, Vrais Finlandais de Finlande, les Populaires de Danemark, Parti de Liberté d'Autriche et même quelques partis de *mainstream* ont utilisé le problème de migration en qualité de principal argument dans les débats politiques ou en qualité d'adjuvant du discours publics dans les périodes électorales. De cette dernière catégorie des partis politiques de *mainstream* qui ont appelées aux moyens rhétoriques des extrémistes on peut mentionner les UMP/les Républicaines de France dirigés par N. Sarkozy et le Parti conservateur de Royaume Uni dans le contexte de la faiblesse politique de l'ancien premier ministre D. Cameron et du Brexit.

La vague de migration de l'année 2015 et la quasi-paralysie européenne

Par rapport aux années précédentes, en 2015 le phénomène de la migration extérieure ayant comme point de destination l'Union européenne a connu une ampleur sans précédente après la fin du Deuxième Guerre Mondiale. Le nombre de migrants ayant comme destination finale l'Union européenne a augmenté quelques fois en comparaison avec l'année 2014 et a dépassé, conformément aux estimations des experts, le chiffre de 1 million de réfugiés pour l'année 2015¹.

Comment a été atteint ce chiffre et quels sont les causes de vague des réfugiés qui semble avec une invasion et qui a été comparé avec les grandes migrations de Moyen Age ne représentent pas les sujets de notre article. Mais, le fait que les frontières maritimes et terrestres de l'Union européenne et de l'espace Schengen ont été tour à tour débordées est une certitude. Les colonnes de cents mille de réfugiés sont répandues entre mars et décembre 2015 des îles grecques jusqu'à Vienne, Munich, Copenhague, Oslo etc.². Même dans le nord extrême de l'Europe et de l'espace Schengen à la frontière entre la Norvège et la Fédération Russe il a été enregistré une croissance exceptionnelle du nombre des migrants.

Ce phénomène sans précédent dans les dernières décennies a déterminé, dans la première phase, une très lente et inefficace stratégie de réponse de l'Union européenne (voire les décisions du Conseil de redistribution par *quota* des migrants des pays de première ligne vers d'autres Etats membres, la renforcement du contrôle aux fron-

tières extérieures, les négociations avec les pays d'origine des réfugiés et de transit, notamment avec Turquie). Parallèlement, le phénomène a généré une croissance visible des accents radicaux (jusqu'à l'extrémisme) dans les discours politiques de l'espace public européen, tant dans les anciennes Etats membres que dans les nouvelles Etats de l'Europe centrale et orientale.

La migration et l'émergence du racisme dans l'espace public européen

D'après une courte observation et analyse des réactions de mass-média et des réponses et stratégies politiques élaborées et appliqués par différents acteurs politiques des Etats membres quant a nouveau vague de la migration, on peut remarquer certaines nouveautés par rapport à la rhétorique et à l'attitude antérieure à l'égard des migrants.

Tout d'abord on peut distinguer comme nouveauté dans le discours politique européen radical-extrémiste relatif aux migrants la présence des représentants des courants politiques radicales de l'Europe centrale, y compris les représentants des partis qui appartiennent au *mainstream* européen. Le langage politique anti-migrants très fort adopté par le premier ministre hongrois, Viktor Orban, le dirigeant d'un parti, FIDESZ, qui fait partie de Parti populaire européen n'a pas été une grande surprise étant connues les options nationalistes et eurosceptiques annoncées en espace public dans les dernières années par le dirigeant hongrois³. Par contre, les déclarations publiques négatives à l'égard des réfugiés musulmans des officieux slovaques, y compris du chef de gouvernement de Bratislava, M. Robert Fico, le dirigeant du parti de gauche SMER, qui fait partie de Parti socialiste européen, sont choquantes pour les représentants au haut niveau de la gauche européenne et représentent une première désolante dans l'espace public européen⁴. De chœur central européen anti-migrants fait partie le président de la République tchèque, Milos Zeman, qui provient de la gauche tchèque et qui a déclaré que „les migrants musulmans sont impossible être intégrés et assimilés dans la culture européenne”⁵. Le discours public anti-migrants avec des accents extrémistes et xénophobes des trois dirigeants mentionnés ci-avant a été converti dans des options politiques de réfutation des décisions européennes concernant les *quota* des réfugiés, adoptées dans le Conseil européen et puis dans le Conseil de l'Union européenne. La coalition des ces trois dirigeants n'est pas très surprenante parce que tous les trois partagent le goût commun pour le populisme et euroscepticisme, et l'affinité avec le président russe, Vladimir Putin.

C'est dommage de la perspective d'un observateur neutre de l'espace public européen qui est citoyen européen que le représentant du gouvernement de la Roumanie a voté coude à coude avec les trois Etats mentionnés ci-dessus contre la décision du Conseil, en dépit de l'absence des éléments radicaux et extrémistes dans les discours publics et les programme de partis du *mainstream* ⁶. D'autre part, par une évaluation très courte des déclarations de l'espace public roumain quant au phénomène de la migration récente on ne peut pas oublier la dérive populiste à l'adresse des musulmans avec des accents racistes et xénophobes de l'ancien président de la Roumanie, M. Traian Basescu⁷, le dirigeant d'un nouveau parti, PMP, au fond de la crise des migrants et du projet de construction d'une mosquée à Bucarest. Une tendance semblable on retrouve au sud du Danube, en Bulgarie, où une parti parlementaire antisystème, nationaliste, raciste et antieuropéen, Ataka, a renforcé son extrémisme avec l'augmentation de la vague de migration de 2015.

En ce qui concerne *l'ancienne* Europe, d'après l'expression de Donald Rumsfeld de 2003, la grande vague de migration de 2015 a renforcé et a encouragé la rhétorique radicale avec les accents extrémistes et racistes des partis mentionnés ci-dessus (en Grande Bretagne, France, Pays Bas, Danemark, Finlande, Autriche). Il faut révéler un paradoxe de la démocratie libérale européenne: tous les partis xenophobes, racistes et antieuropéennes utilisent le Parlement européen comme plateforme institutionnelle pour promouvoir leur agenda antieuropéenne! Même si ces partis tentent depuis quelques décennies à occuper le avant-scène de la vie politique de leurs pays, ironiquement ils ont réussi accéder à un endroit pour diffuser leurs message nationaliste et antieuropéenne au sein du Parlement européen.

La nouveauté la plus triste en ce qui concerne la radicalisation du discours politique public dans les Etats qui ont fondé l'Union européenne est représentée par l'ascension rapide d'un parti avec un programme eurosceptique et un discours nationaliste en Allemagne, AfD/Alternative pour l'Allemagne. Sur le fond de la croissance de la notoriété du mouvement PEGIDA, de la présence des cents milles de réfugiés sur le territoire de l'Allemagne et de la difficulté du gouvernement fédéral dans la gestion du flux des réfugiés, le parti créé par la scission de l'aile eurosceptique de CDU a assumé les messages de PEGIDA, y compris le discours anti-migrants. Cette radicalisation du programme politique et du discours public a été très profitable sur le plan électoral pour le nouveau parti qui a obtenu aux élections régionales de mars 2016 des résultats impressionnantes, entre 10 % et 23 % de voix, et a accédé dans trois parlements de land⁸. Ces résultats électoraux de l'AFD font partie d'une série des résultats très bons obtenus par les partis extrémistes de l'Europe occidentale aux élections déroulées dans le dernier période, respectivement la première position occupée par Front National au premier tour des élections régionales de France en décembre 2015 et la présence du candidat du Parti de Liberté (FPO), parti extrémiste, dans le deuxième tour des élections présidentielles de l'Autriche. Parmi les points clefs des programmes de ces deux derniers partis a figuré le danger musulman, y compris à cause de vague de la migration récente.

Conclusions

En conclusion, la courte investigation empirique sur le discours politique public de différents Etats membres de l'Union européenne dans le contexte de vague de migration gigantesque de l'année 2015 a relevé une extension des accents radicaux et extrémistes dans toutes les régions de l'Union.

De plus, la recherche a mis en évidence une tendance de contamination du discours des partis de centre-gauche et de centre-droit par la rhétorique radicale et raciste et l'ascension de ces partis dans les préférences de l'électorat européen.

Notes

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EUROPEAN UNION AND THE NEED TO STAND UP FOR THE UNIVERSALITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION

Marcela Monica Stoica

ABSTRACT

Europe, embodied by the European construction, was always seen as the land of unity, the land where people are equal and their fundamental rights are guaranteed and protected. After two world wars when it has been proven that human life and human dignity could be at someone's discretion, the European leaders, hand in hand with all the leaders of the world, inspired from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stood for universality of human rights making them a corner stone for Europe.

But the last years, from this new century, marked by severe economic and social crisis, then the starting of the Syrian war, demonstrated that there are still many gaps that have to be fulfilled and the European project, actually, the European Union, is weaker and weaker, the distance between citizens and their leaders grows, and a strong crisis of authority is going on. Much more, the migration that began after with the Syrian war proved that human rights are not yet so well defended as the European and non European citizens believed and a lot of measures and strategies have to be the main preoccupation for all the institutional and policies of the EU.

Thus, this article deals with the main provisions of the European Agenda for Migration and the way the leaders succeeded, more or less, to apply it in order that universality of human rights to be respected and put it in the center of their politics.

KEY WORDS

Citizen; migration; rights; freedoms; hatred; asylum.

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European Union as a construct for peace and freedom. What we celebrate at the end of this year?

Ironically, the end of this year mark two important date for the mankind and its rights. Firstly, as usual, on the 10th of December, we have to celebrate the International Human Rights Day, but taking into account all the events that took place during this year, it seems that we have no reasons for applauses but rather for remembering and meditation on hatred and intolerance. As the Director of EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), Michael O'Flaherty declared "*More and more, we are seeing a crisis of values, a crisis of fundamental rights,*" and added "*Many of the most vulnerable people in our societies are finding themselves the target of hatred that is a far cry from the rights set out in the Universal Declaration. We all have a duty to stem this erosion of the humane values that form the cornerstone of European society.*"¹

Throughout the history of humanity the possibility of migration was a savior solution for hundreds, thousands of men and women. They were looking for a new place where to find a new homeland because of wars and political instability or simply to find a better job or a more beautiful place to live. Migration is also a respond to demographic trends and labour market gaps in the EU. So, migration, in the same time represent a courageous expres-

sion of the individual's will to overcome adversity.² The United Nations tries to play a catalyst role in this field and thus appears another important day that we have to mark that is the International Migrants Day, on the 18th of December. It's not a happened that for this year the campaign proposed by the United Nation Secretary General is: Together for Migration!³ International Organization for Migration is annually held on December 18 to recognize the efforts, contributions, and rights of migrants worldwide.⁴ It is mean to celebrate the positive contributions that migrants make to our societies, to recognize and honour their struggles and the challenges they face, and also to remember those who died this year trying to reach a better life.⁵

The EU Agency for Fundamental Rights underline the message that the International Migrant Day has to be the moment when we should remember our obligation to defend Europe as a continent of rights, freedoms and respect that provides safety for people in need of protection. In the same spirit, the Agency calls for respect and inclusion, an inclusive society are the precondition for integration which in turn is needed for EU societies and economies to grow and flourish⁶.

Migration and the power of integration

Protecting fundamental rights is important to empower migrants and thereby provide them with the tools to lead economically productive lives that are to the advantage of everyone in the EU. Strengthening the EU as an area of strong fundamental rights protection will ensure that the EU continues to remain an attractive region for high skilled workers as well as for essential services, and a space of freedom, security and justice for all⁷.

As we can see in the latest years, migration is increasing around the globe and as a consequence societies are and will continue to become more diverse and multi-ethnic. Refugees and migrants go through long and difficult journeys to get to the European Union, where they dream and want to build a new future.

Migration is both an opportunity and a challenge for the EU. The medium to long term priorities consist of developing structural actions that look beyond crises and emergencies and help EU Member States to better manage all aspects of migration.

What is important to underline is that most of the migrant people are looking for legal pathway to establish in a EU country and want to work according to their knowledge, legally. Unfortunately, many narratives focus only on some certain of migration, aspects that impact society in many ways, generating a variety of responses such as hatred, xenophobia, etc. It has been reported a growing intolerance and hostility towards migrants and asylum seekers. Also, hate crime incidents range from everyday harassment to attacks, violence, and even murder.

Therefore, the duty of the European leaders is to protect those in need and to elaborate a clear common policy by creating the ability to bring together European and national efforts to address migration.

A European Agenda on Migration- short considerations

Jean Claude Juncker, presented, in Malta, on the 23rd of April 2014, a plan for immigration, consisted of five points, in which he called for more solidarity in the European Union's migration policy. This plan was part of the campaign of Juncker for his position of the new president of the Commission and included an appointed a commis-

sioner with special responsibility for migration to work on a new policy of migration and later based on this proposal, in the European Council statement made on the 23rd of April 2015, the member states committed to taking rapid action to save lives and to step up EU action in the field of migration. After a couple of days, the European Parliament adopted a Resolution and at the 13th of May 2015 the European Commission elaborate a European Agenda on Migration, a comprehensive approach for the improving of managing of migration in all its aspects (COM (2015) 240).

As it is shown in the Introduction of the Agenda, no member state can effectively address migration alone, so it is need a new and more European approach. For success, this requires using all policies and tools and all actors: member states, EU institutions, international organizations, civil society, and local authorities.⁸

After the Introduction follows the first part, “Immediate action”, that responds to the need of swift action in response to the human tragedy in the whole of the Mediterranean.

The Agenda is built upon four pillars to manage migration better:

1. Reducing the incentives for irregular migration: the focus is on addressing the root causes behind irregular migration in non-EU countries, dismantling smuggling and trafficking networks and defining actions for the better application of return policies.

2. Saving lives and securing the external borders: this involves better management of the external border, in particular through solidarity towards those Member States that are located at the external borders, and improving the efficiency of border crossings.

3. Strengthening the common asylum policy: with the increases in the flows of asylum seekers, the EU’s asylum policies need to be based on solidarity towards those needing international protection as well as among the EU Member States, whose full application of the common rules must be ensured through systematic monitoring.

4. Developing a new policy on legal migration: in view of the future demographic challenges the EU is facing, the new policy needs to focus on attracting workers that the EU economy needs, particularly by facilitating entry and the recognition of qualifications.⁹

This structure created the possibility to send a clear message to citizens that migration can be better managed collectively by all EU actors.

The next part named “Moving Beyond”, it is considered that EU has to address to all the issues regarding migration in an effective and sustainable manner in the longer term because European cooperation needs to go further. That’s why, the Commission will launch parallel reflections on some areas: the completion of the Common European Asylum System; a shared management of the European border; a new model of legal migration.

In applying the provisions of Agenda on Migration, EU has both short, and long term priorities.

Thus, the EU aims at taking immediate action to prevent further losses of migrants’ lives at sea by providing additional funding to Frontex joint search and rescue operations, to the safe and legal resettlement of people to Europe, to the Regional Protection and Development Programmes and to the most affected Member States located at the EU’s external borders.

In addition, the EU aims to strengthen the role of Europol as an intelligence hub for dismantling criminal networks and intends to launch Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) operations in the Mediterranean to capture and dismantle boats. The EU will also activate the emergency system provided in the Treaties so that asylum seekers may be relocated in a more cooperative manner, as well as establish a pilot multi-purpose centre in Niger, in cooperation with the International Organization for Migration and the UN Refugee Agency.

An altogether new concept, the Hotspot, will allow EASO, Frontex and Europol to work on the ground in affected EU Member States to swiftly identify, register and fingerprint arriving migrants and to assist in investigating and dismantling migrant smuggling networks.

The positive part is that the European Commission reports some progress on applying the Agenda. For instance, the Commission is reporting on progress made in the implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement and on the EU's relocation and resettlement schemes. The Commission also adopted a fourth Recommendation today that takes stock of the progress achieved by Greece to put in place a fully functioning asylum system and sets out a process for the gradual resumption of Dublin transfers to Greece.¹⁰

In this respect, the commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, Dimitris Avramopoulos declared: "Both Italy and Greece have made herculean efforts in recent months in managing the refugee crisis. The fact that today we close the infringement cases on the fingerprinting and registration of migrants is proof of that. This November was a record month for relocation with over 1,400 persons transferred, and Member States must build on this progress by further intensifying and sustaining their efforts. Our aim is to relocate all those in Italy and Greece who are eligible for relocation within the next year. These efforts, together with a lasting reduction in arrivals from Turkey thanks to the EU-Turkey Statement, are necessary building blocks for a gradual return to the Dublin system for Greece."¹¹

In the same time, FRA in order to address some of these challenges makes a number of suggestions. These include: improving information flows about procedures and the status of applications to ease tensions among migrants as well as providing translations and child-friendly information; free and greater access to legal counsel; better protection for children such as prioritising the claims of unaccompanied children, vetting staff, individual risk assessments and sufficient resources for child guardians; qualified staff who are trained how to work with children, to identify victims of trafficking and gender-based violence; and avoiding excessive use of detention for migrants who will be returned.

The EU's current Dublin rules determine which Member State is responsible to examine applications for international protection. However, applying these rules can take up to 11 months, leading to bottlenecks and leaving applicants, particularly children, in challenging circumstances.

Conclusions

As we showed during the present study, migration is one of the political priorities of the Juncker Commission. In his speech delivered on the 14th of September 2016, "State of the Union Address", at the European Parliament, he declared: "When it comes to

managing the refugee crisis, we have started to see solidarity. I am convinced much more solidarity is needed. But I also know that solidarity must be given voluntarily. It must come from the heart. It cannot be forced.”

And to conclude, we think that the words of Dimitris Avramopoulos, Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, 6 October 2016, are very relevant for this moment:

*“The European Border and Coast Guard is a symbol for the European Union. A symbol of a Europe that is able to **deliver, united**. We are now better equipped than before to face the migration and security challenges.”¹²*

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GOODBYE HOMELAND! THE SYRIAN REFUGEES AND THEIR STORIES

Sonia Cristina Stan

ABSTRACT

The method of life story telling is not very often used in the field of qualitative research. It is generally considered too emotional and somehow unproductive especially in modern times. For other historical periods as a result of the lack of any other official information or for aspects of life that otherwise would be hard to analyze this method was accepted. For example, a member of the Parisian bourgeoisie or a lord in a long forgotten castle that kept a daily financial record or a journal of his unimportant events in his life proved to be extraordinary sources of information over decades. "The method of life story is a method of gathering and analyzing of stories obtained from persons that narrate their past or present daily experiences"

KEY WORDS

the method of life story, conflict, Syria, migration

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Ahmad, a Syrian child, is talking to his aunt Coca who's currently living in Romania. She previously lived in Syria for twenty years and now she's living her house, her garden, her car her friends and manages to return to Romania, her birth place, once the conflict begun. Overwhelmed, Coca is calling every morning in Syria to hear about her sister in law and her nephew Ahmad, but this is only the apparent reason... The daily call is in fact a way of making sure that they are still alive and that they managed to full death yet another day. "You, in Romania, have bread?" the child asks. "I haven't had any piece of bread for five days. We don't have bread and I am missing its taste. I'd like to have even a very small piece". Ahmed's father left the house in the neighborhood taken by military forces in search of bread and medicines for the children and he never came back. They later found him with lying in the street with a bullet in his head. He had in his hands the bread he promised to his family.

This is only one of the stories gathered by Mazen Rifai, who worked as a journalist in Syria and who currently lives in Romania. In 2015 at Ars Longa Press he published a book gathering these stories named "Godby homeland!"² There are 17 stories of Syrians who managed to escape the chaos in their own country and who found shelter in different European countries and who chose to talk to Mazen Rifai about their experiences.

The publishing of Mazen Rifai's book coincides with one of the most difficult moments in European history. The Syrian conflict compels Europe to rethink its intimate reasons of functioning. The war in Syria is no longer confined to the borders of Syria. The wave of refugees that migrated through Europe forced the European Union member states to reflect on concepts like "solidarity", "union" and other profoundly humanist values that those state members vowed to obey and that they so enthusiastically introduced in the Maastricht treaty. Forced to react and to take action according to those principles many European Union member states proved to be rather conservative, frightened and turned instead in the direction of defending their own borders, of defending their own individuality and territoriality.

Terror and death are present in all the stories of Mazen Rifai. "These stories are not written by professional writers obsessed by vocabulary and sentences, they are written by writers obsessed by death" says Rifai in the introduction to his book. "A life story" is not written by a famous writer in order to be used for commercial purposes or for defending a cause³ according to the dictionaries of research methods and techniques, but they should offer through synthesis and framing the possibility of understanding a social problem. Even if Rifai's book has no scientific ambition, this book could help us understand the human dimension of a conflict of this size.

Those are real stories told by ordinary people severed from their daily life course and forced by the lack of any kind of access to basic resources such as medicines or information to leave their country. Because they lived in constant fear of bombing. They did not know if they would come back from the grocery store (as Admad's father) or if the children would come back from school or if their sleep would not be ended by an explosion. The storytellers have common Islamic names: Mohamad, Zaid, Um Abdo, Feras, Maryam, Ahmad, Thabet, Hassan They are doctors, lawyers, professors but also lay man, school children whose stories are making you "grow older sooner" says Mazen (p.85) or women that were raped or live with the constant fear of becoming victims of such an atrocity, that have nothing to do with war "All the stories started when the Arab citizen was awoken from his sleep and started to realize that the destiny of his country is decided by a villain (...) He then found refuge and hope on the sea although the boats were filled with death". (p.15)

The stories are not equal in terms of words they are equal in terms of intensity of emotions: thrilling, powerful, and as implacable as death is. Sometimes the stories are more extent (8-10 pages), sometimes are flashes of half of page, mimicking somehow the explosion of a bomb. They all have something in common, they are extraordinary in terms of visual details, they almost filmic. We can see the light of the tracer in the night, we can actually feel the terror of the families that hear the bomb whistling in the air as they stop breathing hoping it will not touch their house, we can feel their fear as a family member leaves the house to buy bread or medicines and you pray for them to come back. Most of them never return. The stories are about a trip without return: through exile, through death and they are almost unbearable to read. It is almost impossible for our mind to encompass and assimilate so much pain. Women that want to die because they lived the trauma of being raped, Syrians that emigrated and they see every night on TV their country being bombed, a pile of debris, women left alone because from all the family they were left with "some hair on a coat from her daughter when she kissed her goodbye" (p.55).

Zaid decided to emigrate. *"It is I that I'm asking you to leave"* says his mother sighing. Then we witness their quick preparations for the road, the fear, the clandestine crossing of the border from all the possibilities taken into account: in a barrel guided by ropes on both sides of the river on the border with Turkey. But the ropes could break at any point. There is also the possibility of clandestine guides, or hidden in a truck or using false documents and in this case "only his fear would know that he is not who pretends to be in his passport" (p.25). All the possibilities are costly and risky. He left for Egypt where he, specialist in English, found a job as a waiter to prepare his trip to Europe. Then, stashed along with sheeps in a truck left for Italy. Then he found himself in a boat filled with refugees, his fellow citizens from Alep (300 people in a small fishing boat). Zaid is an educated man, he informed himself, he studies possibilities of escape, but "all the information and precautions were of no value in face of destiny" (p.30). The storm on the sea, facing death, the abandonment in front of the hazard and finally, reciting from Coran as a ultimate gesture in front of death. Zaid escaped, but Lama's parents, a little girl form Homs that used to chase away their suffering with her smile, were not so lucky. When the Italian rescue teams found them they were more dead than alive. Zaid took Lama in his arms. "Is she your little girl" asked the official from the registration desk "Yes, he replied mechanically, without hesitation". (p.35). He left Alep fearing for his life and now he found himself on an Italian border sick, dehydrated, exhausted with a five year old child who's faith was in his arms. But he was still alive.

This is one story form many of this sort. A story from the thousands of migrant's stories. A university professor is grabbed from his own house and tortured to declare who forced him to file a "false complaint" regarding the fire arms sounds he heard in the neighborhood. The man says that the complaint is not false, be fire arms shouts were real and they were coming from a wedding in the neighborhood where the participants fired their arms in the air for hours to have fun. He called the police because he wanted to rest because he had to work the other day. "Do you mean that the wife of our boss is lying?" ask the investigators. "The wedding was that of a relative of the boss's wife and nobody fired any arm that night. What are your interests? Why did you file this false complaint? Who made you do it?" (p.75). The result: a whole month of isolation and torture, of dehumanization, 20 kilos less. When they set him free the only explanation was that some malevolent "the imperialism and colonialism are behind all the conflicts" and that he has to keep his mouth shut and not tell anyone what happened there because there were information regarding the "national security". Professor Hassan chose to emigrate.

All the confessions are circling these themes: abuses, terror, unpredictability, escape, death, the heartbreaking leaving of the neighborhood, the family, the life as it was known till then.

The most impressive stories are those of young children and one of the recurring theme in their stories is...the bread. Feras is watching fascinated at a child his age is holding a big bread in his arms "a bread like a piece of sun". He stood for hours in the sun in the burning sun to take some bread. The child passes him by and he feels sorry for Feras: he gives him the bread saying he will stay again in line because his brothers brought another bread at home. "Feras listens stunned. His eyes meet the clean look of the boy, the pure face of mercy" (p.46). Over all these atrocities, the small gestures

of compassion of the ordinary Syrians make us think that our humanity should not disappear although it is seriously tested by crisis situations. Childhood games of the little Syrians consist in being able to distinguish the type of tank approaching from its sound. “For the first time in his life M.H. managed to recognize the armored vehicles and the tanks on the streets, and today, despite his young age, he can distinguish between different types of bombs from the sounds they make.” (p.87).

The war changed the everyday life of the ordinary Syrians and opened the way for countless abuses. Because the war is closely related to torture and rape. Everything is being politicized, even the little things in everyday life. But Rifai’s book says exactly this: the simple people understand little politics, they see that their life has been turned upside down and that political justification opens the door for countless atrocities: „Those who attacked us were not from the army. They were animals with no hair on their heads wearing a green bandana on their wrists. Their dialect proved that they were from our area!(...) They said they looked for armed people, criminals. And I don’t know how they imagined that I am hiding criminals in the sugar bag. Will the criminal pop out from the oil bottles that they put holes in? Their searches focused on the kitchen”. (p. 41). This is the way Um Abdo remembers synthetizing: I don’t understand a single thing about politics, I heard about the revolution, protests and the people that want to change this violent regime and elimination of corruption from the country”. For him the war took place in his own kitchen. Tomorrow he will not have food to feed his children.

This is not a scientific book. I presented it placing the accent on the thing it brings in the forefront: the people behind the catastrophe, the concrete human dimension of every war. This is because as it happens for a thousand time these horrible images, the war, the disaster, the migrants became something of the ordinary. It happened in Kosovo, it happened in Afganistan and Irak, and it is happening in Syria. For those who are not trapped in those conflicts, the people who remained there captive or the victims of wars, of any wars are mere numbers. The media presents the conflicts in any imaginable way but the Europeans are no longer touched by those dramas. They are more concerned about protecting their borders. It is only from this starting point that we can begin a scientific debate about what has been called the “trivialization of evil”, “getting used to the disaster” and this is the only way to escape John Langer exclamation: “These are real people, this is the disaster, but, in fact, this is only another story”.

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¹ Mucchielli, Alex (coord.) - 2002, *Dicționar al metodelor calitative în științele umane și sociale*, p. 290

² Rifai, Mazen (coord.) - 2015, trad. Rima Mahmoud Tayara, Yasmine Jabase – *La revedere, patrie!*, Ars Longa, Iași

³ Mucchielli, Alex (coord.) - 2002, *op. cit.*, p. 289

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

HOW TO SUSTAIN FUTURE GENERATIONS

Ion Lucian Catrina

ABSTRACT

Sustaining future generations does not imply only a soft evaluation of relationship between natural resources and the demographic trends (Mill, Malthus) or the assessments of the national economy through some nominal criteria like as the real GDP growth on long term (Kotlikoff), the rate of capital accumulation (Ricardo) or the “burden” of public debt (Buchanan). Sustaining future means moreover a deeper analysis of human development through: individual needs and the limitations related to their state of technological development, social organization and the capacity of own ecosphere to meet present and future needs. This paper aim at analyzing the sustainable development by means of three dimensions: economic, environmental and social sustainability. Furthermore we intend to establish the relationship between the political structures, rule of law, institutions or religion and sustainability of human welfare across generations.

KEY WORDS

equity, resources, generations, sustainability

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Introduction

Sustainability has been precisely shaped by theorists such as J.S. Mill and T.R. Malthus. J.S. Mill tied the preservation of the human welfare to the need to protect environment. On the other hand, Malthus analyzed the pressure generated by the exponential growth of global population sustained by the limited resource. Currently, neither Mill nor Malthus enjoys much recognition from economists who are more attracted to the technological optimism of David Ricardo. The latest one believes that man will win the eventually avarice nature through ingenuity and scientific progress.

Although the issue of sustainability is brought into actuality relatively recently, it appears in most traditional communities in various forms and is related to the specific of their activities. In the old communities of Romanian farmers, for example, it occurs through regular habit rest-land, “that in six to seven years impoverishing” and needs regeneration or by the non-exploitation of the “young forests”. In old Chinese communities, whose main food sources were and are the rice and fish, establish a set of rules - a sum of unwritten rules - like “Where is water is always fish. If we take care of water, the fish will take care of us” or “The sea wealth belongs to the dead, to us and to the unborn children” (J. Kurien, 1998)

Ricardian optimism about how technological innovations could offset the scarcity of natural resources had already proved in the latest century, if we talk about the huge progress in pro-

ducing energy, the new technologies in the automotive sector or the high production gained in the intensive agriculture. So, sustaining the applied research which could provide more and more innovations seems to be a sustaining way to reach environmental sustainability across the generations.

Is green economy good enough to sustain economic development?

Economic sustainability is focused on natural resources, renewable or non-renewable, that provide the input to the production process. In fact, the natural resources support all life, without any human activity could not be carried out. Therefore, the environment by the limited capacity of the natural resources compels the human progress. Economic sustainability requires a stable capital. In other words how to keep capital intact? (World Commission, 1987) This idea can be easily explained by answering the question of manufacturers in the Nineteen's century "How much can consume them and their families without reducing production capacity?"

The economic valuation of natural capital is quite difficult to achieve because it is intergenerational, intangible and especially is a good to which all people have to access. When economic activity has been carried on a small scale, the regeneration capacity of the environmental assimilation seemed infinite. Now even though this ability is as wide, huge size of the world economy has revealed the limits of this capacity.

It is obviously that is required a new set of indicators for assessing the growth and prosperity, in order to highlight not only the value added but also the losses caused by production to environment.

From this point of view economists have sustained (Krugman, 1998) a new indicator, Green GDP, which quantifies classical GDP reduced by the costs of pollution, the costs of climate change, the waste, damage of biodiversity and deterioration of the natural capital and other factors likely to cause costly damages in the future.

Nevertheless, we are too far away from making effective this indicator. For example, in 2004, the Chinese premier Wen Jiabao announced that the Green GDP would substitute the classical GDP for assessing Chinese economy real and sustainable growth. Thus, in 2006, the first evaluation of Green GDP had showed that the environmental loss was around 511.8 billion yuan (\$66.3 billion, which was 3.05 percent of the nation's economy (Mutert, 2010). Unfortunately, the Chinese officials put a stop to that back in 2007, after it was found that the Green GDP caused their economic growth rate to drop to unattractively low levels, nearly zero in some provinces.

Sustaining future through a sustainable fiscal policy

In the last half century, governments have assumed more and more functions and have become larger and bushier and currently continue to grow, so their action should be reduced or at least stopped (Musgrave, 1997). Schuknecht and Tanzi have exposed, based on historical data, the fast speed of increase in government spending in industrialized economies, especially in the second half of the twentieth century, showing that even if the main argument was the increase in the population wellbeing, additional costs have not brought a substantial support on community's welfare.

Therefore, the fast growth of government spending in the last century, from around 12% to over 43% of GDP, show us that this dynamic should not continue in industrialized economies and will be not sustainable (Catrina, 2013). The out sizing of govern-

ments needs more financial resources, frequently founded through deficits stimulating public debt growth.

The accumulation of a high stock of public debt cannot be disregarded as it has negative effect on growth (Reinhart, Rogoff, 2010); it may cause a wealth transfer between debtors and external creditors, because it produces real goods and services transfers between debtor and creditor (Meade, 1958); inheritance or accumulate a large volume of governmental debt, leading to mistrust the ability of creditors for early repayment “debt overhang” (Krugman, 1998); Modigliani sees much more significant the present than the sacrifices in the future, and if government spending for projects that produce a yield in the future, gross debt burden could be offset by the expense and the gross yield net result would be quite positive.

So, the public debt should not be seen only as a “terrible scourge” (Ricardo, 1888) if it results from capital accumulation from investments with high yields in present and in the future or from short-term shocks of the economy which will be offset as soon as the growth resumes. The stock of public debt should be managed so that the tax burden of future generations has not to be higher than the present generation. This implies either an increase in the birth rate and in the working population, the full employment or some significant increases in labour productivity through more research and more innovation.

The principles of intergenerational sustainable management of public debt should involve stronger public finances; intergenerational equity in taxation; the impact of taxation and public expenditure should be distributed fairly between generations, including the pay-as-you-go public pension system; the government have to devise fiscal and budgetary policies so that generations may be able to benefit from public expenditure through debt must to cover the costs occasioned by it; debt burden is particularly suited for the accumulation of capital and know-how, with higher yields for both present and future. (Catrina, 2013).

Social sustainability through lower poverty

Social sustainability is mainly focused on poverty reduction. Poverty is a phenomenon that has grown worldwide, despite economic growth at national or regional level. Poverty reduction is primarily tied to the quality of development, redistribution, community solidarity, equality rights.

In the relationship between poverty and environmental degradation, poverty is not only a cause in itself, considering the irrational use of resources, but it is rather the result of unfair structures (unfair control of resources). The notion of fairness is central to sustainable development and involves the most equitable distribution of goods and increased possibilities and opportunities to the neediest. In practice, this translates into: improving quality of life for the community and society, including access to education, health, nutrition, protection, hygiene, a production process that does not overexploit natural resources, thus compromising ecosystem quality or limiting the options of present or future providing basic human rights and freedoms to participate in political, economic and social community and its society.

How important are religion and political structures in sustaining development?

The relationship between democratic political structures and the environment is now

a new direction in government policy analysis. Looking into the past, it is easy to see how the dictatorial regime (communist) could not involve substantially preventing environmental degradation without pressure from the public (the governed), and that all its economic development can be synonymous with its failure to be “environmentally” conscious. But environmental degradation also occurs in democratic societies, despite the public’s scrutiny. So, the problem is to understand how democratic political structures to minimize the environmental degradation in the future.

The model developed by T. Schelling, explains the changes that occur in environmental policies as structured fluctuations occur electoral options, disposition / public concern for such policies and constraints caused by the economic costs of these policies. Unfortunately, public concern relatively starts relatively late to different levels of environmental degradation, only when the decay begins to affect everyone, in one way or another, directly. Government cost issue will appear here. Politicians will allocate funds for environmental or other public policy only when a clearly defined problem will be addressed. In addition, the government is faced with such limited funds available for government projects. Thus, the government will spend more on environmental policies as public concern for this policy will increase. Environmental expenditure will tend to increase as long as the costs are low. But in the long term because costs tend to increase public concern for the environment also tends to diminish.

Wood and Waterman (1994) have demonstrated empirically that public policy - environmental or any other - depend primarily on political elite even more than legislation or budgetary constraints. For example, the leader of the governmental agency is the critical factor in determining the directions and activities of environmental administration, he may suddenly decide subjectively, the distribution of funds or what the adjustment will be made.

Sustainable development contains two key concepts: the needs of individuals and limitations associated with their state of technological advancement, social organization and ecosystem own ability to meet present and future needs.

In the Christian religion, derived from the order perspective on the nature of the Creator, included in “Genesis” people have to reproduce and must to reign over His creation. Another important feature of this religion is the belief developed over the centuries in the imminent end of the world and the second return of God. This attitude not only provides inconsistent support for environmental policies, but the very appearance issues environment are seen as omens of the second arrivals, showing the inevitability of damage to society, the environment, etc. Reformation, the same dogmatic support - Bible - remains relatively the same line, arguing, however, that we need to think a bit longer term policies, because: “Who knows how many generations will it be to return to God.”(Guth, 1995)

Conclusions

Sustaining future generation should be seen as the first and most important objectives of all national policies but in large international agreements about the future. Sustaining future should not be seen only throughout environmental concerns. In fact, the environmental sustainability could be reached just by meeting other dimensions of sustainability: economic, social, cultural. Reaching economic and fiscal sustainability may ensure the most efficient use of natural resources. Achieving social sustainability

will ensure poverty reduction. Better quality of life and access to education, health, nutrition, protection, hygiene, will guarantee another attitude in relation with environment. Cultural sustainability will also stimulate a greater popular support for environmental policies and supplementary pressure to political actors in order to protect natural capital across the generation.

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ISLAMIC RADICALIZATION POTENTIAL OF NEET YOUNGSTERS, THREAT TO THE EUROPEAN SECURITY

Luminița Kohalmi

ABSTRACT

Millions of NEET youngsters may be targeted by Daesh recruiting communication programs because they show a considerable radicalization potential that may affect European security. The terrorist organization Islamic State (IS) has a coherent communication strategy, aiming at recruiting a European public with a consumption and psychological demographic profile compatible with that of young people that are neither employed, nor continuing their education or professional training. In this context, the issue of NEETs constitutes a potential threat to continental security that the authorities must address with adequate responses, including the fast absorption of European funds allocated to EU member states for the reintegration on the labor market of this category of citizens.

KEY WORDS

youngsters, radicalization, recruiting, Daesh, security, NEET

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Radicalization phenomenon, conceptual framework

The avalanche of terrorist attacks that fell over Europe and the migratory wave that overwhelmed the old continent in the last years, considerably amplified a series of threats from the security spectrum that belong to the subtle mechanisms of social adjustment, to include the one of Islamic radicalization of vulnerable European population. This radicalization is quantifiable from the perspective of increasing number of followers, or even Daesh fighters in/from Europe.

The problem of radicalization, of great interest in the framework of evolutions tied to new information and communication technologies, constitutes the focus of analysis of scientists from different fields. The study „Preventing and countering youth radicalization in the EU” from the European Parliament, shows that „one pitfall of the conventional wisdom about radicalization is to explain the process in terms of mental and social fragility, abnormality or irrationality. According to this view, terrorists are considered as lost individuals, cut out from the realities of the world, ruthless and driven by mental disorders.

The scale of some very specific events (violent attacks, mass-murders) fuels the belief according to which extraordinary and horrific forms of violence are necessarily perpetrated by monstrous and fanatic individuals¹.

There are also other approaches, as the one from researcher Marta Crenshaw, who demonstrates that a “terrorist personality” or a “terrorist genetic heritage” do not exist. In her opinion terrorism occurs both in the context of violent resistance to the state as well as in the service of state interests. “If we focus on terrorism directed against governments for purposes of political change, we are considering the premeditated use or threat of symbolic, low-level violence by conspiratorial organizations. Terrorist violence communicates a political message; its ends go beyond damaging an enemy’s material resources.’ The victims or objects of terrorist attack have little intrinsic value to the terrorist group but represent a larger human audience whose reaction the terrorists seek. Violence characterized by spontaneity, mass participation, or a primary intent of physical destruction can therefore be excluded from our investigation”², sustine Crenshaw. Andrew Silke and Rick Gorman speak about terrorism as an altruistic act: “Terrorists are often portrayed as the lowest form of combatant, labeled as murderers, criminals and madmen. Yet, this view is counter-balanced by the fact that those who engage in terrorism do so as a small minority at great risk to themselves, and occasionally even intentionally sacrificing themselves for their war or cause. A suicide-bomber is viewed as psychotic; a regular soldier who leads his troops forward to certain death is heroic. Are these two types of combatant really so different?”³.

The radicalization models produced in the academic environment come, essentially, from two theories: frustration (relative deprivation theory) and contamination (exposure theory). In his book, “*Why Men Rebel*”, Ted Gurr examines the psychological frustration-aggression theory which argues that the primary source of the human capacity for violence is the frustration-aggression mechanism. Frustration does not necessarily lead to violence, Gurr says, but when it is sufficiently prolonged and sharply felt, it often does result in anger and eventually violence. Gurr explains this hypothesis with his term “relative deprivation,” which is the discrepancy between what people think they deserve, and what they actually think they can get. Gurr’s hypothesis, which forms the foundation of the book, is that: “The potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of a collectivity.”⁴ Charles Tilly went further on the path opened by Gurr and proved that violence is linked to the political system and to the repressive capacity of the state. Charles Tilly is subscribing himself to the theorists who analysis the revolutions as being a political conflict between the organized groups wich are in competition to obtain the authority, a conflict which sui generis involves collective violence as a way of power transferring within a state; therefore for Tilly the revolution equals a road congestion which obey certain laws such as the synchronizing of the traffic or the drivers’ reaction to the weather conditions⁵.

As Khosrokhavar highlights, research on radicalization is mostly based on post-factum justifications deployed by the actors⁶, which is highly problematic as they are then filling the moral void they presumably experience⁷. This focus on specific but limited individuals’ accounts of radicalization (pre-suicide videos, letters to relatives, face-to-face interviews or vociferous speech in Court) tends to reinforce the individualistic and psychological orientation of current research agendas on radicalization and

the de-contextualised perspective on the use of violence. Therefore, the analysis of the socio-political sequences of action and contexts, of interrelationships between social structures, political contexts and biographical exposure in which violence is embedded is key to understand the process of radicalization⁸.

In an analysis regarding the „mutiny” of young French, published in „Le Monde”, Oliver Roy, political scientist specialized in Islam, asserts that „jihadism is the nihilistic mutiny of a generation”. “Radicalisation is a youth revolt against society, articulated on an Islamic religious narrative of jihad,” he says. “It is not the uprising of a Muslim community victim of poverty and racism: only young people join, including converts who did not share the ‘sufferings’ of Muslims in Europe. These rebels without a cause find in jihad a ‘noble’ and global cause, and are consequently instrumentalized by a radical organization (Al Qaeda, DAESH), that has a strategic agenda.” Most of those who have been radicalized are young, and their behavior is often a kind of rebellion against their parents and relatives. It is articulated as a religious narrative of jihad, but is actually a revolt against society, Roy says. While the Islamic State may seem like something out of a previous millennium, with its barbaric ideas of justice, attitudes toward women, and call to restore an ancient caliphate, their methods are very modern. The Islamic State has inspired what Roy calls “a virtual Ummah” – a global and abstract idea created by the group’s powerful media and propaganda apparatus. Roy says that most of those who are radicalized are fascinated with the idea of becoming part of a “small brotherhood of super-heroes who avenge the Muslim Ummah” (meaning community or nation). In fact, their radicalization usually happens as a reaction against the Muslim community, imams and their parents. Radicals aren’t considered any kind of vanguard or representative of a larger disgruntled community; instead, many have broken with their families, and consider the larger Muslim community to be traitors.

DAESH communication campaign for recruitment

According to EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2016, produced by Europol, terrorist communication focused on radicalizing young people in particular and justifying violence as a means to achieving political and pseudo-religious objectives: “Terrorist groups continue to use the internet and social media extensively, mainly for dissemination of propaganda material but also for recruitment and fundraising. Over the past two years, they appear to have revised their communication strategies, adapting to efforts made by social media platforms and authorities to contain their online activities. Some groups or individuals have adopted a decentralized strategy, being active on several social media platforms and using numerous accounts on each of them. While some groups spread their messages via dedicated social media accounts or—following suspension—recognizable reiterations thereof, others rely on a proliferation of separate, seemingly unconnected accounts, all posting similar content, or vast networks of personal accounts belonging to members or sympathizers, to multiply their messages¹⁰”.

The competition between al-Qaeda and IS, and their move to social media, has increased the spread of jihadist terrorist propaganda to a larger proportion of the global online population. The Islamic State was born after important technological evolution. Al-Qaeda used news outlets like Al Jazeera to disseminate video recordings and statements, today Daesh uses for the same purpose cheap devices, fast networks and social

media accounts, reaching especially young Muslims from all over the world, but not only. It is said that Daesh is Al-Qaeda 2.0, using 21st century technologies to promote a middle age ideology, that comprises mass killing, torture, rape, slavery, destroying antiques artefacts¹¹ etc.

As stated before, Daesh relies heavily on Internet to recruit terrorists. The territory controlled by Daesh is the place with the greatest number of foreign fighters after Afghanistan (1980). We are talking 31,000 foreign fighters at the end of 2015 and approximately 5,000 followers from Europe¹². The recruits had their first contact with Daesh online. Some of them are inspired by the online propaganda of the group and they are committing terrorist attacks in their countries without ever traveling in the Middle East. Notable is the fact that Daesh recruiting messages are attractive, interactive and comprise a dialogue with the potential recruit.

IS employs a successful communication strategy based on messages that are tailored to different audiences. The four lines of effort Daesh has been using in its campaign require different demographic sets. Generally, we can differentiate between four main audience groups: foreign and domestic terrorist fighters, westerners, Sunnis, and people of other religions. The groups are further refined to select the most appropriate candidates for achieving specific objectives in a designated area. The percentage of products designed specifically to draw the attention of new foreign and domestic terrorist fighters or those who have already joined, ranges from 25-53% of products released, but the number of products designed exclusively for Westerners remains relatively low at 3-11%.¹³

In its recruitment support strategy Daesh targets both regional and global audiences, focusing on groups of people with specific motivations and psychographics. Daesh knows very well how to leverage their fears, anger, dissatisfaction, and frustration, selecting those most susceptible to their recruitment strategy. Those vulnerabilities are used to provoke an emotional response from the targeted audience¹⁴.

Young men make the most desirable candidates, and are also the safest targets for recruitment. They are though of as marginalized and neglected, especially by Western countries. Daesh uses its social narrative to engage the attention of young people who don't see a path forward. They are often driven by lack a sense of purpose or belonging to their own neighborhood. The religious environment plays a vital role in shaping the perceptions of rural youth so that may have a disposition for Daesh's religious interpretation. High school and university students are also suitable targets for Daesh's recruitment strategy. Schools often isolate students from their families for long periods of time and are full of young people harbouring anti-government sentiments. Young people above 15 years of age are perceived as most susceptible to the cultivation of Daesh's *Jihad* ideology. Early radicalization can eventually lead to the creation of an army of followers. Therefore, Daesh encourages early recruitment¹⁵.

Local and European dimensions of the NEET phenomenon

Teens and young adults were among the groups hit hardest by the global financial crisis. And while many young people have since regained their footing – as employees, students or both – there are still millions in the UE and abroad who are neither working nor in school. Though sometimes referred to as “disconnected” or “detached” youth, globally those young people often are called “NEETs” – because they are neither em-

ployed nor in education or training.

Noting that “disconnected youth come overwhelmingly from communities that have long been isolated from the mainstream,” the researchers identified six factors associated with high rates of youth disconnection: high rates of disconnection a decade earlier, low levels of human development (as measured by an index combining health, education and income indicators), high rates of poverty and adult unemployment, low levels of adult educational attainment, and a high degree of racial segregation¹⁶.

According to Eurostat, the indicator “young people neither in employment nor in education and training”, abbreviated as NEET, corresponds to the percentage of the population of a given age group and sex who is not employed and not involved in further education or training. The numerator of the indicator refers to persons meeting these two conditions: they are not employed (i.e. unemployed or inactive according to the International Labour Organisation definition); they have not received any education or training in the four weeks preceding the survey¹⁷. The term NEET is also used in UE18 to describe young people who are not engaged in any form of employment, education or training. The term has come into the policy debate in recent years due to disproportionate impact of the recession on young people (under 30 years old). The unemployment rate for those under thirty is nearly double the average rate.

The EU’s statistical agency, Eurostat, sets the lower age bound of NEETs at 15. In 2014, the most recent year for which data are available, 15.4% of the 15-to-29 population – or roughly 13.4 million young people across the EU – were neither employed nor in school or other training, a rate that has changed little since 2010. As in the U.S., more NEETs were young women (55% of the total) than young men (45%). The NEET rate varies considerably among the EU’s 28 member nations: Those with the highest rates were in struggling southern Europe, led by Greece and Italy; more than a quarter of 15- to 29-year-olds in those countries were NEETs (26.7% and 26.2%, respectively). Luxembourg (6.5%) and Denmark (7.3%) had the lowest NEET rates in the EU.

The NEET rate trends in the largest EU economies vary considerably, both with each other and with the pattern observed in the U.S. In Germany, for example, the NEET rate peaked in 2005 and has gradually declined ever since; in Italy, by contrast, its already high rate began rising higher in 2008 and, as of 2014, had yet to stop. The U.K.’s NEET rate fell sharply in the mid-2000s, jumped in 2007 and peaked in 2011, falling somewhat since. And France’s rate has been remarkably stable, varying only between 12.8% and 15.1% over the entire 2000-2014 period examined.

According to the Partnership Agreement signed by Romania with the European Union for 2014-2020, the number of NEETs in Romania is estimated at about 440,000¹⁹. These are generally young persons that abandoned school at an early stage and persons with a low level of qualification, often coming from a deprived environment. Romania has, through the Human Capital Operational Program, two components adding up to 500 million Euro aiming, through projects, precisely at NEETs of age between 16 and 24 years. Among the activities to be funded are: registering NEETs, projects for professional training and certification of acquired competencies in a non-formal and informal context, training and socio-professional integration, support measures for employers that will hire workers coming from among these youngsters.

If, in theory, policies from social and labor force employment areas of EU are striving to eradicate poverty and promote societies and labor force markets that are favor-

able to inclusion, the reality is that the NEETs number in EU increases with every year that passes.

Conclusions

NEETs from EU countries are having a considerable potential for Islamic radicalization especially due to the following characteristics: possible exposure, mainly through Internet and social media to the Daesh recruiting communication campaign; existence of strong frustration feelings because of the low quality interaction with the authorities, economic and social marginalization. On the other hand, the terrorist organization IS has a coherent communication strategy aiming at recruiting a European public with a consumption and psychological demographic profile compatible with that of young Romanians that are neither employed, nor continuing their education or professional training.

Islamic radicalization constitutes a dynamic and complex phenomenon that might endanger European security. In this context, the issue of young NEETs requires adequate and urgent multidisciplinary answers coming from EU authorities, including the fast absorption of European funds allocated to EU member countries for the reintegration on the labor market of this category of citizens.

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