The Spectrum

2015

KING'S
ThinkTank

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King's **Think**Tank

Presidents' Note

Five years ago, tens of thousands of students took to the streets to make their voices heard, but no one listened. King's Think Tank, born in the aftermath of the 2010 student protests in the UK, aims to give students the voice they deserve; not media attention, but policy influence. The Spectrum, this peer-reviewed academic journal, is living proof that students have the capacity to engage in evidence-based policy debates.

This past year was a landmark in the King's Think Tank history. Moving from the status of university society to a recognized organization is no straightforward endeavour but we hope to have built substantial grounds for years to come. The selected work of our editors, who graced our newly-launched policy blog throughout the year, culminates in this insightful piece of crafted and researched policy. Under the lead of our Think Tank pioneer and Editor-in-Chief, Andrada Dobre, they tackle some of the most pressing policy issues, resting on evidence and progressive-thinking.

Echoing the written policies, our Policy Centres continuously raised the standards of debates within King's walls. They allowed for perceptive dialogue targeted at solutions, rather than solely heated political arguments. Our workshops helped our proactive student community grasp with the facets of working in, writing and communicating policy. Successful events and partnerships outside campuses offered incredible opportunities for our audience and contributors to focus their growing policy expertise.

We are particularly proud of our unique policy outreach project and we hope to see it continue in coming years. The brilliant results are the welcome accomplishment of an immensely talented team. Whether it was organising events in the Mansion House, JP Morgan Tower, or sending several students to Rome on a policy exchange, our dedicated colleagues unveiled the potential of our Policy Institute; its scope beyond our host university.

Above everything, we would like to express a fond gratitude to our gifted committee, who worked tirelessly to manifest this generation's potential in policy-making, especially our Vice-President, Farah Goutali, for her equal commitment. We would also like to acknowledge and thank past King's Think Tank presidents for their sustained support throughout this year. None of our work would be conceivable without our partners, sponsors, panellists and our honourable patron, Alderman Tim Hailes. It was our privilege to work in the service of their shared King's Think Tank values.

Nathan Hunter and Sayagi Vallipuram
Co-Presidents 2014-2015

Editor's Note

The Spectrum was designed to give a voice to passionate and engaged students who no longer believed in protest politics or trusted the government to act in their best interest. Year after year, our organisation has grown from strength to strength, developing more policy centres to represent the whole student body, holding editorial workshops to teach and encourage our members to write policy recommendations and building an outreach project that has seen an exchange of policy between Italian and British students. This edition of the journal is truly representative of these efforts to make an impact on policy-making, thanks to our dedicated editors and members who have written compelling and well-researched papers.

This year, the symbiosis between panel events, roundtables and our mission to produce and lobby quality policy recommendations has yielded a journal our organisation is proud of. Particularly noteworthy is the work of Education Policy Centre, whose focus on the importance of education to improve socio-economic opportunities inspired our Education editor to put together an accomplished and thoughtful policy recommendation. This edition also marks the launch of our blog, which has provided an online platform for event reviews and policy opinion pieces from students and editors alike. Our "Blog Spotlight" section honours their work and calls our readers to visit our blog in the future, as it provides an eye-opening window into the minds and hearts of what has been wrongly deemed as the apathetic generation.

This edition is a mere taster of what coming years will bring for The King's Think Tank, the student body and future policy decisions. An expanding blog, a growing lobbying network and more frequent publications are only a few steps our organisation is taking to better represent our members. So, if the King's Think Tank and The Spectrum prove anything, it is that students are more than lost votes and idle attitudes. We are part of a movement that seeks not only to put its fingerprint on our current political system, but also to design the blueprints of a better future.

Andrada Dobre
Editor-in-Chief, 2014-2015

This year, King's Think Tank organised 16 policy centre panel events, held four roundtables, two editorial workshops and hosted three outreach events, together with Churchill 2015, the Lord Mayor at Mansion House and the Careers Service at King's College London. Thank you so much to our committee and the passionate students that have been involved with King's Think Tank, and have made this publication possible.

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About King'sThinkTank

King's Think Tank is the first student-led policy institute in London, and the largest organisation of its kind in Europe. Founded in the wake of the 2010 student protests, we provide students with an opportunity to express their opinion on the most pressing social, political and economic challenges of our time. We engage students from a wide range of disciplines, regardless of their background or political affiliation. The uniqueness of our work lies in bridging the gap between policy-makers and students, by allowing the latter to express their opinion on issue- specific public policy matters.

Within King's Think Tank, students are given the opportunity to introduce their ideas, reflect on them during panel discussions, argue for them during roundtables, and form them in a qualitative piece with the help of the editorial team. Students are encouraged and supported in writing qualitative, evidence-based articles to suggest alternatives to current policies and propose the most appropriate policy solutions. We give them the tools and platform to introduce their ideas, form them in a convincing and impactful manner, and get them published in our policy recommendation journal, The Spectrum. Ultimately, the tools and platform we provide allows students to further their professional and personal development, while advancing alternative policies to decision-makers.

King's Think Tank exists primarily for students; in this manner, our greatest achievement is that over the past four years of our existence, we have attracted students from all disciplines and stimulated their interest in evidence-based policy making. Ultimately, the underlying purpose of our endeavour is to challenge the idea of policy makers and shapers: We believe we are fostering a new generation of policy makers.

1 💼 Business & Economics

Cameron's Corporate Tax Cuts Are Not Working for Britain

by Matthew Polacko

Introduction

Taxes overwhelmingly comprise the primary source of revenue governments used to fund public services such as roads, courts, healthcare, education and defence. Therefore, taxation is crucial to the functioning of the modern state and has long been central to public debate. One of the key components of the tax system in developed countries is the corporate income tax, as it is one of the primary means of taxing capital. In the countries part of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, it currently represents about ten percent of total tax revenues.[1] Yet despite its important role, the corporate tax has come under an unprecedented attack in recent years, especially in the UK. Large sections of the media, populace and policymaking community have accepted the notion propagated by both the business lobby and neoliberal ideology that corporate tax is a detrimental, inefficient and growth inhibiting tax and that tax cuts produce significant investment, create jobs and increase productivity, despite all evidence to the contrary.

This trend has enabled corporate tax rates to fall dramatically across the world the past few decades. In 1980, they averaged around 50% in the OECD and have plummeted to half that rate today.[2] This

phenomenon is even more pronounced in the UK, as the previous Conservative-led Coalition government cut the headline rate from 28% to 20%, in what Chancellor George Osborne proclaimed as "the largest reduction in the burden of corporation tax in our nation's history."[3] The Treasury called it a central part of their economic strategy and achieved the stated aim of creating the most competitive corporate tax regime in the G20. However, the Chancellor has not stopped there, as he announced in his most recent budget in July, that there would be further cuts of the headline rate down to 18%, by 2020. This paper argues that these cuts have been detrimental to Britain and that David Cameron's corporate tax cuts should be repealed and gradually returned to their former level, prior to his First Ministry.

Revenue

The potential for corporate tax revenues is extremely large, as corporate profits have soared since the 1980s. However, because of falling tax rates and increasing tax avoidance and evasion, a steadily smaller share of corporate profit has been reaching the Treasury. OECD data reveals that corporate tax receipts as a share of total tax revenues has fallen in the UK by more than a fifth since 2000 and that corporate tax fell as a percentage of GDP farther than any other OECD member, down from 3.4% to 2.5% in 2013.[4] The

[1] OECD (2015), "Tax revenue as % of total taxation", *Revenue Statistics: Comparative tables*, (Paris: OECD, 2015); Available at: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=REV.

[2] Shaxson, N. (2015), *Ten Reasons to Defend the Corporation Tax*, London: Tax Justice Network, Available at: http://www.taxjustice.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Ten_Reasons_Full_Report.pdf.

[3] Houlder, V. (2014, 9 July), "Corporation tax cuts cost UK over £5bn a year," *The Financial Times*, Available at: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c0afbfc4-02af-11e4-a68d-00144feab7de.html#axzz3hwBZ4cmZ.

[4] Farnsworth, K. (2015, 10 July), "Britain's corporate welfare is out of control – increasing it makes no sense," *Guardian*, Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/j

British government has stated that tax cuts since 2010 will cost the Treasury £7.8bn annually from 2016 and other estimates range as high as £10bn.[5] Additionally, the Office for Budget Responsibility (OBR) has stated that the recently announced tax cuts included in this year's budget will cost a further £2.9bn in lost revenue and, if growth and inflation are taken into account over the next few years, up to £27.8bn, according to Tax Research economist Richard Murphy.[6] In these times of stagnant wages and government cutbacks on essential investment such as education and infrastructure, these massive revenue losses substantially compound the government's austerity program. The failure to tax corporate revenue appropriately has also enabled UK corporations to accumulate a staggering idle cash pile, estimated at £150bn in 2013 and rising.[7]

Investment

The conventional view held about investment today, is that the private sector acts as the sole wealth creator. However, as Mariana Mazzucato reveals in the award-winning book *The Entrepreneurial State* (2013), it has typically been the state that has fostered innovation through partnerships with the private sector. Also, the state has often been more willing to take on the risks that the private sector has been too scared to fund. This is largely owing to the dramatic rise in distributed profits recently, whereby profit is given to shareholders in the forms of dividends and share buy-backs. For example, between the 1950s and late-1970s, distributed profits comprised 35-45% of total US corporate profits, with a similar number in the UK, as corporations generally took a "retain-and-reinvest" approach to profits, whereby earnings were reinvested in wages, expansion or research.[8] However, between 2001 and 2010, 86 of Britain's largest companies made €882bn in net profits of which 89% was used to buy back their own shares, or were paid out in dividends.[9] This has significantly hampered the ability of corporations to invest. Therefore, it is only the countries that have substantial public finances in place that can directly support to emerging technologies, because the private sectors generally prefer to focus on short-term profits and shareholder value.

Corporate tax cuts can sometimes attract investment, but theory and evidence show that they tend to attract the least useful kind of investment. Foreign investment that is tax-sensitive is most likely to be footloose corporate profit-shifting, as opposed to being embedded in the local economy. Therefore, this investment activity is rent-seeking and wealth-extracting, rather than job- and wealth-creating. Numerous studies find that genuine greenfield investment, where a new physical facility is created, generates "jobs, supply chains and long-term engagement and skills transfers to

ul/10/corporate-welfare-budget-tax-money?CMP=twt_commentisfree-gdnopinion.

[5] Christensen, J. (2014, December 6), "Corporate tax cuts don't work," *The World Today* 70, no. 6; Available at: http://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/corporate-tax-cuts-don%E2%80%99t-work#.

[6] Farnsworth, "Britain's corporate welfare…"

[7] Christensen, "Corporate tax cuts don't work."

[8] Lazonick, W. (2014) "Profits Without Prosperity," *Harvard Business Review*, September, Available at: https://hbr.org/2014/09/profits-without-prosperity/ar/1.

[9] Lazonick, W. (2012, August 27), "Big payouts to shareholders are holding back prosperity," *Guardian*, Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/aug/27/shareholder-payouts-holding-back-prosperity.

an economy" and pays relatively little attention to tax.[10] In a 2013, The International Monetary Fund (IMF) found that "taxation is not a significant driver for the location of foreign firms"; instead, other factors such as infrastructure, human capital and institutions were.[11] Tax rates are generally much farther down the list: most companies that are not after footloose investment will invest in a stable country such as Britain, despite corporate tax cuts. As Google CEO Eric Schmidt recently admitted: "Google will continue to invest in the UK no matter what you guys do [on tax] because the UK is just too important for us."[12] Additionally, former CEO of Alcoa and US Treasury Secretary under George W. Bush, condemned businessmen who only rely on tax cuts when he stated: "As a businessman I never made an investment decision based on the tax code...good business people do not do things because of inducements."[13]

Growth

Another rationale that has been promulgated in favour of corporate tax cuts is that they help spur economic growth. According to this theory, corporate taxes discourage investment and a reduced flow of investment causes, in turn, slower growth in an economy's stock of capital goods, which reduces economic growth. However, a recent review of all of the academic evidence on this subject concludes that: "The growth argument has no real basis...Attempting to spur economic growth with tax preferences for capital income may be like trying to repair one side of the roof with shingles from the other."[14] This is likely due to the fact that a tax is not really a cost to an economy but an internal transfer. Therefore, its net effect on growth may actually be neutral.

Listed corporations worldwide were estimated last year to be holding the enormous sum of $3.5 trillion in cash, which appears to be a long-term trend.[15] This era of "capital superabundance" where wealth is not actually trickling down, has been cited as a key reason why economic growth has been so sluggish in many western countries lately. This contrasts starkly with the quarter century of high post-war growth that was achieved throughout the OECD, which lasted until the late-1970s. That era of high corporate taxes has been dubbed the "Golden Age of Capitalism" and ended coincidently when corporate tax cutting began. Thus, history shows that high corporate tax levels have coincided with better economic growth performance and even current international comparisons suggest that high-tax countries fare no worse than low-tax ones for economic growth.[16]

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[10] Shaxson, *Ten Reasons to Defend*, p 9

[11] Shaxson, *Ten Reasons to Defend*, p 29

[12] Wright, O. (2013), "Google boss Eric Schmidt hits back at Ed Miliband and vows to invest in UK even if it has to **pay more tax**," *The Independent*, , May 22, Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/google-boss-eric-schmidt-hits-back-at-ed-miliband-and-vows-to-invest-in-uk-even-if-it-has-to-pay-more-tax-8627628.html.

[13] Shaxson, N. and O'Hagan, E.M. (2013), "Mythbusters: 'A competitive tax system is a better tax system,' London: New Economics Foundation, Available at: http://www.neweconomics.org/blog/entry/mythbusters-a-competitive-tax-system-is-a-better-tax-system.

[14] Sanchirico, C.W. (2013), "Do Capital Income Taxes Hinder Growth?", *University of Pennsylvania Institute for Law and Economics, Research Paper Series*, No. 13-6, Available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2222843.

[15] Shaxson, *Ten Reasons to Defend*, p 14.

[16] Brooks, R. (2013), *The Great Tax Robbery: How Britain Became a Tax Haven for Fat Cats and Big Business*, London: Oneworld Publications, p 29-30.

Jobs

Corporate anti-tax advocates usually argue that cuts will create more jobs. While this certainly can be the case, there are far more effective job creating measures available for governments to deploy, such as extending unemployment benefits, investing in infrastructure or public programs in health or education. All of these programs create more jobs than corporate tax cuts. So when governments, such as Britain's, allocate large amounts of revenue to corporate tax cuts, that revenue is no longer available to fund other priorities, which actually destroys net jobs. For example, the federal government in Canada has cut corporate taxes at nearly the same rate as Britain in recent years. However, its very own Finance Department estimated in 2009 that government spending on the poor and unemployed creates over seven times more jobs than cutting corporate taxes and both infrastructure spending and housing initiatives generate about the same number of jobs.[17]

Corporations even often threaten to relocate their offices and jobs to jurisdictions that offer lower tax rates, but it has been proven time and again that they are usually just empty threats. As a result of the Coalition government's corporate tax cuts in Britain, it has been estimated that only seven multinationals had relocated their tax base to the UK from the US, as of one year ago. However, a *Reuters* review of their relocations revealed that there had actually been a net job loss for Britain, as very few directors moved from the US and in one case there were 600 job cuts due to Liberty Global's takeover of Virgin Media, which was the perceived rationale for their relocation.[18] It appears that there were no tax revenue windfalls from the relocations either, as none of the companies identified any genuine new investments.

Capital and Labour

Perhaps the biggest myth that the business lobby has circulated with regards to corporate taxation, is the theory that the burden of corporate tax falls predominantly on labour, as opposed to shareholders. They claim that corporate tax is passed primarily on to employees because if workers do not pay the company's tax bill through reduced wages, then the shareholders will take their money and invest elsewhere, thus hurting workers. However, this is patently untrue, as corporate bosses almost always behave as if the tax burden falls on shareholders. Corporations have long furiously lobbied for lower corporate taxes and many devote much time and energy cleverly designing ways to avoid and evade taxes. As tax export Lee Sheppard points out: "If labour bore 80 percent of the burden of the corporate income tax, corporations wouldn't care at all. They don't fight high value added taxes in Europe, because the burden is clearly borne by consumers."[19] Numerous exhaustive studies have concluded that the tax burden principally falls on

[17] Yalnizyan, A. (2011, January 28), "Five reasons to say no to more corporate tax cuts," *Globe and Mail*, Available at: http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/economy/economy-lab/five-reasons-to-say-no-to-more-corporate-tax-cuts/article611285/.

[18] Bergin, T. (2014, June 9), "Britain becomes tax haven for U.S. companies keen to cut tax bills," *Reuters*, Available at: http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/06/09/uk-britain-usa-tax-insight-idUKKBN0EK0BA20140609.

[19] Citizens for Tax Justice, (2011, August 25), "Corporations Are People...Who Should Pay More Taxes," *Citizens for Tax Justice Blog*, Available at: http://www.ctj.org/taxjusticedigest/archive/2011/08/corporations_are_people_who_sh.php#.VcSFTFUViko.

shareholders. In fact, the US Congressional Budget Office, the US Treasury and the Brookings Tax Policy Centre, all use share rates ranging between 75-82%, in favour of shareholder burden.[20]

Furthermore, in the UK, over half of all quoted share value is currently owned by foreigners and because corporate tax cuts largely accrue to shareholders, David Cameron has effectively given them a massive free handout.[21] This has helped to further fuel the soaring prices in London's property market, which is largely foreign-owned at the top end.

Conclusion

The main rationale for David Cameron's corporate tax cuts has been to increase the competitiveness of Britain. However, we should be questioning why we should be trying to win a global race to the bottom, which lifts more and more wealthy shareholders out of tax and increases already soaring inequality, which has been proven to be harmful to economic growth. The lost revenues alone seriously undermine public spending in austerity Britain. Our demand-deficient economy would do much better with spending on infrastructure and employment than corporate tax giveaways that almost entirely end up in shareholder pockets. Moreover, the long-term wellbeing of Britain is being put at risk because corporate profits depend on tax financed public goods, such as educated and healthy workforces and a strong infrastructure. By cutting already low taxes for corporations, they do not contribute their fair share, which undermines everyone else.

Some argue that raising corporate taxes will encourage companies to hide more profits offshore, which is why the British government should also focus on an international approach to corporate tax, by contributing towards a global registry movement that has been recently gaining momentum. They should take a lead by establishing a national registry that would track wealth ownership in Britain in a similar way that the US handles real estate holdings. This would go hand-in-hand with increasing corporate taxes, which also encourages transparency by incentivising corporations to keep a proper account of their activities.

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[20] Shaxson, *Ten Reason to Defend*, p 28.
[21] Christensen, "Corporate tax cuts don't work."

2 ⛪ Education

Can Very Early Education Interventions Overcome the Socioeconomic Opportunity Gap in the UK?

by Samantha Mercadante

Introduction

Everyone would like to believe that education is the key to success. In the public imagination, education levels the playing field; it gives us all an equal opportunity to succeed, to be upwardly mobile, and to lead fulfilling lives. Unfortunately, research shows that, even in 2015, this is simply untrue. In fact, "the attainment gap between children from rich and poor backgrounds [in England] is detectable at an early age (22 months) and widens throughout the education system".[22]The fact that children can be labelled as educationally disadvantaged before reaching two years of age is shocking. Worse, this achievement gap does not go away over time, but tends to grow larger as children move on to different schools and inequalities in schooling pile up.[23] Only two years later, at age four, British children from poorer backgrounds are, on average, more than a year and a half behind their peers from wealthier

homes with regards to vocabulary.[24] In fact, these compounded inequalities mean that children from poor households are "less than half as likely to go on to higher education" as their peers from wealthier backgrounds.[25] In a country that likes to call itself a meritocracy, socioeconomic background and the education system continue to determine life outcomes.[26] What many researchers refer to as an achievement gap or attainment gap should, in reality, be called an opportunity gap. The sheer luck of being born to wealthy parents means that one will, in all likelihood, never have to be socially mobile, whereas the bad luck of being born into a poor family means that one is unlikely to ever be socially mobile. According to one report, "UK social mobility is...significantly lower than in Canada and Australia, countries with whom we share much in common - economically, culturally and in the rich diversity of their populations. Amongst G20 richest nations, only the USA has poorer social mobility than the UK".[27]

Address the Opportunity Gap

Research has shown that "differences in mobility-relevant children's outcomes according to family background are established

[22] Sharples, J., Slavin, R., Chambers, B. and Sharp, C. (2011), "Effective classroom strategies for closing the gap in educational achievement for children and young people living in poverty, including white working-class boys", [online] *London: Centre for Excellence and Outcomes in Children and Young People's Services*, [online] Available at: http://archive.c4eo.org.uk/pdfs/3/Schools%20and%20Communities%20RR%20P4.pdf[Accessed 29/07/2015], p 1

[23] Sharples, et al, "Effective classroom strategies for closing the gap in educational achievement for children and young people living in poverty, including white working-class boys", p 1

[24] Pascal, C. and Bertram, T. (2013), *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, [online] London: Ofsted, Available at: http://www.crec.co.uk/docs/Access.pdf [Accessed 29/09/2015]

[25] Sharples, et al., "Effective classroom strategies for closing the gap in educational achievement for children and young people living in poverty, including white working-class boys", p. 9

[26] Pascal and Bertram, *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, p 8

[27] Pascal and Bertram, *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, p 8

at very early ages and do not decrease over time".[28] Where you happen to be born is, often, where you end up. The obvious conclusion would therefore be to establish accessible, high-quality educational interventions for very young children, to mitigate the environmental and educational inequalities that prevent even children as young as two years old from being equally ready to begin school.

The UK has been moving in this direction in recent years, but there is still much that could be changed to truly give all children a fair opportunity at achieving all of their potential. Firstly, the UK has numerous state-funded programs addressing the educational needs of preschool children ages starting around age three; however, programs for children below age 3 are generally predicated upon a health model, where a nurse or trained health professional visits the home and helps new mothers with parenting and childcare.[29] This is problematic: if an achievement gap is already noticeable at twenty-two months, then there should be interventions based upon education, not just nursery care, for children before they reach this age. Studies have shown that this is not too young for children to be explicitly educated; on the contrary, children have been proven to noticeably benefit from such early

education.[30] In fact, researchers in France have found that entering the educational system at age two has the strongest effect on achievement in the first few years of primary school, whereas beginning at age four shows "hardly any compensatory influence" on disadvantaged children's achievement.[31] In the Department for Children, Schools, and Families' 2009 report entitled "Next Steps for Early Learning and Childcare," the writers tout the results of a newly-introduced early education framework, and tell us that this program meant that "the lowest achievers and those from disadvantaged areas are starting to catch up; the gap between their achievement [at age five] and their peers' narrowed since last year".[32] Five-year-old children should not need to catch up to their peers simply because their parents are poorer than their peers' parents. The opportunity gap needs to be addressed earlier.

Make very early education programmes accessible and efficient

One straightforward way to narrow the opportunity gap would be to make very early education programmes - which is more than

[28] The Sutton Trust, (2011), "What prospects for mobility in the UK? A cross-national study of educational inequalities and their implications for future education and earnings mobility", [online] London: The Sutton Trust, Available at: http://www.suttontrust.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/sutton-trust-crita-summary-23-11-111.pdf, [Accessed 01/08/2015]
[29] Pascal and Bertram, *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, p 8

[30] Pascal and Bertram, *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, p 8
[31] EACEA, (2009), *Early Childhood Education and Care in Europe: Tackling Social and Cultural Inequalities*, [online], Brussels: The Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, Available at: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/about/eurydice/documents/098EN.pdf, [Accessed 29/07/2015], p. 25
[32] Department for Children, Schools, and Families (2009), *Next Steps for Early Learning and Childcare: Building on the 10-Year Strategy*, [online] London: Department for Education. Available at: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130401151715/http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/00174-2009DOM-EN.pdf> [Accessed 29/07/2015]

just nursery care - financially accessible to all children. Of course, the government does not have unlimited funds waiting to be spent on this project. However, according to a 2009 OECD report entitled "Doing Better for Children," spending money on very young children is likely to be more beneficial later on than spending money on older children, and would save the government money in the long run. Indeed, children who participated in the UK's Nurse Family Partnership program between ages zero and two were shown to spend fewer months on welfare, to use emergency services less, and to be less likely to come through the criminal justice system than children who had not gone through the program. Some estimates report that the government would in the long run save up to two and half times its investment in early education for three- and four-year-old children; imagine the savings if the government invested more in *very* early education for children, ages zero to two.[33] Additionally, a 2009 report by the Daycare Trust showed that nursery classes within primary schools are the most cost-effective and beneficial form of very early education, and that achieving the Trust's definition of high-quality education within this setting would only require a 27% increase in government spending. Much of this increase would come from raising educators' salaries, which would allow programs "to achieve the sort of remuneration needed to attract and retain personnel with the required qualifications".[34] Furthermore, the Daycare Trust reports that, unlike many other European countries that spend approximately 1% of GDP on early education and care per year, England currently spends only about 0.4% of GDP on early education and care (2009). Despite the economic benefits and the feasibility of investing in early education, the OECD "notes that, in the UK, for every £100 spent on early childhood (0–5 years), £135 is spent on middle childhood (6–11 years) and £148 is spent on late childhood (12–17 years)".[35]

The Daycare Trust's argument that early education salaries are currently too low to attract appropriately qualified, high-quality teachers highlights another problem with early education in the UK: even where programs for zero- to two-year-olds do exist, the quality of these programs is inconsistent and often subpar. This can be even worse than no program at all, as inferior programs "can also reinforce social and ethnic segregation in the system which transfers to primary schools, where we see a concentration of children with disadvantages in particular schools".[36] Despite the "strong evidence [from around the world] that a well-trained early years' workforce, with high levels of qualification and access to ongoing professional development, is vital to close the achievement gap between children from poorer homes and their peers"[37], it has taken the British government until 2015 to implement standards for early years teachers' qualifications.[38].

[33] Pascal and Bertram, *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, p 8
[34] Pascal and Bertram, *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, p 17

[35] Pascal and Bertram, *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, p 17
[36] Pascal and Bertram, *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, p 4
[37] Pascal and Bertram, *The impact of early education as a strategy in countering socio-economic disadvantage*, p 23
[38] Department for Education (2015a), *2010 to 2015 government policy: childcare and early education*,

Recommendations and Conclusions

Finland, Sweden, and Denmark all have over 50% participation rates in education and care programs for children ages zero to three.[39] This is highly desirable for the UK, as participation in educational programs from a very early age is shown to narrow the achievement gap later on and to improve children's social and financial outcomes. The UK currently has a Working Tax Credit Childcare Element that helps low-income families to afford, amongst other things, early education and care. Nonetheless, "international and national evidence reports high costs of childcare in England…[and] costs are generally considered to have increased over time in this country".[40] Early education could play a pivotal role in narrowing the opportunity gap in this country, but not until it is equally and fully accessible to all children regardless of socioeconomic background. The question, of course, is how to make this goal a reality.

The government has already begun to introduce measures that should help make early education and care more accessible and affordable. This autumn, a new taxfree childcare scheme, worth up to £2,000 per child per year, will be introduced, and will be available to approximately two million families with children under the age of five. This scheme will be in addition to 2014's extension of early learning places to about 40% of British two-year-olds, which also aimed to open up more space for very young children to begin their education.[41] Additionally, the government extended its Pupil Premium program, under which schools are awarded extra funds for each child who qualifies for free school meals, to early years programs in April 2015.[42] This program has led to some incredibly creative and holistic solutions for disadvantaged children, helping them to overcome external circumstances and succeed at school despite their parents' income.[43]

All of these new programs are very promising, and "they demonstrate an awareness amongst policy makers of the importance of this age educationally, and, more specifically, its importance in countering social inequality and poor educational outcomes".[44] Awareness, however, does not guarantee change, and these programs are all so new that they have yet to be evaluated for effectiveness. There are many angles from which the government must monitor these new programs in order to determine whether they are actually

[online] 8 May, Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2010-to-2015-government-policy-childcare-and-early-education/2010-to-2015-government-policy-childcare-and-early-education, [Accessed 02/08/2015]

[39] EACEA (2009), *Early Childhood Education and Care in Europe: Tackling Social and Cultural Inequalities*, p. 25

[40] Department for Education (2014), *Early Education and Childcare: Research Priorities and Questions*, [online] London: Department for Education. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/288192/Early_education_and_childcare_research_priorities_and_questions.pdf, [Accessed 08/08/2015], p. 7

[41] Department for Education (2015a), *2010 to 2015 government policy: childcare and early education*

[42] Department for Education (2015b), *Pupil premium: funding and accountability for schools*, [online] 31 July 2015, Available at: https://www.gov.uk/guidance/pupil-premium-information-for-schools-and-alternative-provision-settings, [Accessed 09/08/2015]

[43] Sobel, D. (2014), "How should schools spend the pupil premium?", *The Guardian*, [Online] Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/teacher-network/teacher-blog/2014/jul/22/how-schools-spend-pupil-premium, [Accessed 08/08/2015]

[44] EACEA (2009), *Early Childhood Education and Care in Europe: Tackling Social and Cultural Inequalities*, p. 134

expanding the accessibility, affordability, and quality of very early education programs. For example, although £2,000 sounds like a lot of money, is it truly enough for a very poor family to enrol their very young children in a high-quality educational program? Is it enough for 40% of British two-year-olds to attend educational programs, when around 83% of children in Denmark under the age of three are enrolled in some kind of pre-primary education?[45] The government will need to establish very close monitoring in order to be able to tell whether these measures are truly narrowing the opportunity gap for children from poorer households, and will need to maintain these policies and this monitoring beyond the regime of the current government.

Perhaps more importantly, these programs, in which all of these disadvantaged under-threes will be enrolling come autumn 2015, will need to meet certain high-quality standards, otherwise this education will have minimal to no effects on their achievement later on. The most effective way to achieve high quality will be "to ensure that all staff receives high-quality training, both in learning and cultural approaches".[46] Staff should be educated to at least university level, and the education of under-threes should be taken just as seriously as the education of older children, rather than lumped in with nursery care and healthcare. According to the Daycare Trust, for an early education program to be considered high-quality at least one-third, and preferably one-half, of staff must have a university degree.

All of these programs are too new for us to measure their effectiveness. It is therefore crucial that they are closely monitored, and that they are guaranteed to exist beyond the tenure of the current government. There are many things that change with a change of political power, but very early education must not be one of them. Children under age three must have access to high-quality education, and their parents must be able to afford it regardless of their income. The government must therefore raise educational and training standards for very early education professionals, and must also track their students' performance over time in order to determine whether higher standards do indeed equate to higher-quality early education programs. Investing in early education will cost money at first, but the returns from having a population that requires less medical care and welfare support later on, and that has higher rates of employment as well as higher incomes, will eventually far outpace the initial investment.

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[45] EACEA (2009), *Early Childhood Education and Care in Europe: Tackling Social and Cultural Inequalities*, p 134

[46] EACEA, (2009), *Early Childhood Education and Care in Europe: Tackling Social and Cultural Inequalities* p. 15

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Sobel, D. (2014), "How should schools spend the pupil premium?", *The Guardian*, [Online] Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/teacher-network/teacher-blog/2014/jul/22/how-schools-spend-pupil-premium. [Accessed 08/08/2015].

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3 Defence & Diplomacy

Counter-Radicalisation in Britain - Lessons from Singapore

by Bhargav Sriganesh

Introduction

With the rise of the Islamic State (IS), there has been an increasing focus on the number of Muslims from Britain traveling to Syria and Iraq. These jihadi fighters are not only fighting for a perverse cause but pose a long-term internal security threat. Recently, Britain's Prime Minister David Cameron has outlined a comprehensive radicalisation plan that will tackle the scourge of extremism in society. Describing the battle against extremism as a "struggle of our generation", Cameron seeks to directly confront the subversive ideology and embolden the Muslim community[47]. In this policy paper, I will be critiquing the current strategies outlined by Cameron and offering solutions from the Singapore model of counter-radicalisation.

Before analysing potential solutions to radicalisation, it is important to consider the main drivers of radicalisation. Often, the two most crucial factors are the alienating counter-terrorism strategies and media's Islamophobia[48].

However, even if Singapore has been effective, there are two main caveats to incorporating solutions from the Singapore model. First, as a small city-state with a population of 5.4 million, it could be argued that Singapore has a significantly easier time

countering radicalisation and monitoring and managing its citizen population than Britain. Second, Singapore, since its independence since 1965, has been a multi-racial state. Therefore, its historical experiences with forging a cohesive society amidst diversity could be analysed from a different vantage point. Regardless, there are useful insights that Britain can glean from the Singapore model.

Still, it must be cautioned that while this paper is targeted at tackling Islamic radicalisation, it does not suggest that there is complicity amongst the wider Muslim population in the propagation of extremist values. Out of the few million British Muslims, only around a hundred have joined ISIS and a misguided emphasis on the activities of a radicalised few should not taint the reputation of many moderate Muslims[49].

Confronting the Ideology - Offline

Cameron mentioned that Britain's "liberal values" were its "strongest weapon" against Islamic radicalisation. By providing marginalised Kurdish, Iraqi and Syrian communities a voice or political platform, he hopes to provide a counter-narrative to the brutal violence carried out by IS[50]. Nevertheless, advocating for the resurgence of British or liberal values fervently could have a counterproductive effect and alienate segments of the Muslim population that will desire to retain some of the peaceful elements of their religion. I would

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[47] Dearden, L. (2015), "David Cameron extremism speech: Read the transcript in full", [online], Available from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/david-cameron-extremism-speech-read-the-transcript-in-full-10401948.html [Accessed 26/08/2015]
[48] Clark M. (2008), *Radicalization: Foresight and Warning CENS - GFF Workshop*, [online], Available from: http://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/ER080203_Radicalization.pdf [Accessed 26/08/2015]

[49] Warsi, S. (2015), "Warsi: Cameron wrong to target British Muslims over radicalisation", *The Guardian*, [online], Available from http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/jun/19/warsi-cameron-wrong-to-blame-british-muslim-complicity-for-radicalisation [Accessed 26/08/2015]
[50] Grierson, J. (2015), "The four pillars of David Cameron's counter-extremis strategy", *The Guardian*, [online], Available from http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/jul/20/the-four-pillars-of-david-camerons-counter-extremism-strategy [Accessed 26/08/2015]

propose that the extremist ideology can be better tackled by qualified religious teachers who are in a position of authority to discredit the perverse manifestation of Islam.

In Singapore, religious counselling has preventive and rehabilitative purposes. For instance, a pamphlet entitled "Questions and Answers on Jihad" written by Ustaz Muhammad Haniff Hassan and Ustaz Mohamed B. Ali aim to clarify misconceptions and provide the community with a more moderate interpretation of Islam. Since this pamphlet is presented in an easy to understand "Question and Answer" style, it facilitates information consumption. Furthermore, Muslim scholars in Singapore, with proper oversight, have been given the latitude to undertake a direct counter-ideological initiative against Al-Qaeda to organise the Convention of Ulema/Muslim scholars[51]. The objective of these conventions was to galvanise Muslim scholars to combat extremism by re-defining moderate Islam.

Therefore, while the government sets the direction, the initiative to confront the ideology comes from the Islamic Religious Council of Singapore (MUIS). Hence, Britain, instead of purely relying on the promotion of liberal values, could allow religious leaders to take the lead on some issues.

Religious counselling can be imperative as a rehabilitative measure as well. For example, a group of Islamic leaders could be identified to provide religious counselling to detainees or potential IS recruits. During this process, potential misinterpretations of the religion could be uncovered and complex concepts explained. Even if this is time consuming, it is a worthy investment because religious misconceptions could lead to recidivism. In Singapore, the counselling

sessions were helpful to highlight to the detainees that their path was destructive and inflicted pain on their loved ones[52].

Additionally, the support of loved ones and families is very important to combat radicalisation. One of the proposals put forth by Cameron is to give increased powers to parents to strip their children off their rights to passports and prevent them from traveling to Syria or Iraq[53]. This is a very draconian measure and could potentially cause fissures in the family. Instead, the Singapore model of providing religious counselling to all members of the family could be adopted. In the long-term, consistent family support can help a youth de-radicalise and realise the detrimental effects that his actions have on his loved ones.

Thus, to confront the extremist ideology offline, Britain should engage with local community leaders who can provide leadership to the resident Muslim population without alienating them. This is crucial as forcibly imposing liberal British values on moderate Muslims might be counterproductive and inadvertently engender Islamophobia.

Confronting the Ideology - Online

However, the more pressing concern is about youths who are radicalised by online activities. Due to the rise of social media websites that, at times, perpetrate extremist views, more youths are being lured into the trap of radicalisation. As mentioned above, it is still important that the government recognises the activities

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[51] Gunaratna, R. (2011), *Terrorist rehabilitation and counter-radicalisation: New approaches to counter-terrorism*, London: Routledge, p.51-52

[52] Bin Ali, M, (2015), "Coping with the threat of Jemaah Islamiyah - The Singapore Experience" [online], Available from http://rrg.sg/images/pdf/countering-extremism/Coping_with_threat_of_JI.pdf [Accessed 26/08/2015]

[53] Grierson, "The four pillars of David Cameron's counter-extremis strategy"

and efforts of peace-loving Muslims.

In Singapore, security analyst Haniff Hassan created his own anti-terrorism website to combat the proliferation of websites. Similarly, websites like www.iask.com.sg are launched by the Islamic Religious Council for young Muslims to have an interactive platform to discuss ideas with religious leaders. These efforts have two-pronged benefits[54]. First, it can educate Muslims about Islam and dissuade them from falling prey to the radical ideology. Second, in a multi-racial society it can promote inter-faith understanding and prevent misunderstandings.

Emboldening Muslim Community and Social Cohesion

Most importantly, Britain can adopt Singapore's model of emboldening the Muslim community and ensuring adequate representation of Muslims in the civil service and politics. For instance, the Islamic Religious of Singapore (MUIS) has a significant proportion of influential social and business leaders. Groups like MUIS help to manage Singapore's mosques and oversee Muslim education. MUIS enables the prevention of Trojan horse attacks especially since it directly oversees the teaching of both religious and secular subjects in Madrasahs. Therefore, Britain should strengthen the education and socio-economic profile of Muslims by revamping the madrasah curriculum and introducing lessons focusing on critical thinking skills and information technology. However, emboldening the Muslim community cannot be done in isolation. It can only be achieved if Muslims are integrated into the wider community. To ensure this, Singapore has instituted a Presidential Council for Minority

Rights to protect the rights of minorities and preclude discrimination. Furthermore, the Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act is also a deterrent to prevent any seditious comments and nip any inter-faith problems in the bud.

Also, Singapore's public housing ensures that there is a proportional representation of ethnic groups in all estates. Grassroots organisations conduct activities to promote interaction and communication between different groups to foster societal cohesion[55].

Nevertheless, creating these societal constructs will not be so easy in Britain. For instance, tackling ethnic segregation will require a social upheaval that Britons might not be comfortable with. Furthermore, in a bigger country like Britain, social housing is a matter for local authorities rather than the central government. Most importantly, any distortion to market forces will require a change in the law and risks running afoul of Britain's European human rights obligations[56].

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has addressed how Britain can adopt some lessons from Singapore to confront the extremist ideology and integrate the Muslim community better. Evidently, Britain has already incorporated some of the lessons from Singapore but it can better integrate the Muslim community using the guidance

[54] Hussain, Z. (2007), "Muslims here going online to counter extremist websites", [online], Available from http://rrg.sg/images/pdf/countering-extremism/counter_extremist_websites.pdf. [Accessed 26/08/2015]

[55] Mr Goh Chok Tong, Senior Minister of the Republic of Singapore (16 November 2005), *Speech at the Opening Ceremony of East-West Dialogue,* [online], Available from http://www.mfa.gov.sg/content/mfa/overseasmission/pretoria/press_statements_speeches/2005/200511/press_200511_01.html [Accessed 26/08/2015]

[56] Eyal, J. (2015), "Cameron's anti-terror plan requires social revolution", [online], Available from http://www.straitstimes.com/world/camerons-anti-terror-plan-requires-social-revolution [Accessed 26/08/2015]

of their community leaders who can promote the values of moderate Islam.

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Preventing Islamic extremist radicalisation in the UK

by Haydar Muntadhar & Haidar Lapcha

This proposal is centred upon the creation of a political lobby, which seeks to counter the Jihadist narrative with a democratic narrative that wants to be a part of the British political system. The lobby will represent and aim to unify the majority of the Muslim demographic who oppose Jihadism and seek to engage with a democratic framework. This lobby aims to provide pathways for Muslim communities to engage with democratic routes, as a preventative measure to radicalisation.

This policy is requesting governmental assistance, not only for funding, but also to establish a fundamental partnership with the majority Muslim collective. A lobby that seeks to provide a democratic counter-narrative to Jihadism is contingent on the government's assistance; arguing the potential for democratic routes and uplifting a broadly politically disillusioned community will fail without the Governments assistance.

The Unity of Muslims

This lobby seeks to unite all those who identify as Muslim but **do not identify with the Jihadist ideology**[57]. This is regardless of their creed or sect based sub-identity. As Muslims, we are all suffering due to the actions of a small minority of extremist ideologues.

We seek to present a united Muslim voice in opposition to the actions of Islamic extremists, the ideology of Islamic extremism and, most worryingly, the process of radicalisation that is causing swathes of British Muslims to join extremist organization and/or partake in atrocious acts of violence.

Presenting a united front is as challenging as it is necessary; the Jihadist narrative is taking an increasingly sectarian nature, trying to distance and subdue themselves with any organisation/community that is not accustomed to their beliefs. These frames being presented by extremist ideologues are slowly leaking into the mainstream Islamic community.

By providing a space in which Muslims from across the spectrum can have their voice of moderation heard and politicised, we are able to present a grass roots movement that can counter the rise of Jihadism from within.

Opposing the Islamist Ideology

The lobby wishes to not only counter Jihadism for its abhorrent use of violence, but to also counter the extremist narrative that is luring in disenfranchised Muslims in the UK. The ideology is one which superimposes political Islam above all other political systems and refuses to accept the legitimacy of other political systems, such as the British democratic one. This can and often extends to Jihadism, the violent brand of Islamism that is attracting British Muslims who do not find a voice within the current system. Our lobby seeks to provide a space for Muslims to feel empowered through engaging via the liberal democratic institutions we have in place.

The majority of Muslims in Britain do not adhere to an Islamist ideology but would rather engage with the democratic system if they see it as accessible. This lobby seeks to unify those in opposition to the aforementioned ideology and constantly engage with them by stressing the grievances they have caused, and offering instead a constructive democratic route to action.

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[57] From here on, the term 'Muslims' will be referring to this bracket unless stated otherwise.

The Problems Faced:

A) Identity

Evidence within the literature of the home-grown radicalisation phenomenon has explained why such a large number of 2nd and 3rd generation of Muslims in Britain (paradoxically living relatively secular lifestyles) have gone on to radicalise. The answer from many key academics/ scholars has been that this is due to an 'identity-crisis.'

The individual in question is stated to neither feel part of the British community, nor part of the Muslim community of their origin. We argue that the lack of a socio-political identity for this demographic leaves the individual in 'identity-limbo'; constantly self-questioning whether to fall into British identity or the identity of their heritage.

This facilitates the breeding ground for potential radicalisation. This does not mean that every Muslims who feels an identity crisis will radicalise, although research does suggest that an identity crisis makes one more prone to accepting radical ideas to entrench a strong identity.

B) Perceptions of 'futile' democracy

Evidence from the literature has shown that many who are 'morally outraged' by political and personal events are framing their perceptions of how to react to political events in the Muslim world in ideological ways. Many begin to radicalise their beliefs and some go onto adopt Jihad.

Democratic mechanisms to address grievances are regarded futile. Islamism projects the idea that there is a fundamental clash amongst Muslims and of the secular political system of which they are part of. More alarmingly, Jihadism stresses urgency to *'defend'* other Muslims, and so ideologically aligns individuals into believing Jihad is the only way to politically

act.

The Lobby: A Two Pronged Solution

1) Integration – The Muslim identity has a place in Britain

The political lobby aims to consolidate a socio-political place for mainstream Muslims, by providing them a political voice and relationship with Government. Unlike PREVENT, the funding will go to targeted communities and community leaders that are non-Salafist and who readily seek to engage with the British system. This should aid political integration with the mainstream Muslim community and not lead to further stigmatization as the PREVENT programme did. The aforementioned is stated to be due to the confusing policy to create a constructive relationship with the Islamists, rather than the Muslim majority who denounce a Caliphate-building ideology. Furthermore, the funding will not be wasted on first generation immigrant preachers to teach them English and then to disseminate their ideas. Rather we will focus on targeting second and third generation Muslims speakers who hold great social capital amongst young Muslims.

The strong tie with Government and its possible funding would thus create momentum for the belief that the British-Muslim identity does have a place and thus lead to further integration from many Muslims.

2) Disillusioning vulnerable pro-Jihadist Muslims

The lobby will utilise local communities to engage with potentially vulnerable Muslims about the horrors that Jihadism has created. This will focus on looking at the frames constructed by Jihadist ideologues and in turn create counter-frames that adequately address the grievances aired by these individuals. This can include, and is not limited to, Islamic education workshops; dissemination of

materials that show the human cost of Jihadism, and also countering Jihadist ideology through Q & A sessions with revered Islamic speakers. This solution is most effective now because of the sheer scale of tragedy Jihadist organisations have caused. With the vast majority of victims being Muslims (from practically all sects) the lobby can demonstrate how harmful it is to humanity and especially the Muslim community. This then will be compared to the alternative democratic routes/solutions the lobby provides.

Other Key Actors

As a cross-sect umbrella group for moderate Muslims, we will emphasise the importance of identifying and contacting key Islamic community leaders both from first generation immigrants, and more importantly, second and third generation immigrants who are better entrenched with British culture and the unique needs of disillusioned young Muslims in the UK. This is different to the PREVENT programme that sought to teach Muslim Imams English to better communicate. We seek to go to individuals such as Ammar Nakshawani, Nouman Ali Khan, and Hamza Yusuf etc. who can articulate these counter-narratives fluently and who are widely popular within the community.

By keeping up to date with academic research on Islamic radicalisation and the diagnostic/prognostic framing produced by Jihadists, we will be able to construct counter-frames that produce solutions to perceived grievances of young Muslims that exist outside of extremist radicalisation.

These counter frames being voiced by influential and respected Muslim community leaders will be listened to and provide a grass roots alternative to seeking out violent methods.

As opposed to PREVENT, we would focus on building community level workshops that are organised by Muslims and for Muslims about what Jihad is in terms of a spiritual struggle, as well as workshops that demonstrate the brutality of what Jihadism is causing (fighting and killing other Muslims).

Benefits of the Lobby
For government:

From an executive perspective, having a grouped political movement that represents the majority of the Muslim opinion enables more direct forms of co-ordination and political interaction than former strategies directed by the PREVENT campaign, which seemed to prioritize dealing with Salafist communities.

The lobby, which represents the specific demographic of Muslims, would arguably curb radicalisation by alienated British Muslims, and thus provide an opportunity for great political success for the incumbent.

Funding a lobby that represents a large demographic of Muslims, and aiding its success in the democratic arena will create better societal integration and enhance the reputation of the Government within that community.

Both the executive and the lobby find consensus on the need to counter the Jihadist narrative with a democratic one, and so allowing the lobby to flourish will facilitate a greater momentum for the increasingly powerful democratic narrative.

For Muslims:

The political lobby, if becoming successful enough in its political activities, will champion and support the British Muslim political identity within the UK. We are searching for a movement that integrates both a demographic socio-political interest in addressing the grievances caused by Jihad, and a sense of belonging as a

political voice in society and the political arena.

For Society:
From a societal perspective, being able to see democratic Muslim opinion and political activity in the UK will increase the accountability of Muslims as a collective political actor and a remedy to the increasing rhetoric of a Muslim community, who have been less vocal whilst radical Muslims take centre stage. This will not only improve upon societal perceptions, but will also directly counter the narrative produced by Islamophobic groups in the UK.

Muslim women will also be encouraged to participate within the movement, allowing for broader representation and higher political status than other Muslim political movements/organisations (such as the "Islamic Party of Britain") have offered. This is also argued to consequently provide new Muslim women role-models, fighting against societal-prejudice which exists that Muslim women are always subordinate to their counterpart males.

Differences to existing Lobbies
Fundamentally, the difference between this lobby and others is its active pursuit of uniting the British Muslim voice, consolidating an identity of "British Muslims" that belongs both in the societal and political arena. This is in comparison to other lobbies that only primarily focus on research.

This lobby also argues that existing lobbies have been ineffective in directly countering the Jihadist narrative for a democratic alternate. These differences will be carried out by:

Dispersing material to 'shock and awe'
The need to disperse anti-Jihadist material, of atrocities committed by Jihadist organisations, in similar manners and style of material available on the internet that show humanitarian and political atrocities in Arab/Muslim regions (such as ones in Chechnya and Palestine).

It is vital that this strategy is pursued. The lobby which seeks to unite the Muslim demographic under an anti-Jihadist/Islamist narrative must emphasise and project the grievances caused by Jihadist organisations.

By dispersing such material we are able to vividly counter the narrative given by Jihadists. Any sympathy for Jihadist narratives within certain Islamist communities will find it hard when confronted with news and sources of how Jihad has caused a huge toll on the lives of Muslims worldwide; utilising examples such as the Pakistan school shooting will weaken the belief that Jihad is defending Muslims.

Emphasising democratic/political engagement toward addressing humanitarian grievances
Although the democratic process (especially at its beginnings) may seem slow and 'ineffective', it must be championed as the only force for normative action as opposed to Jihad. This would again be done by demonstrating the brutality of Jihadist organisations in comparison to the normative good involvement in democracy brings forth (socio-political identity and unity, successful pursuit of humanitarian/community policies).

Changing the image/accountability of the organisation
The lobby must aid the Muslim majority's belief in belonging to the British democratic system and denouncement of Jihad.

The lobby is created on the belief that Muslims should stand as a collective to counter the narrative of Jihad (which has killed so many Muslims) and instead encourage democratic narratives.

The lobby gains its credibility by representing the Muslim majority, and thus will be more effective to engage in debate with Islamist/Jihadist sentiments. For example when media organisations portray the horrors of Jihad, there is a great belief within the Muslim community that this reflects a hidden agenda to demonise the Muslim community as a whole. The newly created lobby (representing the Muslim majority) has the credibility to actively open the debate of countering the Jihadist narrative, without alienating its support within the community as an apparent attack on Islamic theology.

Urgency

The government needs to act fast and needs to be more pro-active in engaging Muslim communities and acknowledging the grievances which they face, due to domestic/foreign policies that are being framed by extremist ideologues as a "War against Islam".
Without acting with urgency we will continue to see a rise in radicalised Muslims who go abroad and may potentially carry out a domestic attack. Without acting with urgency we will see vulnerable individuals become radicalised as they grow weary of the long, arduous process of engaging with British institutions to see a change.
By acting fast and funding this lobby, we can present a voice for Muslims that helps make a difference.

4 Energy & Environment

Tackling the London Housing Crisis- Urgent Action required

by Kamen Stoilov

What is the London Housing Crisis?

The London Housing Crisis is a relatively recent phenomenon which has two separate but strongly related dimensions. Firstly, there is a severe shortage of accommodation on offer, with a supply rate which fails, by far, to meet the insatiable demand for new housing in London. Secondly, as a consequence of the great discrepancy between supply and demand, an "affordability crisis"[58] has also occurred, with most of the available properties on the market being offered at a price that is beyond the financial means of the vast majority of Londoners. As a result, the city is becoming an increasingly unattractive place to live and work, even for qualified professionals on an above-average salary. Not only citizens, but also businesses based in London, are suffering from the housing crisis, which is already making London less competitive in comparison to other European capitals. The outflow of qualified workforce and young people "priced out"[59] of the city is threatening to ruin London's reputation of being one of the best cities in the world to live in. The need for a regulatory intervention in the London property market is therefore not just indispensable, but also urgent.

There is an estimated need for a minimum of 49,000 new homes each year to be built in London in order to match the unprecedented population growth, according to a research report prepared by Molior on behalf of the Greater London Authority.[60] The upper end of the estimate is a much greater number – 70, 000 per year.[61] However in recent years, less than 20, 000 new homes a year have been built.[62] Therefore Londoners are dealing with a supply-demand ratio of about 1:3 when it comes to housing.

As a result of this tendency, as any first-year economics student could predict, prices are soaring at a level which was unimaginable only a decade ago. Not only has it become close to impossible for a young family to acquire their own home within the M25, but also crushing rent increases are pushing more and more people out of the city. According to a research conducted by the KPMG accountancy group, the annual income needed to afford being a home-owner in London is £76, 971, whereas the average salary is just £27, 999.[63]

Why should we care?

Among the population of the capital, students are the ones who are probably hit the hardest by the housing crisis, as they have either an extremely limited income or no income of their own whatsoever. Students on a yearly budget of less than 12k a year end up spending most of it on rent, because a room within a commutable distance from a centrally located university costs around £8,000 a

[58] Bramley, G. (1994), "An Affordability Crisis in British Housing: Dimensions, Causes and Policy Impact", *Housing Studies*, Volume 9
[59] Pickford, J. (2015), "A Problem Shared Is a Property Acquired", *The Financial Times*, May 9

[60] Craine, T. on behalf of Molior London Ltd (2012), *Barriers to Housing Delivery*, December, report for the Greater London Authority
[61] Craine, *Barriers to Housing Delivery*
[62] Thompson, Barney (2015), "Review Green Belt Rules to Ease London Housing Crisis", *The Financial Times,* February 24
[63] Pickford, "A Problem Shared Is a Property Acquired"

year.[64] A separate issue is that the quality of the accommodation offered for that money is greatly inferior to what can be leased for a similar amount in the other European capitals popular with students.[65]

What is more, even the qualified employees can no longer afford renting in London. A research carried out by the WSP working in collaboration with University College London stresses on the fact that a large number of people working in the capital are struggling to afford their accommodation, with three quarters of businesses warning that the housing shortage is a significant risk to the city's economic growth.[66] These findings are reinforced by the report from London First, the organisation representing the largest private-sector employers in the city. It highlights the pressing need for more homes at affordable prices to support the growing workforce in London.[67] That the largest businesses in the capital see the housing crisis as a threat to their continued success is a sign that the problem is now of such dimensions as to impact their ability to recruit not only low-wage workers but also well-paid qualified professionals. This exacerbates the already existing skills-shortage that London is suffering from. Economic analysts are wary of businesses starting to move out, as well as of new investors preferring to stay out of a city which is beyond the financial reach of a middle-class earner.[68]

Ways to solve the problem

The London Housing Crisis is an issue of such an enormous scale and widespread impact that it has been continuously researched, assessed and discussed by the press, housing associations, developers and politicians equally. So much has been written on it already that it is highly unlikely for anyone to come up with a fresh idea on how to overcome the challenge. In light of the aforementioned, this policy recommendation is not aiming to bring to the table any brand new or revolutionary solution that nobody has ever thought of before. Rather, the aim of the policy proposal is to review all suggestions already put forward in the debate, to identify those which have the strongest potential to effectively redress the issue, and finally – to arrange them systematically so as to formulate a single comprehensive strategy for resolving the London Housing Crisis. In that sense, the aim of this policy recommendation is to *rationalize* the debate by stressing on the fact that *not a single one of the proposed steps* could come close to fully resolving the problem *on its own*; to make it clear that an adequate strategy should comprise *a series of policies*, only the *combined effect* of which has the potential to provide a satisfactory solution; as well as to urge the competent state actors to take *urgent action* in addressing the issue by *immediately starting to implement all of those policy ideas* put forward in the debate which have long been supported by a far-reaching consensus.

[64] Siebrits, J. (2010), *A New Term: New Problems, New Solutions*, Student Accommodation Viewpoint

[65] Siebritis, *A New Term: New Problems, New Solutions*

[66] WSP report in collaboration with University College London (2014), *Building Our Way Out of a Crisis*, November

[67] Hill, D. (2014), "London Housing Crisis: Businesslike Solutions", *The Guardian*, March 3

[68] Residential & Development (2015), "Need to Know: The Business Case for More London Homes", *Property Week*, March 27

Step 1 *Redevelop all of the existing brownfield land*

Brownfield sites are areas of land within the city which have previously been used for industrial purposes but are currently derelict. The systematic redevelopment of brownfield sites should come as a first priority in the strategy of the local authorities for resolving the housing crisis because of their abundance and their social disutility. Researchers have identified thousands of hectares of brownfield land that have the potential of being redeveloped for the purpose of building new homes.

According to Jonathan Goldstein, a senior partner in a leading real-estate investment company in Europe, there are an estimated 4,000 hectares of brownfield land in London which can be used to provide some 366,000 new homes.[69] However, in order to effectively utilize the potential of brownfield sites which are almost exclusively privately owned, a radical policy must be implemented by the central government which should facilitate the sale of derelict brownfield sites for the purposes of redevelopment. A similar suggestion has been put forward in the report launched last May by the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry. It calls for a 'Doomsday book' of brownfield land in London and the set-up of a four-years deadline for private owners to "use or lose" the land in their possession.[70] Nevertheless, it is at least arguable that land that has been left to deteriorate for ten years or more should be immediately put up for sale by the local authorities regardless of the owners' alleged intention to do something with it over the next four years or so. This is necessary in view of the urgency of the matter, as well as to avoid the delaying tactics popular with landowners.

Step 2 *Redefine the boundaries of the Greenbelt*

Greenbelt regulations were introduced in the 1940s and cover up to 13% of the total land in England. They were intended to prevent urban sprawl by designating an area surrounding the city reaching up to a few miles in width which is be protected against new building.[71] However not all of the land within the Greenbelt is attractive and ecologically rich. On the contrary, a substantial proportion of it consists of "unremarkable areas of scrubland".[72] According to Professor Paul Cheshire of the London School of Economics, 42% of the Greenbelt is not parkland, nor is it environmentally protected or open to public access.[73] Although he agrees that the beautiful and precious green sites should be firmly protected, he is of the opinion that even a limited amount of the Greenbelt land of inferior quality has the potential of providing a substantial proportion of new homes urgently needed. Moreover, there are already eleven tube stations in the green belt which means that residential sites in this area will be well-connected. Therefore a review of the Greenbelt is not only

[69] Goldstein, J. (2015), "Answering the Housing Crisis: Don't Dodge Affordable Housing or Using the Green Belt", *Property Week*, February 13

[70] London Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2014), *Getting Our House in Order: The Impact of Housing Undersupply on London Business*, May

[71] Nottage, J. (2015), "New Government Must Rethink The Green Belt to Meet Housing Needs", *Infrastructure Intelligence,* 27 April 2015

[72] Nottage, "New Government Must Rethink The Green Belt to Meet Housing Needs"

[73] Thompson, "Review Green Belt Rules to Ease London Housing Crisis"

sensible, but also necessary, especially in light of the fact that brownfield sites can only provide space for 20% of the new homes needed over the next two decades.[74]

Step 3 _Prohibit the 'landbanking' practice_

Landbanking is the practice of investing in land without making any real use of it and then postponing sale or development indefinitely as prices go up steadily year after year. This practice is one of the main causes of inflation as it significantly reduces the amount of land available for residential purposes and also encourages the widening of the gap between market prices and the real value of the land traded. A report prepared by Molior and published by the Greater London Authority reveals that at least 180,000 of the 210,000 planning permissions that are yet to be implemented can be defined as "stalled".[75] In light of these figures, the idea of introducing a "use it or lose it" policy in relation to planning permissions has gained the overwhelming support of a number of think tanks and lobbying groups such as Localis, London First and The Institute for Public Policy Research.[76] The policy envisages the expropriation by local authorities of undeveloped sites through the means of a compulsory purchase order system. Arguably, this would be an incomplete solution to the problem, as it would only target owners who have obtained a planning permission and who are sometimes unable to

implement it simply because of the lack of financing opportunities. By contrast, it would not affect the large number of wealthy foreign individuals who buy land and then hold it empty indefinitely, as the immovable properties in London are an investment more secure than the purchase of any sort of bonds or securities. That is why a better solution would be for the government to impose a tax on all land held empty or the development of which has been frozen for two years or more. The tax should be heavy, up to 50% of the market value of the land, so as to force the sale of the vacant properties for the purpose of redevelopment and for letting to residents. Once sold, the effective utilization of the land in terms of building, developing or letting should take place immediately, with no option to wait for two further years. That restriction would be necessary in order to avoid a series of sham-sales designed to retain ownership of the land. The requirement for immediate development would also push down the real estate market prices which is an objectively desirable development in the current context.

Step 4 _Introduce rent controls and caps on real estate prices_

Rent controls are an extremely controversial economic policy. During the wartime periods of the 20th century and the years following them, they were so commonplace that they virtually destroyed the markets in Europe and the United States.[77] Even nowadays there is an overwhelming consensus among economists that rent controls are undesirable as they lead to shortages of supply, poor maintenance, low housing

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[74] Goldstein, "Answering the Housing Crisis: Don't Dodge Affordable Housing or Using the Green Belt"

[75] Hill, D. (2014), "London Housing Crisis: Tackling Landbanking", _The Guardian_, March 2

[76] Hill, "London Housing Crisis: Tackling Landbanking"

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[77] Jenkins, B. (2009), "Rent Control: Do Economists Agree?", _Economic Journal Watch_, Volume 6, January

quality and redistribution leading to misallocation.[78] The mainstream theory is therefore that housing markets are better off when left to self-regulation. Mayor of London Boris Johnson is also convinced that free market forces will cure the vices of the property market in London, the only thing needed being the increase of supply.[79] Nonetheless, in the context of an insatiable demand for London properties by a large number of wealthy foreign investors, it is highly unlikely that a self-regulated market will ever again become commensurate to the financial abilities of the average Londoner. Up to 15% of the real estate purchasers are foreigners based in another country.[80] No realistically foreseeable rise in supply could counter such strong external demand. The case for introducing price controls is therefore becoming prevailing. It is no coincidence that rent controls of some form exist in the other major international hubs like Berlin, Paris and New York. There has been a call for revisionism of the negative attitude towards rent controls for more than two decades now, in recognition of the fact that authorities need not choose between sledge-hammer controls and total deregulation.[81] The introduction of "second-generation"[82] rent-control policies sensitive to inflation and reflecting the costs incurred by landlords

on the improvement of their properties has already been a success in Berlin, where market prices dropped 3% mere weeks after the passage of the new law restricting the powers of landlords to raise rent prices.[83] In Paris, an alternative policy for providing more affordable homes has been introduced by providing tax reductions to property developers who commit themselves to letting residential apartments at a rent that is 20% less expensive than the market rate.[84] Arguably, a sensible alternative rent-control policy that could be implemented in London is the pegging of house prices to the average salary in the capital, ensuring that London properties remain the prerogative of Londoners and countering the trend of people fleeing the city under the heat of a deregulated property market. According to the survey conducted by lobby-group Generation Rent, such policy would have the support of the majority of Londoners, with a mere 8% of those interviewed expressing a strong opposition to the idea.[85]

4 Conclusion

The enormous disparity between supply and demand for housing in London creates a property market which pushes many professionals out of the city as they can no longer afford renting in the capital. Students in centrally located universities are equally affected by the inflation of prices. Even the most successful businesses feel threatened by the outflow

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[78] Jenkins, "Rent Control: Do Economists Agree?"
[79] Hill, D. (2013), "London Housing Crisis: What Is It, Exactly?", *The Guardian*, October 27
[80] Green, D. and Bentley, D. (2014), *Finding Shelter: Overseas Investment in the UK Housing Market*, report on behalf of the Institute for the Study of Civil Society
[81] Arnott, R. (1995), "Time for Revisionism of Rent Control?", *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 9, Winter
[82] Arnott, "Time for Revisionism of Rent Control?"

[83] O'Sullivan, F. (2015), "Berlin's New Rent Control Laws Are Already Working", *City Lab*, July 9
[84] The Connexion (2014), "New Housing Law Due to Go Ahead", *Connexion Edition*, March
[85] Hilton, A. (2015), "Until The UK Introduces Rent Controls, So Many of Us Will Continue To Face Lifetimes of Exploitation", *The Independent*, January 4

of skilled workforce due to the shortage of affordable accommodation. The gravity of the issue is such that everyone realises that a solution is needed urgently. In view of the scale of the disparity between what is needed and what is available, an adequate policy for resolving the issue would include a series of decisive steps, including the strategic redevelopment of entire classes of land across the whole city, pushed by the central government; the imposition of heavy taxation on latent land owners; as well as the introduction of price controls based on an economic formula tailored to the specifics of the London property market. All of those policies proposals are supported by a quantum of research and public consultation. Only their combined implementation can make sufficient difference to be a real solution to the crisis. Prompt action is all that is required by the responsible authorities.

Appendix
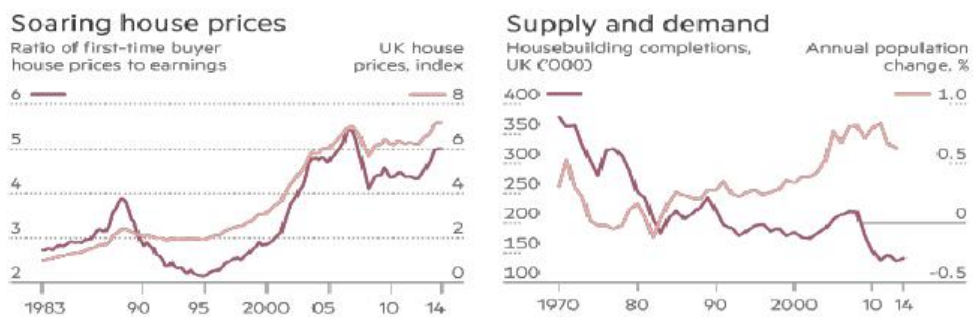
Figure 1. Representation of price increases in against rise in earnings for the period from 1983 to 2014

Figure 1b. Representation of new housing completions in England against population rise for the period from 1970 to 2014
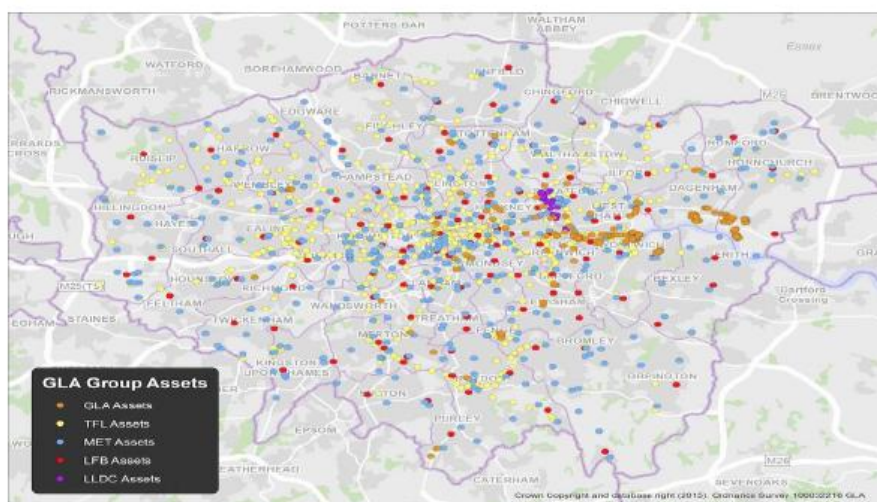

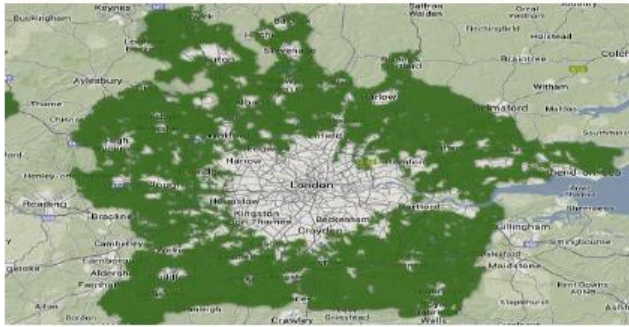Figure 2. Representation of all brownfield sites in London

Figure 3. Representation of the Greenbelt land surrounding London

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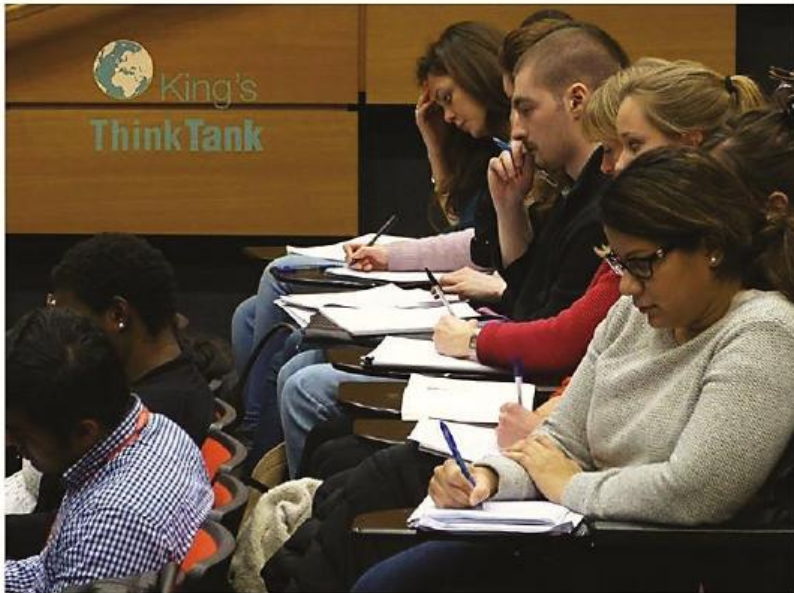
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5 European Affairs

Migration crisis in Europe? Reform the Dublin System

by Liam Mclaughlin

According to the European border agency Frontex, July 2015 alone saw the detection of 107,500 migrants at European borders; a tripling of numbers compared with July 2014 and the first time more than 100 000 had been documented since records began in 2008. From January till July 2015 a total of 340 000 migrants entered Europe compared with 123,500 in the same period last year, and a total of 280,000 for the entirety of 2014. [86]

However, also in July, European Union leaders failed to reach agreement on how to spread just 40,000 asylum seekers from Greece and Italy. The decision has now been postponed until the end of the year. [87] Nonetheless, Germany, which has recently been forced to revise up its estimates for asylum seeker arrivals in 2015 to 750,000, has suggested that the Schengen system, which allows for freedom of movement between participating states, may have to be suspended if a quota system is not agreed. [88] [89]

Clearly Europe has a problem. The consequence is that freedom of movement is being pitted against border security. In other words, the rights we hold as humans are being pitted against the rights we hold as members of states and the duty our states have to uphold these. This can be further reduced to one of the fundamental binaries of international relations; that of inclusion versus exclusion. When considering how to manage the unprecedented numbers of asylum seekers arriving at European borders, it is crucial to decide who to include and who to exclude. However, such an exercise is not merely technical; it also requires ethical justification since those being dealt with hold inalienable human rights. The crisis therefore becomes a matter of minimizing exclusion and working out how to distribute responsibilities fairly.

Distribution is important not only in terms of fairness but also because the current spread of migrants is so uneven that it is causing even rich countries, like Germany, serious logistical problems. Indeed, according to Eurostat, 2014 saw roughly 626,000 asylum applications to EU states. [90] To be sure, not all of these people were in the state they applied to at the time, nor perhaps even in the EU. There is a difference between detections of migrants at EU borders and asylum claims lodged. Nonetheless, the two combined provide a serious challenge to

[86] FRONTEX (2015) "Number of Migrants in One Month Above 100 000 for First Time", [Online] 18th August 2015, Available from: http://frontex.europa.eu/news/number-of-migrants-in-one-month-above-100-000-for-first-time-I9MlIo [Accessed: 29/8/2015]

[87] Guarascio, F & Emmott, R (2015) "EU Countries Fail To Meet Targets To Take In Migrants", *Reuters,* [Online] 20th July 2015, Available from: http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/07/20/uk-europe-migrants-idUKKCN0PU18M20150720 [Accessed: 19/8/2015]

[88] Bellon, T (2015) "Feeling Strain, Germany Set to Raise Asylum-Seeker Forecast to 750 000", *Reuters,* [Online] 18th August 2015, Available from: http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/08/18/us-europe-migrants-germany-

idUSKCN0QN15W20150818 [Accessed: 29/8/2015]

[89] BBC NEWS (2015 *a*), "Schengen Free Movement "May Be in Danger", Says German Minister", [Online] 21st August 2015, Available from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34016448 [Accessed: 28/8/2015]

[90] EUROSTAT (2015), "Asylum Statistics", [Online] Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics [Accessed: 28/8/2015]

the few states responsible for the majority of arrivals and which attract the most asylum applications.

The most popular countries were Germany and Sweden which received around 203,000 and 81,000 applications for asylum, respectively. However, over 90% of applications went to just 9 countries of the 28 EU member states. Indeed, alongside Germany and Sweden, Italy received 65,000, France 64,000, Hungary 43,000, the UK 32,000, Austria 28,000, Holland 25,000 and Belgium 23,000. Within this, Germany, Sweden, France, Italy the UK and Holland made up over 80% of total positive decisions, in other words, granting of refugee status, subsidiary protection or humanitarian status.[91] For 2015, figures strongly suggest that the same pattern is playing out. The only difference is that the numbers in question are even higher.

Currently, the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) is dominated by the Dublin System. This is made up of two regulations – the Dublin Regulation and the EURODAC Regulation – which ensure that responsibility for asylum claims falls solely on the state of entry. However, over the past few years this has unfairly placed almost all the pressure of the migrant crisis on Greece, Italy and Hungary as the main entry points to the EU from the two most popular migration routes, the Central Mediterranean and the Western Balkan. However, during such crises, the ethical duty from developed states to asylum seekers is global, as is the claim asylum seekers have on developed states. This means that to maintain the balance between the

duties of states and the rights of humans, asylum seekers ought not to have a choice in where they end up. As a result, a quota system must be introduced which would require that the Dublin System be reformed to include mechanisms for times of crisis. Though the System works when flows of migrants are small and stable, entry-states' responsibility for holding and processing asylum claims must be suspended once numbers become unmanageable.

The current lack of a quota system has meant that the spread of asylum seekers throughout the EU remains extremely unbalanced, pressuring entry states like Greece and Italy as well as popular destinations such as Germany and Sweden while other EU states stand by. For instance, though the UK and Lithuania both accepted 39% of applications, the UK had 25,870 asylum claims while Lithuania had just 185. Sweden accepted 77% of 39,905 asylum claims, while France accepted just 22% of 68,535. Elsewhere, Bulgaria approved 94% of 7,435 asylum claims in 2014 while Hungary approved just 9% of 5,445.[92] Germany and Sweden also had the highest number of 'outgoing take back requests' in 2012, at 11,574 and 7,805, respectively, where they had requested that another EU state take the responsibility under the Dublin System for asylum applications lodged.[93]

For a quota system to work, part of the reform of the Dublin System must allow that, in times of crisis, asylum seekers have an initial assessment. This would

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[91] EUROSTAT (2015) "Asylum Statistics", [Online] Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics [Accessed: 30/6/2015]

[92] EUROSTAT, "Asylum Statistics"
[93] EUROSTAT (2014), "Dublin Statistics on Countries Responsible for Asylum Application", [Online] Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Dublin_statistics_on_countries_responsible_for_asylum_application#Outgoing_Dublin_requests [Accessed: 30/8/2015]

aim to ensure they have a legitimate claim and to allow the states in which they end up to focus on integration rather than ascertaining whether or not the people they receive are legitimate. The Dublin System must also allow the initial assessment to be done in a non-EU state such as Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Tunisia, Serbia or Macedonia. Though this would count as externalization, it does not have to breach the principle of *non-refoulement* as long as the EU, potentially alongside a refugee agency such as the UNHCR, ensured that basic human rights were respected. This practice would therefore be entirely fair and would furthermore uphold the aforementioned global duty the migrant crisis raises by including non-EU states in the process of aiding asylum seekers in their journey towards refugee status in a developed state.

During this initial assessment, Joseph Carens' statement that the "'ordinary inequalities of the modern world' do not give rise to a moral claim to admission as a refugee" should be born in mind[94]. Refugee status can only be granted to people facing a "serious threat to…fundamental interests, not simply the risks faced in ordinary life".[95] This could automatically exclude a large number of Kosovars, Serbians, Albanians and Russians, who made up 22%, or 105,375, of total claims in 2014.[96] Since they are widely believed to be escaping poverty rather than the dangers faced by those coming from Syria or Eritrea, Germany is in fact attempting to have Kosovo and Albania declared 'safe' in order to automatically exclude them from applying for asylum. Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were already declared 'safe'

in December 2014.[97]

Once those with a legitimate claim to asylum have been identified, the EU could manage the distribution of asylum seekers by assigning them to various EU and developed non-EU states (such as Canada, Australia, South Korea) based on quotas related to measures such as absorptive capacity (that is to say, population), population density, a state's economic capacity, a state's history of admitting refugees and "similarities or differences between refugees and the existing population with respect to things like culture, religion, and ethnicity", as long as such a consideration does not itself become a reason for exclusion.[98]

As Germany wields the threat of suspending Schengen freedom of movement, other incentives and deterrents must be put in place to help gain EU-wide consensus on a quota system. Given that many of the countries with the lowest asylum acceptance rates in the EU are themselves net producers of migrants, access to welfare states in the countries they move to could be suspended until agreement is met, while a convincing economic argument can be made for such states to take migrants since they will bolster populations which are shrinking and aging, particularly in Eastern Europe.

At the moment the migrant crisis is unfairly dealt with by only a few European states. To manage this situation in the most ethical manner – by balancing the human rights of asylum seekers with

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[94] Carens, J H (2013), *The Ethics of Immigration*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 195
[95] Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration*, p 200
[96] EUROSTAT, "Asylum Statistics"

[97] BBC News (2015 *b*), "Germany Seeks New Balkan Migrant Curbs to Halt Influx", [Online] 28th July 2015. Available from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-33686505 [Accessed: 28/8/2015]
[98] Carens, J H, *The Ethics of Immigration*, p. 214-15

the rights citizens hold as members of EU states and the duties states have to uphold these – the Dublin System must be reformed to prevent responsibility for holding and processing asylum seekers falling solely on entry-states in times of crisis. This could be replaced with an externalization, aided by the EU and the UNHCR, of the initial holding and processing to non-EU states, which would uphold the global duty posed by the migrant crisis. Reforming the Dublin System this way would also allow for a quota system to be instituted, which would distribute asylum seekers on fair principles throughout the EU and also to non-EU developed states.

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6 📖 Blog Spotlight

Should we give grammar schools another try?

by Chidi Amadi

There is waste happening all around us - waste of food, waste of money, waste of resources. There is however a deeply saddening waste which is happening under all of our noses. It's the waste of human talent - hundreds of thousands of young people in our country who do not fulfil their full potential. I'm talking about the so-called "less able" who are not given high expectations, the "more able" who are not challenged further and the cosy middle who are mollycoddled and not stretched beyond their comfort zone.

What are your thoughts on grammar schools? An effective motor to engineer social mobility or a mighty fence keeping the poor immobile? There are very few debates in education which are as divisive as the one about the existence of grammar schools, in particular their role in enabling social mobility.

Social mobility has flat lined and is now rapidly becoming a relic of the successes of the 1960s and 1970s, a time when grammar schools flourished but were subsequently closed by successive governments under the guise of 'comprehensive' education for all. Consequently, the very top positions of society in a variety of fields (law, media, business, politics, medicine, and even sports) are now dominated more than ever by 7% of school children - men and women who had the privilege to obtain a private education and not by those educated by the state. This is even happening in sports - it would surprise you to know that over half of our gold medallists at the 2012 Olympics share this background. The wilful destruction of grammar schools contributed to this, a haven which provided unthinkable opportunities to young men and women who could not afford a private education has been decimated for political gain.

The few remaining grammar schools which survived the bludgeoning of the last 50 years hardly get the engine of social mobility ignited let alone get the car moving. Their consequent rarity due to myopic decisions of the past has produced another wing of selection by wealth and money and not by academic ability as before. Sharp-elbowed middle class parents push their way into what remains of the grammar school system by exercising financial might over their poorer counterparts. They move into the local catchment areas of grammar schools which cripples its intended recipient the more in three ways - they force up house prices in the local area by a function of demand, they use money to buy private tuition for the 11-plus examination, and they increase their chances of entry as selection after examination is prioritised by proximity to the school. They recognise that their children will thrive in these grammar schools and are willing to pull all the stops to make it happen and we cannot blame them.

Within these debates, some will say that they are only interested in 'good schools' and that the type does not matter but it can be argued that emphasis must be placed on grammar schools. Their original purpose is what distinguishes them from others. They stood as social elevators lifting young men and women from diverse backgrounds whose families did not have the financial resources to shelter them from the chaos of other types of schools or to pay for private. Others will proudly declare that they went to a comprehensive school and

turned out well hence the need for grammar schools is null and void but it can be suggested that selection by money for the topmost of such schools is at work most of the time (houses and tuition). The bog-standard comprehensive is oftentimes not the alma mater.

Now, of course the grammar school system had its flaws, all systems do. The main one here being the fact that important life decisions hinged on one high-stakes examination taken at the age of 11 (the 11-plus), which if failed relegated children to what was considered a second-class, inferior education (secondary moderns and technical colleges) and therefore worse outcomes in life. This can be improved by entry to a grammar school at various ages after 11. If something is wrong with the system, does it not make sense to fix the bad part and not dismantle the working part? Before the 1960s, the exam used to include questions about the role of servants in the house or classical composers and therefore were easier for more well-off children to answer and harder for those of poorer or less educated backgrounds. This led to a redesign in the 1960s to ensure it selected based on academic ability, a step forward so spitefully reversed by the wanton destruction that would follow from that decade. Did we have to throw away the baby with the bathwater?

The comprehensive school system in its current form has reduced expectations and therefore denied so many bright children from poorer backgrounds the opportunity to reach their full potential. Engineers of the system indirectly admit that selection by ability works by fiercely encouraging 'setting' where ability is used to group children for each subject the child has. Calling the comprehensive school system for photocopying grammar

school tactics will not win the argument alone though.

In the 1950s and 60s, pupils of grammar schools and direct grant schools marched into Oxford and Cambridge. According to the Franks Report in the late 1960s, more than 60% of undergraduates at Oxford came from state schools; a figure which after "comprehensivisation" dived and has only started to climb again thanks to extraordinary measures, concessions and quotas forcing Oxford to take them. In the days of grammar schools, they got in there in their own right because they were well educated state school students.

The most defining argument in favour of grammar schools is the following profound fact. There are only 164 grammar schools left in the UK and over 3500 comprehensives; yet in 2006, those 164 grammar schools produced over 50% of the A grades (including what we would now call A* grades) at A-Level in the top subjects desired across the entire world. "That's because of selection and creaming of the top!" opponents would cry; but is that credible? Over 3500 schools which contain the entire mixed-ability range still cannot match what only 164 schools can do? 118 of 152 local education authorities do not have any grammar schools at all and yet we should believe that mass "creaming" is happening? What is happening to all the children attending comprehensives?

There is no silver bullet to restore social mobility to its glory days in Britain but an important cylinder for the engine is academic selective education on a national scale or expansion of current grammar schools - choice for parents and pupils. We as a nation desperately need it to find hard-working young people and provide them with the fertile ground to

flourish and be the very best they can be. We need to restart a mission - a mission to lift those of lower ability, challenge those of higher ability and stretch those comfortable with average. This squandering of human potential must stop.

Transatlantic Trade: A Solution to Economic Stagnation or a Destroyer of European Standards?

by Sabrina Manfield

TTIP, or the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, is an agreement between the US and the EU that emphasizes the depreciation of tariffs and the assuagement of trade regulations. While the deal will promote market accessibility, it will have serious consequences for major trade sectors, including pharmaceuticals, energy, clothing, and finance.

Proponents of the deal, including David Cameron, argue that the partnership will revitalize the European Union's collective economy as well as mitigate the UK's financial difficulties. More specifically, the British government asserts that the plan will contribute £10 billion to the UK economy, £100 billion to the EU, and £80 billion to the US. Additionally, those in favor of the deal claim that it will create 2 million new jobs, incorporate small business into the integrated US-EU economy, and diminish the cost of imports.

In order to catalyze the creation of new jobs and the reduction of prices, TTIP will likely completely abolish tariffs between the two regions and synchronize methods for testing new products on the market. Because companies will not have to acclimate to several different standards, harmonized quality control will save the two regions both financial resources and time. All three major political parties in the UK support most components of TTIP, arguing that the deal will play an indispensable role in restoring Europe's economy.

While the alleged results are astounding, the partnership has faced vehement opposition. Major concerns include safety, jobs, the NHS, and the infiltration of private foreign companies. While products such as cosmetics, food, and clothing will be cheaper, citizens of the UK are concerned about the lower levels of quality control in the US. For example, many lipstick brands in the United States still contain lead because it is considered acceptable by American standards; furthermore, some American foods include significant amounts of preservatives. The possibility of chemicals and additives permeating markets in the UK has caused heightened anxiety among the population. While the British government insists that it would never risk the safety of its citizens, the deal would inevitably result in the intermixing of US and UK standards.

Additionally, when a major trade deal takes place, the benefits are never distributed evenly. Speculation in the EU is widespread regarding which national economies would benefit from the deal and which would be harmed; while employment opportunities would be created by TTIP, hundreds-of-thousands of jobs would also be lost during the implementation process. Finally, many are worried that the presence of foreign companies would threaten the public nature of the NHS.

Ultimately, TTIP will transform the economic partnership between the European Union and the United States, creating an integrated community of 800 million people. While economic and health provisions have caused this deal to progress at a torpid pace, geopolitical benefits have the potential to expedite and save this partnership. Europe and the United States have both been suffering from prolonged periods of economic

stagnation, so successfully initiating the biggest trade deal in history would send a commanding message to nations around the world.

Quintessentially, this partnership is the best solution for the EU, but certain caveats may need to be included in order to ensure the support and the happiness of the general public. If negotiators were to highlight the NHS as a special exemption, it would ease the fears of many citizens and political figures; in fact, some exemptions have already been granted, such as one to the French film industry. If this major political issue was excluded, I believe that the people of the UK would be more amenable to engaging in an influential trade deal with the US. Despite potential negative outcomes, this deal will give the EU a chance to assert itself as a dominant competitor in the global economy.

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Andrada Dobre, Editor-in-Chief

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